

MEMOIRS
OF THE
KING'S SUPREMACY;
AND OF THE
RISE PROGRESS AND RESULTS
OF THE
SUPREMACY OF THE POPE,
IN DIFFERENT AGES AND NATIONS, SO FAR AS
RELATES TO CIVIL AFFAIRS.

BY
THOMAS BROOKE CLARKE, LL. D.
Secretary for the Library and Chaplain in Ordinary to His Royal
Highness the Prince of Wales, and Domestic Chaplain to
His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland.

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P R E F A C E.

IN the two short chapters subsequent to the Introduction, there are some few topics necessarily introduced, which do not belong to the province of Civil History, nor fall within the circle of common reading. It was thought expedient therefore, to specify distinctly the different authorities, upon which the highly important facts interwoven with these topics are founded. Throughout the remainder of this work it was conceived it might prove more pleasing to the reader to be informed generally of the authorities, than to be interrupted frequently by references and have the current of attention arrested by numerous marginal notes. The writers consulted upon the subject before us have been Burnet, Clarendon, Davies, Echard, Howel, Hume, Leland, Littleton, Ludlow, Prynne, Rapin, Roy, Rushworth, Selden, Smollet, Walker, Warwick, Welwood,

Whitelock, and numerous publications which appeared at the time of the events to which they respectively relate.

Whenever a difference of opinion has occurred between Authors on the same event, the decision has been formed upon a sober and deliberate exercise of judgment according to the preponderance of evidence. And lest the authority of any writer should be warped or his meaning be marred, the language has in general been adopted with his opinions. It is but proper to observe, on this occasion, that the Author has found throughout his researches, the same plan to have been followed by Hume. Page after page in his history contains with the opinions the language of his precursors, but recast into new formed and better moulded periods.

After a comparative research into so many Authors upon the history of past times, there is one observation which may perhaps be made with some utility for the future. In all works which, from the nature and importance of their subjects,

may be of public advantage, and highly interesting to a certain order of families, not only men of letters, who are always anxious for the perfection of history, but persons who preside over the great depositories of learning and documents of state, as well as those who possess the archives of families, could furnish most important references. Through want of materials, ~~It~~ has been frequently and truly remarked, that British history is sometimes incorrect, and often insufficient; but are the authors to ~~blame~~ ?

THE Reader is respectfully requested to correct, with his pen, the errors which are noted beneath. The three first, and the omission of a date in page 230, are accidental mistakes; all the rest arose from an error in Hume. The termination of the life and reign of Charles the First, had been fixed in the year 1648, and the dates printed correctly at the heads of chapters. But on consulting Hume about a different fact, it appeared that Charles was executed in 1649; for this date marks the circumstances prior and subsequent to this event, throughout forty pages in Hume*. Such a continuation of the date 1649 raised some doubt, as there was obviously an incorrectness on one side or the other, and recourse was had to Smollet, the only authority then at hand; who confirmed the date of Hume†. The alteration was accordingly made in the sheets which happened at the moment to be under revision, and being transmitted to the printer, were worked off, before the adopted error had been detected by consulting authorities coeval with the event.

The Dates at the HEADS of CHAPTERS should be as follow :

Chap. 4	Page 46	—	1509 to 1558
Chap. 6	— 83	—	1558 to 1602
Chap. 7	— 104	—	1558 to 1602
Chap. 10	— 174	—	1625 to 1648
Chap. 11	— 191	—	Do. Do.
Chap. 12	— 209	—	Do. Do.
Chap. 13	— 230	—	Do. Do.
Chap. 14	— 256	—	Do. Do.
Chap. 15	— 289	—	1648 to 1660
Chap. 16	— 313	—	Do. Do.

Page 291, line 13, for *pregnant* read *poignant*‡

* See the 7th Vol. of the large octavo edition of Hume, printed by Williams, Dublin, 1780—from page 134 to page 174.

† See the 5th Vol. of Rivington's 3rd edition, 1758, page 270.

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INTRODUCTION.

HISTORY is a narrative of important events which should be detailed with simplicity clearness and fidelity. In so far it may be viewed as an art exhibiting appropriate facts in a regular series. But it is the duty of an historian, as it should be the study of a statesman, to convert it into a science: without a knowledge of which, Princes and Ministers must be like navigators on the ocean without chart or compass to guide them. The science of history is to investigate truth by a careful observation of facts, and by classing and combining those facts according to their nature or analogy, for the induction of general principles. If events pernicious to society appear at frequent intervals through continued periods of time, they should be carefully observed, and if there be found

an analogy of objects or resemblance of effects, they should be traced back to their causes and investigated in their nature. Thus the Historian should direct reflection ; and the Statesman adapt his remedy ; forming a combination of principles with reference to the past the present and the future, that shall strike at the root of the evil by eradicating it now, and guarding against its revival or existence hereafter. Such it is conceived should be the comprehensive views of history and policy, which ought to have for their ultimate object the general good of society.

With this sole object in view, this work has been composed, uninfluenced by every other motive than the extraordinary circumstances which have lately occurred. It had been announced to the nation, upon the authority of the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Grenville, during the last Session of Parliament, that it was in contemplation to place the appointment of Irish Catholic Bishops under the control of his Majesty. This measure, how-

ever, was afterwards contravened by some Romish prelates. But the sound policy and practical wisdom of establishing the King's Supremacy, which shall be considered wholly abstracted from the catholic question throughout this work, will appear obvious to the meanest understanding, and incontrovertible by the greatest.

The ecclesiastical supremacy of the Pope brought forth in its usurpation such temporal abuses, uniformly and uninterruptedly during centuries, as to form the great stumbling-block in the way of catholic interests. Some individuals, however, of that body, resisted its removal in past times, looking for preferment from Rome as the reward of their zeal. But nature might have induced them, and sound sense have taught them, to look for such reward at home; and a generous policy might have conceded it with wisdom. These few ecclesiastics however who kept up this connexion with Rome, in support of great advantages enjoyed by the

popes, and in pursuit of particular interests expected by themselves, have done more harm to the general interests of the body of catholics, than all the doctrinal parts of their religion could ever have effected.

This will appear to be not vague assertion, but the evidence of unerring facts, and the judgment and authority of past ages. To these the author has appealed, with the hope and ultimate view of Conciliation founded upon conviction, amidst all the clearness and force of moral truth. He has resorted therefore to the great and impartial records of past events, like those physicians who trace through its symptoms the disorder to its source, for the purpose of radical application. All superficial palliatives are vain: in order to heal a wound inveterate and deeply gangrened, we must cut to the quick and probe to the bottom.

The primary object of inquiry is, whether the Supremacy claimed by the Pope,

or the Authority exercised by him over Bishops, is founded in truth and justice. And while we investigate this, it will appear that the King's Supremacy, so far from being incompatible with the tenets of the catholic religion, is established upon the fundamental principles of Christianity. It is necessary to ascertain these first principles, otherwise our reasoning can be neither useful nor solid ; but like a building without foundation, may crumble about our ears and bury us in the ruins. To this subject therefore the first short chapter is applied, which is the only one devoted to what is generally termed controversy. The second chapter developes, in a summary view, the calamitous consequences of papal supremacy on the civil governments of different nations, throughout different ages. All the subsequent chapters, except the last, contain the history of these realms : wherein a continued series of facts throughout the different reigns, from the time of the Conquest to that of the Restoration, traces the rise progress and results of the pope's supre-

macy, with reference to temporal affairs. The last chapter demonstrates, upon the authority of facts, and of an author who received the pope's apostolical benediction for bringing forward these facts, that the Supremacy of the Pope is an Usurpation, and that not only ancient principles, but modern practice, and the precedents of the popes themselves, all unite in authority, for its abolition.

MEMOIRS,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

Foundation of the Pope's Supremacy: Foundation of the King's Supremacy.

THE pages of our annals most disgraceful to the British character, are those which hand down to us the history of the penal laws against catholics. Out of the barbarous efforts of rebellion, for the subversion of established authority, arose an horrid system of restraint for the protection of civil government. The one stained our annals with the records of blood, the other defiled our laws with a system of tyrannical oppression. Reciprocal ruin was sought by two parties, and the dishonour and injury of the nation resulted from the concurrent exertions of both. Common sense and common interests make us shudder at such a gross dereliction of reason and duty. For there is no mischief in moral or civil systems without a remedy, if we recur to first principles and pursue legitimate objects. Such just views and motives have gradually opened upon us through that light of

truth, by which the spirit of conciliation has made a gloomy code of tyranny give way to the system of toleration. But that a system of future oppression might arise from the power recently proposed to be vested in the crown, with respect to the appointment of catholic bishops, is conceived, with due deference, to be void of reasonable foundation ; because the motives of oppression in past, will thus cease to exist in future, times ; and because, in their place, there must arise from this arrangement the most cogent motives for the future protection of the catholic body by the crown ; and, finally, because the impulse of toleration being now given to our laws, nothing but indiscreet opposition can arrest it, and extreme opposition repel it with a restitutive force back to oppression.

Were human wisdom called upon to devise, by its most comprehensive faculties of combination, a measure of ample security for the catholics, in such times, and under such circumstances, perhaps, a better digested form could not be produced. They will thus enjoy, by a system of relations as well as by the solemn obligation of law, a tutelary care from British sovereigns. To his present majesty they will owe much ; their debt of gratitude is great : with an integrity without varnish, and a virtue without art, he has manifested a firm resolution of doing

good; unmoved by any other consideration than that of acting, according to the laws of God and his country, under the full approbation of his conscience. Having thus been graciously pleased to concede much to the catholics, will the catholic bishops concede nothing to him? But it has been recently urged, that they cannot concede the tenets of their religion. If it be proved, however, that what is held as a tenet of their religion, notwithstanding it may seem so in appearance, is not so in reality: but a novelty. If this be demonstrated beyond the possibility of contradiction, and even by that authority to which appeal has been made, it cannot be doubted but men will acknowledge the truth; act according to just principles; and adhere to the tenets of their religion incontrovertibly established; and that they will remove and renounce for ever that stumbling block in the way of conciliation peace and love, namely, the ecclesiastical supremacy of the pope.

It shall now be proved, that the supremacy of the pope never was a tenet of the catholic religion, according to Cyprian, to whose authority an appeal has lately been made.

There is a deep reverence due to the primitive church, and a confidence to these venerable fathers, whose opinions and practice settle things

on their old foundation—the Gospel. This great basis of their authority being the sole and unerring standard whereby the truth may be appreciated, it is important and necessary to be possessed of this standard, by a brief elucidation of the principles of the gospel on this point. The supremacy of the pope is claimed on a supposed primacy of Peter in power, and a pretended jurisdiction over the other apostles, to which the pope is successor. If this had been the case, how could James and John desire to be next in dignity to Christ, or how could there have been any contention amongst them and the other apostles, *who should be greatest?* this could not possibly have happened, had Peter obtained any pre-eminence. But so far was Peter from this superiority, that Paul reprov'd him, and *withstood him to his face*, when he dissembled to the Jews: and St. Peter styles himself but a *fellow-presbyter* of the presbyters, to whom his first epistle was directed. The supposed primacy of Peter over the other apostles being, therefore, contrary to the Scriptures, no conclusion of the hereditary supremacy of the Pope, as his successor, can be drawn from it. It is equally contrary to the authority of the ancient fathers, as may be seen in the Commentaries of St. Ambrose, and in the Works of St. Jerome, who says, that none of the bishops is higher or

lower than another; and if reference be made, not only to the opinion of Cyprian, but to his personal conduct on this point, his authority will demonstratively confirm the invalidity of this claim for the sovereign pontiff.

There is no example of the Bishop of Rome exercising any peculiar jurisdiction in the dioceses of other bishops; but there are abundant proofs, that every bishop in the first centuries was supreme in his own diocese, and subject to no other. Cyprian says, that as the church was divided into many districts, so each was subject to its own particular bishop, who presided over it with the plenitude of episcopal authority, without being accountable to any other but God. He says all the apostles were invested with the same dignity and power which were given to Peter: and that every bishop has the same authority in his diocese which our Lord conferred upon Peter*. And in a council of eighty-seven bishops, of which he was president, it was held, that every bishop had *full power* to determine for himself, and could no more be judged by another than he could judge him†.

Upon these principles Cyprian likewise acted. For when some schismatics of Carthage, of which

* Cyprian lib. de unitate Eccles. p. 77, 78. Epist. xxxiii.

† Council. Carthag. inter opera Cypriani, p. 158.

he was bishop, addressed themselves to Cornelius, Bishop of Rome, Cyprian wrote to him and said,—‘ Wherefore did they go to Rome: it has been determined *by us all*, and it is most just and reasonable in itself, that every one’s cause should be heard where his crime was committed. Since a portion of the church is assigned to every bishop, to be ruled and governed by him, for which he is accountable to our Lord, our subjects ought not to run about from bishop to bishop; they must answer where accusers and witnesses can appear’—* and it seems these men were condemned under his authority.†

* Epist. lix. p. 266.

† Though the bishops of the primitive church were all invested with the same office and authority, some of them were superior to others in place. In the first age of christianity, our Lord’s kinsmen, the Bishops of Jerusalem were the first of the episcopal college; afterwards as Rome was metropolis of the world, the Bishop of Rome was allowed to have the pre-eminence by common consent: and Cyprian said it ought to precede Carthage, *pro magnitudine sua*, on account of its greatness. And for the same reason the Bishop of Constantinople became next in dignity to the Bishop of Rome, when the emperors made Constantinople the place of their residence. But before that event, the Bishop of Alexandria, which was next to Rome in wealth and population, had the second place in the college of bishops. The third place was allowed to the Bishop of Antioch, as the third city of the Roman empire. For the same reason when Casarea was made the political metropolis of Palestine, and our Lord’s kinsmen were all dead, the Bishop of Casarea preceded the Bishop of Jerusalem and all others in

Hence, therefore, it is obvious and incontrovertible, that the supremacy now claimed by Catholics for the pope is utterly void of foundation, according to the evidence of the Scriptures, and the doctrines and examples of the primitive fathers. As a religious tenet it is destitute of all authority; and upon these grounds, religion cannot be profaned by a surrender of this doctrine of papal supremacy, as when the Venetians said, their first ties were to their country, their next to christianity; *Somo Venetiani, dopo Christiani*. But as christians and English subjects, the catholic bishops may wisely establish religious and civil peace upon religious and civil security, rendering unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's. Christ himself, though he was sovereign that province. Thus the bishops of the greater and metropolitical cities, took place of those of the less and more obscure cities.

The primacy of place was accompanied with prerogatives; the chief of which mentioned by the primitive fathers were the presidency of the metropolitans over provincial synods, and the consecrating of the bishops of all cities within their provinces; and these prerogatives seem rather to have been confirmed than first instituted by the canon of the great council of Nice, in the year 325. Some derive this metropolitical pre-eminence from the apostles' times, wherein Titus presided over the bishops of all the churches in Crete, as Timothy is said to have done over those in proconsular Asia; of which his own city, Ephesus, was the metropolis. Eusebius, liber 3. cap. 4. Chrysostomus Homil. 15, in Tim.

of the spiritual kingdom, yet he lived in constant subjection to the civil kingdom of the Romans. He always gave to Cæsar what was Cæsar's due : and at length patiently suffered death in obedience to Cæsar's deputy and civil authority. Should it be argued, notwithstanding this high example, that power in ecclesiastical matters does not belong to sovereign rights, a short answer shall be given at present. The institution of the Gallican church, whereby the sovereign, though in a catholic country, and professing the popish religion, exercised the ecclesiastical authority proves the reverse : the *Concordat* with France, made by the present pope, proves the reverse ; the laws of England prove the reverse ; and beside these examples, there is one of perhaps greater weight in this case—the example of the golden ages of christianity. Let that be a guide. And under the authority of the Scriptures, the example of the apostles, the precepts of councils, and practices of the primitive fathers, a plan may be formed not likely to encounter censure for error in principle. Upon these grounds, as upon a rock, and the great inevitable results of an abolition of subjection to the unauthorised and impolitic supremacy of the pope, there is an anxious and earnest hope, that the measure may be adopted. For without reference to any other step, present or future, in meditation, it is

humbly conceived, after sober and most mature consideration, that this is one of vital importance and necessity, because it is not only of mutual benefit to protestants and catholics in the present times, but it is a measure of *sound policy*, security, mutual confidence, and *justice* to both for the future. And if there be not a gross error in mens' conceptions, much more will arise from this measure than inconsiderate hostility, or superficial policy may be now aware of. To the high rank of the respective catholic bishops, no doubt, but when placed under the authority and protection of the crown, an income, suitable and becoming their exalted and dignified station will be annexed; and a liberal support be given to the inferior clergy. With respect to the practical arrangement in order to carry this system into operation, a little consideration and some judgment will easily adjust it, according to the sound principles of high and primitive example.

If the enemies of this vital measure attack it from the fastnesses of theology, councils, or the fathers, whose chart and compass were the principles of the gospel, the supremacy of the pope falls to the ground: if they revert to the precedents of the primitive church, growing out of, and founded upon, these immediate principles, it vanishes into air.

Far from being invalidated, the king's supremacy is established by the great authorities of the catholic church, and is most firmly fixed upon our venerable law of custom, both before and since the introduction of christianity, down through the period of Saxon kings, to the epoch of the Reformation. The grants to the first preachers of christianity in this realm, by three heathen kings in succession, which will be stated hereafter, constituted sacred monuments of their supremacy, The subsequent grants, with charters and muniments, by Saxon sovereigns, are demonstrations of the same authority. And the writ of Kenulphus, a Saxon, which *exempted* the abbot and monks of Abingdon from *all episcopal jurisdiction*, and at the same time *conferred episcopal power* and authority upon the abbot, is conclusive evidence upon this point. This king reigned about the year 755, and Sir John Davies reports the fact in Lalor's case. Likewise in St. Edmund's Laws, chapter xix., the supremacy of the king is thus declared; that he shall *govern and rule* the people of the land, and, above all things, the *holy church*. By the 15th of Edward III., amidst the prevalency of popery, the supremacy of the crown was maintained, and the pope's *pretended power* was *annulled*. By the 24th of Henry VIII., subordination to papal jurisdiction was abolished, and the

crown of this realm declared to be imperial and supreme; and, by a subsequent act, the power of the pope was totally extinguished: the reasons of which are stated at large in the History of the Reformation. The substance of which is briefly: that there can be no more than *one* supreme power; that the king being that one supreme over *all* his subjects, his ecclesiastical subjects are included, as by the laws of nature and of nations the assumption of a profession cannot ~~cancel~~ the former relation of a subject. And in the functions thus assumed by an ecclesiastical profession, the king is head, having authority ~~over them~~ as supreme, and a power to direct and control them.

To this concise statement shall be added abundant proofs throughout the work, which will further demonstrate that the supremacy of the king is a lawful and constitutional right, founded on truth and justice; and that the supremacy of the pope is an usurpation.

CHAPTER II.

Deplorable and uniform Results of Papal power, throughout different Ages and Nations, in Civil affairs.

THE deviation of the pope from primitive example, with respect to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, grew into an usurpation; great and formidable. And by an abuse of power, contrary to the explicit and express command of the Gospel, and through a lust of dominion over civil matters; the holy see subverted kingdoms, raised up enemies, and finally has destroyed itself. The progress of this usurpation shall be traced through the evidence of historical facts.

It would fill volumes to state the frequent excommunications and sentences of deprivation, with all their circumstances, passed upon emperors and kings, in the various councils. Some few, however, may be referred to, namely, in the fourth general council of Lateran*, the general council of Lyons†, council of Pisa‡.

* Can. 3.

† Tom. xi, p. 645.

‡ Sess. 14.

general council of Constance,* and of Basil†. All of these have expressly decreed, that emperors and kings shall, for misdemeanors mentioned, lose their dignity and honour, and be deprived of their governments. The canon law is full of constitutions, which declare, that kings must be subject to the will of the church‡, and submit their necks to her clemency § ; that their oaths are but perjuries||, if attempted against the benefit of the church. The precepts and examples of a power to absolve from contracts, leagues, and engagements, claimed and exercised by the popes, are too numerous for detail ; but references may be made to the bull of Urban the Sixth ; to the epistle of Pope Martin the Fifth to Alexander, Duke of Lithuania ; of Pope Eugenius the Fourth to Julian, the Cardinal ; of Pope Innocent the Third, to Peter, King of Arragon ; to the bull of Paul the Third, and Pius the Fifth. And the same principle, applied to the absolving of subjects from their fidelity and obedience, may be seen, not only in the papal books, but in the histories of different nations, in different ages. Rome itself was obtained by the pope, in the eighth cen-

* Sess. 12, &c.

† Sess. 27, &c.

‡ Decret. part 1, dist. 10, cap. 2.

§ Decret. part 1, dist. 96, cap. 11, 12.

|| Decret. lib. 2, tit. 24, cap 27.

tury, because **Leo Isiaurus**, having forbidden the adoration of images and pulled them down, **Gregory the Second** declared him a heretic, and absolved his subjects from obedience. Thus **Leo** lost the empire of the West; and **Pope Gregory** took possession of Rome and the territorial duchy. His successor, **Gregory the Third**, deprived **Leo the Third**, Emperor of Constantinople, both of his empire and all commerce with the faithful, for the same reason. In the eleventh century, **Gregory the Seventh** menaced **Philip of France** in a like manner, on a charge of heresy. In the twelfth century, the Emperors **Henry the Fourth** and **Fifth** were deposed for conferring ecclesiastical preferments.

In the thirteenth century, **Pope Innocent the Tenth** deposed **Frederic the Second**, because he infringed on the privileges of the successors of **St. Peter**.

In the year 1254, **Innocent the Fourth** pronounced a curse against **Ecelinus** as a heretic, and in the year 1256, gathered an army of crusaders against him.

In the fourteenth century, **John the Twenty-second** excommunicated the **Count of Milan** and his sons as heretics, deprived them of their possessions, and entered into treaty with **Frederic of Austria**, to take possession of **Lombardy**.

In the year 1324 **John the Twenty-second** com-

manded Lewis of Bavaria to cease from all administration of the empire, and never to resume it without the approbation of the apostolic see, because he had favoured a heretic. In the year 1324, he pronounced him contumacious and thundered forth his deprivation.

In the year 1335, Benedict the Twelfth renewed the sentence, and Lewis sued for pardon, promising to extirpate heretics, and bind himself by oath for the performance of this; but he could not prevail.

In the year 1343, Clement the Sixth renewed the sentence against the emperor; and required, as the steps for absolution, that he should confess his guilt, resign the empire, and not reassume it, but by favour of the pope; that he should deliver up his sons, goods, property, and concerns, into the hands of the pope. All of which he promised to perform; and yet this would not satisfy his holiness.

In the year 1345, the emperor was again deposed, and his subjects were absolved from their oaths of allegiance.

In the year 1363, Urban the Fifth pronounced Barnabas, Duke of Milan, a heretic anathematized by the church, and deprived *him and his posterity* of all honour, dignity, privileges, and jurisdiction; absolved *his subjects* from their oaths of *fidelity* to him; and freed *his wife* from the bond of *matri-*

mony. He subjected *all*, who aided or favoured him, to the *like punishments*, and granted *plenary indulgence* to all *crusaders* who would pursue him with *war and hostility*.

In the year 1453, Nicholas the Fifth, in his epistle to *all the faithful*, excited Charles the Eighth, King of France, to *extirpate* the perverseness of the *Antipope Amadeus*, Duke of Savoy, and of his favourers. He excommunicated and cursed him; he gave all his dominions and possessions, and those of his favourers to Charles; he promised Charles *full pardon* of all his sins; he promised an *augmentation* of the *rewards* of eternal life to him, and those who would fight against Amadeus. And all this was done after mature deliberation with the cardinals.

In the year 1462, George, King of Bohemia, applied to Pope Pius the Second, to confirm the indulgence granted to the Bohemians by the general council of Basil, and confirmed by Eugenius the Fourth, to receive the communion in both kinds. The pope refused, and a breach ensued. The king enquired of the Hussites, if war ensued, whether they would stand by him; they replied they would, with their lives and fortunes. He put the same question to the catholics; they answered fraudulently, that when the honour of God and justice was not violated, they would not be wanting to the assistance of king and king-

dom. A war commenced; the pope raised the catholic subjects in rebellion against their king, and sent an army of crusaders against him. He cited him to Rome; pronounced him to be perjured; deprived him of all honour and dignity; absolved his subjects from obedience; and declared him and his *posterity* incapable of any dignity. He then offered his kingdom to Casimirus, King of Poland.

During the sixteenth century, Paul the Third in the year 1538, and Pius the Fifth in 1570, directed their pontifical thunder to destroy the allegiance of British subjects: which shall be noticed particularly hereafter.

In the year 1585, Sixtus the Fifth pronounced Henry of Navarre and the Prince of Condé to be heretics, and deprived them and their posterity for ever of their dominions, *absolving* their subjects from all allegiance to them. After the death of Henry the Third, by the barbarous murder of Friar Clement, the Parisians sent to know if Henry of Bourbon, to whom the crown of right descended, should be admitted to the throne, They were answered, that all who favoured him, who was a sectary, would be guilty of a damnable sin, and would be damned infallibly; and all who resisted him unto blood would die martyrs, and enjoy an *everlasting* reward in *Heaven*. It is unnecessary to multiply examples of this nature

in a case so fully defined by two general councils, first, that of Lateran, under Alexander the Third, in the year 1179; second, the fourth council of Lateran, under Innocent the Third. The former, speaking of heretics, that is, those who are not catholics, says, all men who stand any way bound to them, are released from all fealty and obedience. And the latter says, that if any temporal lord shall neglect to purge his territories of heretics, the pope may pronounce his subjects discharged from their obedience, and give his dominions to catholics.

The effects of these principles were felt in an horrid manner in this country, and notwithstanding all the edicts made in France, for the protection of protestants, the very children of such heretics were taken up in the streets of Paris, shut up in cloisters, and never after heard of by their parents. But the case of John Huss is a melancholy proof of these proceedings. He was summoned by Sigismund the Emperor, to appear before the council of Constance; and, in order to remove all dread, the emperor granted him *safe conduct*, (*ut Constantiam veniens e converso redire ad Bohemiam,*) to come there and return to Bohemia. But contrary to this *safe conduct*, he was seized and thrown into prison. The emperor came to Constance, and argued the case with the council; but they passed a decree

contained in the nineteenth session, that “no secular power or sovereign, can hinder ecclesiastical proceedings against an heretic, and if he promise *any thing* to the prejudice of its jurisdiction it cannot hold.” Thus no faith was to be kept with heretics. And if any promise was given, this jurisdiction might make use of it to get the heretic into its power, then declare the promise null, and proceed with him as in the case of Huss. This council pronounced him to be an heretic; and on this judgment *seven* of the bishops, solemnly degraded him, and committed *his soul to the devil*, and his body to the emperor, who commanded Ludovicus, Duke of Bavaria, to deliver him up to the executioner; and he committed his body to the flames. In the year 1528, the council met at Paris, under the Archbishop of Sens, and renewed all the decrees of the fourth council of Lateran. “It excommunicates all heretics, it declares all who do not believe as the church of Rome believes, to be heretics, and commands all *bishops* and magistrates to be diligent in execution of these laws. It intreats the christian king, by the bowels of the mercy of God, to expel all heretics and exterminate them. And in order to move men to such abomination, it informs them, “that though God is able to destroy the heretics himself, yet such is his *goodness*, that he would have men to be co-workers with

him ; and that he would amply reward those who are so, and that it would be tedious to rehearse the glory and felicity of those who adhering stedfastly to the catholic faith would destroy heretics."

In the years 1208, and 1210, Innocent the Third excited Philip, King of France, to expel Raimond, Count of Thoulouse, with his adherents out of his dominions, as a favourer of heretics. In 1209, he promised to all crusaders, who would take up arms against them, a *remission* of their *sins* and absolution from *penance*. On which promise the crusaders besieged the city of Beziers, and destroyed in it, sixty or seventy thousand persons.

In 1229, Gaufred the legate of the pope excited the citizens of Milan to ruin and destroy the heretics ; and in the following year, by the instigation of the pope, many of them were burned.

In the year 1234, Gregory the Ninth excited the King of France against the Albigensian heretics ; he granted likewise to all crusaders who should take up arms against the heretics, on the confines of Saxony and Bremen, the same privileges, which were granted to those who went to the Holy Land. And in the year 1235, by an edict which he sent forth, he caused many of them to be burned.

In 1307, Clement the Fifth sent his legate with an army of crusaders, against the Dulcinists, who denied the pope and other Romish bishops to be true pastors, because they lived not according to the rules of the Gospel. By these crusaders the Dulcinists were forced up into the Alps, where they were partly destroyed by the sword, and partly by cold and hunger. Dulcinus himself being taken with some of his companions, they were brought to Vercelles, and there cut in pieces, and afterwards their scattered pieces were committed to the flames.

* When religion can persuade men to such horrors, the mind sickens over the records. When a pope, like Hadrian the Sixth, denounces judgment on a victim, because he is a protestant, that he shall suffer by the *sword of Cæsar* and the apostolic see, and be condemned after to hell fire, we could wish to blot out this sentence for ever. Such a detail of deplorable errors, religious, civil, and political, contain, it is trusted, some apology for our establishment of the king's supremacy, and an abolition of the supremacy of the pope. What has been already stated will plead an excuse for not continuing a detail of annals so full of afflictions, from 1307, down through the reigns of Benedict the Twelfth, Clement the

* *Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*

Sixth, Gregory the Eleventh, in 1372, 1374, 1375, 1377, of Alexander the Fifth, Leo the Tenth, Hadrian the Sixth, Clement the Seventh, Sixtus the Fifth, &c. &c. It is thus papal usurpation has destroyed itself. Such extravagant abuse of power, during ages, hollowed out an abyss under the papal throne, for its own engulfment. When the most distinguished catholic universities of Europe, in answer to Mr. Pitt's queries to the catholics of Ireland, had denied the power of absolving *subjects from their allegiance*, to have foundation in religion, reason, or truth; the reigning pope, but a little after, released the clergy of France from all fidelity and allegiance to their past sovereign; and thus helped the present one to pull down the throne of the Bourbons. But this sovereign will probably stone him with the ruins; and his holiness's successor, instead of a *papal throne*, must be content with a chair.

Such horrid and disgraceful results of papal power throughout different nations, uniformly and uninterruptedly, during seven hundred years, shew clearly the necessity of its abolition.

CHAPTER III.

King's Supremacy: Rise, Progress, and Results of the Pope's Usurpation in England, &c.

157 to 1509.

WE shall now trace the oppressive use made of his influence and formidable power by the sovereign pontiff, over Britain. Guided by a distinct interest of his own, most frequently contrary to that of the nation, instead of propagating mild and liberal principles of religious love and civil virtue, the popes appear to have rendered religion and government intolerable and oppressive by their doctrines and actions. That the ecclesiastical supremacy of the pope is a novelty and usurpation, appears clear to demonstration by the proofs already brought from the Scriptures, and from the authority of the primitive fathers, in their opinions and practice, and in their express and explicit denial of this supremacy. If we recur to the earliest periods of British history, when Christianity was first introduced, we shall find in the exercise of supreme authority, by our

kings, over ecclesiastical matters, a monument of indestructible and eternal honour. God blessed our church and kingdom with three heathen kings in succession, Arviragus, Marius, and Coylus, who, though they embraced not the christian faith, which was preached here soon after our Saviour's ascension, by James and others, with Joseph of Arimathea who interred our Saviour, yet they courteously entertained them. They gave safe and peaceable sanctuary to all persecuted Christians, who were forcibly expelled out of all other countries throughout the world; and bestowed lands and comfortable maintenance on the preachers of the Gospel at Glastonbury, where they built the first christian church in the universe*. The first christian king also, publicly baptised, and professing, and *establishing* the christian faith, was our famous Lucius, as recorded by M. Paris and M. Westminster, History of Rochester, &c†.

He built and endowed churches in the year 187, and confirmed his grants with authority, by

* W. Malmsbury; Spelman; Usher; Godwin; M. Parker.

† The flight of persecuted christians to this island, the erection of christian churches, and the protection given by our kings, seem to be stated in the prophecy, "The *isles* shall wait for me; and the sons of strangers shall build up the walls, and their kings shall minister unto thee.

charters and muniments. He commanded churches to be held so free and sacred, that the malefactors who fled to them, should find a sanctuary. This high privilege, as will be seen hereafter, was a measure of sound policy at that period. He conferred all the possessions of pagan priests and temples upon christian churches and ministers; and because he conceived them entitled to higher honor and respect, he augmented these possessions, and raised the clergy to distinguished liberty*.

This island hath been blessed with more kings and queens who have used their supreme authority in protecting religion, and in defending the faith, than any other isle, region, or kingdom throughout the world, how holy, great, or populous soever. Such exertions of royal favour and authority cannot be disputed, and require no further proof than a plain statement, that twelve Saxon kings laid down their lives for the christian religion: and that in two hundred years, thirty-six kings and queens laid down their crown to retire to those places of piety raised by their munificence and authority. To these circumstances however may be added, the acts of supremacy of Ethelwolfe with respect to the church, and the acts of supremacy of

* Quia majorem honorem illis impendere debuerat, augmentavit illos amplioribus agris et mensis, omnique libertate sublimavit. Galfridus Monumiensis, Gervasius Tilburiesis.

his incomparable son Alfred.* But if we pass to the period of the Conquest, we shall discover the dawning of the pope's influence; the growth of influence into power; and the expansion of power into supremacy. By a series of historical facts from the Conquest to the Revolution†, a sound and necessary judgment for practical and useful purposes in these times, may be formed of the oppressive influence and usurpation of the pope, in the civil affairs of this realm. The voice of experience is the voice of wisdom.

In the time of William I., we find the incipient operation of the pope's power and influence. The enterprise of invading England was undertaken by William under the countenance and sanction of the see of Rome. Having gained the battle of Hastings, the conqueror found himself in much danger. The Earls Morcar and Edwin had retired to London with the remains of the defeated army. William, therefore, could

* "O stuporem omnium ætatum Aluredum! cujus dum religionem intuemur, nunquam exiisse videatur monasterio: Dum bella et militiam, nullibi versatum fuisse unquam nisi in castris: dum scripta ejus et lucubrationes, vitam transiisse in academiâ: et dum regni populique sui administrationem, nihilo unquam studuisse, nisi in foro et senatu, justitiæ promovendæ, Legibusque bonis sancientis."

† It is intended to continue this work down to the Revolution, if not farther; but the circumstances which gave rise to it being so recent, it required the utmost exertions to bring it down at present to the Restoration.

not march into the country and leave that city behind him without evident danger ; he could not on the contrary, lay siege to it, as it would occupy the greatest part of his small army, and require much time, which would permit the remote counties of England to raise several armies superior to his own. The two earls in order to animate and unite the people, had proposed to place young Edgar on the throne ; and the resolution was embraced. But the influence of the pope, through his sanction of the invasion, caused the bishops to declare for William, and the citizens were induced by their example to open their gates and receive him. Thus the power of modern Rome more formidable in this realm by its ecclesiastical sway, than ancient Rome by its sword, checked the union of the people in defence of their country : and made them surrender a desirable state of liberty, founded on, and secured by, wholesome laws, which they enjoyed under the race of Saxon kings, for the oppressive government of a Norman invader. And this arose from a protection of wrongs by a pope without rights. But we find, in the succeeding reign of William Rufus, the insolent and avaricious Anselm so true to this usurping see, as to prefer his obedience to the pope to an oath of fidelity to his sovereign.

In the reign of Henry I., the Pope resolved, in the person of Anselm, to wrest from the British

sovereign the rights which his ancestors had enjoyed, namely, the investiture of bishops and abbots. This right was a manifestation that the ecclesiastics of this realm owed the foundation of their authority to the power of their sovereigns. Anselm resisted this right ; Henry maintained it. Anselm and other prelates consequently resigned, and instantly carried their complaints to Rome, requesting the pope to reinstate them by his sole authority. His holiness did not fail to grant the request ; and thus* invading the just rights of the king, the pope introduced a precedent by open usurpation, which, through the want of resolution in Henry, tended to render both him and his successors slaves to the papal authority. The interposition of that authority was soon felt in all affairs civil and ecclesiastical : and the bond of union now formed by interest, between the pope and the clergy, in the usurped rights of investiture, established the power of papal supremacy, and the deposing of kings.

Under this supremacy, in the reign of Stephen, sprung up a constant source of troubles. The clergy disowned subjection to the king ; they set up a separate interest against him ; they insisted upon higher authority than his ; and threatened to make their appeal to the court of Rome. The pope's legate convened a synod at Winchester, declared Matilda queen, and excommunicated Stephen. But being displeased with

Matilda, he convened another synod at Westminster, and excommunicating Matilda in her turn, declared Stephen king. Here we find in these monstrous proceedings the first fruits of papal supremacy, and the deposing of kings.

Henry II. a king of high and acknowledged spirit, having endeavoured to remove that ecclesiastical privilege, which protected criminals from justice, was forced by the papal power to atone for this with most abject submission. The origin of this privilege was a matter of sound policy, but the continuance of it an abuse. The first christian king, our famous Lucius, commanded all the churches and cemeteries to be free, and that no malefactor who fled to them should be injured. This excellent policy, at that period, was an inducement to the pagans to frequent the church either through curiosity or crime, consequently to hear the gospel, and be converted both from paganism and crimes. The boundless grasp of authority under papal power and protection, became now so insufferable, that it occasioned great civil broils, brought on the murder of Archbishop Becket, and the excommunication of the king. These papal excommunications were at that time so terrible, that the nation was reduced to slavery through fear.

In the reign of John, the pope having nominated Cardinal Layton to the see of Canterbury,

plunged the nation into difficulties and misery ; for the king refused to admit him as archbishop. This opposition to the pope's usurpation, brought on an interdict against the whole nation. The confusion arising from this interdict, and the zealous obedience paid to it by the pope's influence with the clergy, drew down the utmost severity of the king ; he seized the lands of the clergy, imprisoned their persons, and committed all manner of outrages upon them. This interdict was soon followed by an excommunication of the king, and the people were absolved by the pope from their allegiance. The barons took this occasion to throw off all obedience to John, whose oppressions had lost him the esteem of his subjects ; but, the consequence was, that to support himself against his subjects, he agreed to the most abject submission to the holy see. Reconciliation was purchased on the base terms of a solemn resignation of his crown to the pope, in the person of his legate : who kept it for some days in his custody, and did not restore it, but on the ignominious terms of the king's receiving it as a vassal, holding it as such, and paying a yearly tribute.

What a blot in the annals of England ! And what a price to pay for the aid of papal power against his own subjects.

The pope now became most instrumental in

forwarding the oppression and plunder of the nation. Henry III. formed a design of freeing himself from the restraints of *Magna Charta*, and thought his best policy was to secure the support of the holy see. Since John's resignation the pope considered England as a tributary country, which he might plunder at discretion. The nation consequently was devoured by the insatiable extortion of the Romish legates; and the pope sent over no less than three hundred Italian priests to fill all vacant benefices; and received out of the kingdom more money than the annual revenues of the crown at that time amounted to.

Edward I. was no less fond of arbitrary power than his predecessors, though his superior understanding made him sensible how necessary it was to conceal it. However, towards the decline of life he began to act with less reserve, and procured from Rome a dispensation from his *oath*, with respect to the two charters. Thus the power of the pope in *dispensing* with oaths, was exerted for the subversion of the nation's rights. And this shameful concurrence between a legitimate sovereign and a foreign usurper, went still further; for Henry, by virtue of a grant from the pope, levied the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues during one year; and the pope in consideration of this, reserved to himself the first fruits of all benefices.

In the reign of Edward II. the parliament was sensible of the papal oppressions under which the nation groaned, and was ready to come to resolutions to shake off this galling yoke. But Edward was a weak prince with strong passions; duped by attachments to his favourites, and embroiled in discord with his family; his kingdom being a scene of disorders, he resigned the crown and was afterwards murdered.

Under Edward III., one of the greatest and best of our kings, we find Pope Benedict the Twelfth, exciting the power of the crown against its subjects in Ireland, who maintained that the sacrament was not to be adored. The king and parliament however, were sensible of the papal oppressions so long complained of, and various measures were adopted to deliver the nation from its chains. The statutes of provisors and premunire were accordingly enacted; the first to prevent the pope from disposing of ecclesiastical benefices, contrary to the right of the king or any other person; the second to prevent the subjects of England from carrying causes to any foreign or other court, the cognizance of which belonged to the king's courts. Notwithstanding these precautions, the grievances still continued, and the pope exacted, as a tax from ecclesiastical dignities, ten times as much as the tax of the yearly profits that appertained to the king from

his whole realm*. Parliament after parliament complained of these papal oppressions; and the statutes to prevent them were confirmed and reconfirmed; but all was in vain. The uniform and unanimous opinion of king and parliament upon these grievances, the vigorous measures and repeated resolutions of both, were ineffectual against the formidable power and irresistible influence of the pope. The parliament itself bore testimony to this, by saying†, the whole clergy were so obedient to the pope, that they did not dare to displease him. This dread or influence of papal power surpassed even the dread and influence of the statute of premunire; for contrary to it, they took cognizance of appeals from the king's courts to their ecclesiastical courts.

In the reign of Richard II., Wickliffe began the first work of reformation. An object so dangerous to papal power roused the vigorous hostility of the holy see, and the Wickliffites were declared heretics. Richard had not been long on the throne, when the papal phalanx besieged him, and taking advantage of his youth and weakness, procured his consent to an ordinance for imprisoning such persons as they should declare to be heretics. This measure without

* Cotton's Parl. Roll. 50 Edward III.

† Parl. Roll, 50 Edw. II.

consent of parliament was an outrage upon the constitution ; which made a deep impression, and an ominous preface to this unfortunate prince's reign. The house of commons, provoked at this encroachment upon the rights of the subject, caused the ordinance to be repealed by the king next parliament. But the formidable influence of the pope, which was mentioned as paramount to the resolutions of the king and parliament, in supporting the continued papal oppressions during the last reign, received full confirmation under the present one. The parliament had then declared that the clergy dared not to displease the pope ; but now the clergy themselves acknowledged their backwardness to retrench any part of the pretended prerogatives or usurped power of the see of Rome, as follows :
“ The archbishops of Canterbury and York, for
“ themselves and the whole clergy of their provinces, make their solemn protestations in open
“ parliament, that they in no wise meant or would
“ assent to any statute or law made in restraint of
“ the pope's authority, but utterly withstood the
“ same*.”

Henry IV. a haughty and designing prince, owed his crown to a parliamentary right. His vigilance and policy in taking all methods to secure

* Parl. Roll, 13 Richard II.

the possession of the crown, were the most distinguishing qualifications of his genius. The necessity, therefore, of winning to his interest the support of papal influence and power, did not escape his discernment. The exorbitant usurpations and oppression of the pope caused the people to cry out for reformation. The king, contrary to his secret policy, was forced at first, in compliance with the parliament, to revive the statutes of *premunire*. But never was the breach of them more winked at than in this reign; and as an atonement for this, and a sacrifice to **Romish** friendship, he procured that bloody act to be passed in parliament, for the burning of such as should be declared heretics. The pope dreaded the doctrines of the Lollards; the priests petitioned for this act; and the Lollards' were delivered to the flames.

A succeeding parliament, however, had not the same complaisance for this saving doctrine of the holy see. This was called, by way of reproach, the *illiterate Parliament*; as being composed of men chosen according to the king's private letters. This misrepresentation arose from writs of summons containing directions, in pursuance of a statute made in Edward III's. time, to exclude all sheriffs, and practising lawyers, from being elected. This parliament was impatient to free the nation from the yoke of Ro-

mish ecclesiastical oppression, but they were repulsed in their advances time after time. The colossal strength of papal influence was too great for them ; and the sovereign was so sensible of this, that to please the holy see, and by an open affront to the commons, who had desired a repeal of the bloody statutes against reformers, he declared, that he wished they were more rigorous. He even affected at the same time to sign a warrant for the burning of a poor Lollard ; who died with resolution. The parliament was incensed ; and the king making a demand for a subsidy, they boldly refused him. But he kept them sitting, till the inconvenience of not being dismissed forced them to a compliance with his demands. Such was the gratitude of a prince who owed his crown to the good will of the people, and the free gift of parliament. He rivetted faster the galling chains of foreign bondage ; and he endeavoured to subvert their rights at home. Rapin says, when he considers the excessive commendations bestowed on this prince, he cannot help suspecting the glory of being the first burner of heretics.

To the progress of reformation and principles of the Lollards, the present formidable opposition against papal power was attributed by the Romish body. On the death of Henry IV. it was determined, therefore, to profit of the complai-

sance usually experienced from young princes, in the beginning of their reign; and as these principles of the Lollards were countenanced by men of high rank, it was resolved to lay the axe to the root of the tree, by attacking the patrons of the sect. It was supposed that a proceeding of such vigour must deter all others from presuming to undertake measures, which the Romish party might disapprove of, and which might render their authors liable to the suspicion of Wickliffite principles. With this view the Archbishop of Canterbury waited on the king, and represented the alarming growth of heresy, which would not fail to draw down the wrath of heaven upon the kingdom; and the glory which must arise to a young monarch by commencing his reign in the cause of God. He informed him, that Sir John Oldcastle, one of his majesty's domestics, was the most open abettor of the doctrine of the Lollards; and he humbly desired his gracious permission to proceed against him with the utmost rigour.

The king answered in a manner to shew that he was far from approving of force to reclaim men from errors in religion; but assented, if his representations could not restore Sir John Oldcastle to the right way, that a process might be commenced against him. Sir John Oldcastle

was a man of consummate probity, and of high estimation; but the king finding him unalterable in his opinion, yielded to the clergy's request, and he was condemned to be burned. Henry having discovered too much moderation for the barbarous zeal kindled by the alarmed lust of papal power, it was resolved to awaken in him different feelings. He was informed, therefore, that the Lollards sought not only the destruction of the catholic church, but of the king's power, and even the state; and, in corroboration of this, a plot was invented more absurd and senseless, according to the relations of some writers, than any ever formed by the most profligate delators of the cruellest Roman emperors, for like purposes. This circumstance is related variously by different historians. Mr. Hume states, that the criminal designs imputed to the Lollards were probably aggravated to bring disgrace upon them; and the following detail on the authority of another writer, confirms this. The Lollards, in consequence of a proclamation issued by the king to suppress their assemblies, held their meetings with great secrecy, in woods and unfrequented places in the country, to worship God in their own manner. Upon such occasions some of them chose St. Giles's Fields near London, where they thought to be concealed by bushes and

furze, with which it was then covered. Their enemies, aware of this, informed the king, that twenty thousand Lollards led on by Sir John Oldcastle, who had escaped from prison, were to assemble in the fields, with a design to kill his majesty and his brother, and all the lords spiritual and temporal who were not their friends. Upon this information Henry, who was at Eltham, proceeded to London, determined to attack this powerful body of conspirators; and, when the time arrived, he went about midnight to St. Giles's Fields, where finding a small number of persons, he fell upon them, killed twenty, and took most of the others prisoners. These enthusiastic men, as it is stated, had been so often insulted by their persecutors, that they unfortunately brought arms with them for their defence, which served as a pretence to convince the king of their imputed design; and to give greater weight to the accusation of a plot, promises and threats were used to prevail on the hopes and fears of some to confess the fact, though the absurdity of it was obvious and insurmountable to every considering man. Instead of twenty thousand there was but an inconsiderable number to execute so great a design; and without any one of high rank to lead them on, for Oldcastle was not there. But there was a great point gained by this plot; the Lol-

lards were rendered completely odious to the king, and a vast price was set on Oldcastle's head, who was afterwards taken, and fell a sacrifice. Some respectable authorities maintain, that a revolt was actually projected, and that Sir John Oldcastle was deeply implicated. However, another historian says, "The persecution of the Lollards would not have been countenanced by a prince of humanity. Those unhappy wretches seem to have been sacrificed to his interest as well as to his bigotry; for they were so many victims by which he rendered the clergy propitious to his views. All his renown was founded upon the most pernicious ambition, which seemed to swallow up every principle of justice, and every consideration of humanity." Henry's want of gratitude to Oldcastle, for his past services to his father and to himself; his want of justice to his acknowledged merits; and his want of integrity to his own declared sentiments of esteem for him; leave no advantageous idea of this prince. He sacrificed a valuable, and hitherto a faithful friend, upon whose known probity and inflexible principles he might have relied; for it cannot be easily credited, that a man of such fixed character, whose long and unalterable adherence had merited the esteem of his father and himself, could so suddenly reverse his nature, and become

all at once a villain. However, Henry sacrificed this old friend to gain the interest of his enemies, and to prevent their interruption of his own ambitious projects, which he had then in contemplation. As to the pretended conspiracy of Oldcastle against the life of himself and his brother, he had too much sense really to credit it, but he had neither ingenuousness to own it, nor justice to act accordingly.

Sir Robert Cotton, in his abridgment of the Parliament Rolls, speaking of the parliament that met at this time, in which, through the barbarous policy and predominating influence of the Romish see, the Lollards had been so persecuted, makes this remark. "The clergy at this their own parliament, cease not to rage and roar after Christian blood, *tanquam leones rugientes*: and whosoever did the fault, they put John Porter in the stocks, and cried, crucify Christ, and deliver us Barabbas, for now all horrible mischiefs whatsoever were imputed to the poor Lollards."

Bishop Burnet, in his History of the Reformation, states the disingenuous and inhuman way of dealing toward the Lollards, on the part of the papal interest, "which was, in their proceedings against them always to mix some capital errors, that all Christians rejected, with those for which they accused them; and some particulars

being proved, they gave it out that they were guilty of them all, to represent them the more odious." Of which he states some examples.

The artifice of these men confounded all their opposers under the general denomination of Lollards, and thus rendered them and their designs odious on account of their heretical principles. Bishop Burnet * says, "If any man denied them any part of that respect, or of those advantages to which they pretended, he was presently brought under suspicion of heresy, and vexed with imprisonments, and articles were brought against him."

The parliament spoken of by Sir Robert Cotton was so apprehensive of this artifice, that they agreed to every proposal for the extirpation of what was then called heresy; and all the pulpits in the kingdom sounded their praises.

During the reign of Henry VI. the vigilance of the Commons was not suffered to relax by the progressive usurpations of the court of Rome. Cotton informs us, that the Commons petitioned against the presentation of foreign ecclesiastics to preferments; but the king was induced to elude these petitions. Pope Martin wrote him a severe letter against the statute of provisors; which he calls an abominable statute, that

* History of the Reformation, b. i. p. 27.

would *infallibly damn* every one that observed it*.

The influence of such fulminations, the abuse of the legantine authority by the Cardinal of Winchester, and the devotion of his immense opulence derived from clerical dignities, to the extension of papal power, excited the indignation of the parliament. They inveighed against the proceedings of the cardinal; and as he was a kind of prime minister, they protested that he should absent himself from all affairs and councils of the king, whenever the pope or see of Rome was under consideration†. The cardinal was appointed general of the crusade against the Bohemians, and the pope ordered him to collect a tenth from the *English clergy*, for the expence of the expedition. The convocation agreed to grant eight pence in the mark. The pope's nuncio thought this insufficient, and collected money by his own authority; but he was imprisoned for such unlawful presumption. The zeal of the clergy, however, in supporting the pope against the council and the nation, encouraged Nicholas to extend the papal encroachments. He sent a pompous epistle to the king with a consecrated rose, and demanded a tax of a

* Burnet's Collection of Records, vol. i. p. 99.

† Hume. Cotton, p. 59.

tenth on the clergy; but his bull for the collecting of the money was prohibited.

Edward IV. a prince more splendid and shewy than prudent or virtuous, found the friendship of the see so useful, that he liberated the clergy from the civil jurisdiction by charter, and remitted all their criminal causes to the judgment of their ordinaries. These favours so offered to papal power served to establish Edward's throne, but they tended toward the downfall of pontifical usurpation; and the intolerable influence of Romish supremacy, with the envy and hatred excited by it among the lay subjects, co-operated in preparing the way for the Reformation.

During the succeeding reigns of Edward V. and Richard III., the short period was occupied by intestine troubles of a domestic nature.

During the reign of Henry VII., whose capacity was excellent, peace and order, both civil and ecclesiastical, were maintained in the state. The services, however, which he rendered the people, were derived from views of private interest, rather than motives of public spirit. He obtained a regulation of sanctuaries from the pope, which was a measure of insinuating address, inasmuch as it was an acknowledgment of the sovereign pontiff's power; but at the same time it was an act of policy toward his people, to conciliate their affections by the removal of an

evil. The pope, however, lost not the opportunity of being paid for this favour. He sent Jasper Pons to collect money from the English people for *dispensations* from going to the jubilee; and thus recompensed himself by a lucrative manifestation of his power.

CHAPTER IV.

King's Supremacy ; and Pope's Usurpation.

1509 to 1553.

IN the reign of Henry VIII. it was enacted, that all murderers and robbers should be deprived of the benefit of the clergy, except such as were in holy orders. This was an offence to the supreme ecclesiastical power, and particularly because those, who had the least contact with the church, should be deprived of its protection. With great audaciousness it was resolved to fix a censure upon this act of the legislature, which was done by the Abbot of Winchelcomb, at St. Paul's Cross. The Lords and Commons petitioned the king to suppress such intolerable insolence. The matter was taken up by the king's council, and Dr. Standish, as counsel for the king, maintained the cause against the abbot with such considerable effect, that he was ordered to make a recantation of his sentiments at the place where he advanced them. This was positively refused to be done ; upon which great heat and great

dissentions ensued, that were augmented by a subsequent act of pontifical power.

The pope's legate held an ecclesiastical court under his authority in London. A Middlesex clerk sued one Hunne in this court for a mortuary on account of Hunne's child. Hunne was advised to sue the clerk in a *præmunire* for resorting to a foreign jurisdiction. The legate's friends used every art to fasten heresy on Hunne; and having found Wickliffe's bible in his possession, caused him to be imprisoned in the Lollard's tower at St. Paul's, and articles of heresy to be preferred against him. He asked pardon for this offence, and submitted himself to correction. He ought to have received it and been dismissed; but having persevered in his suit in the king's court, he was found hanged in his prison. It was industriously reported that he had committed this horrid act upon himself, but it was proved on the inquest, that three persons of the legantine party were guilty of it. A process against Hunne for heresy was, however, instituted; and being found guilty, his body was burned in Smithfield. It was conceived by the legate's friends, that the sentence of heresy would deter all further notice of the murder of Hunne. But the reverse was the event. The city of London became enraged at such cruelty of the legantine party, and made it a common cause. That a man, for suing ano-

ther on account of a breach of the laws in setting up a foreign jurisdiction, should be imprisoned so long, and at last murdered, and the foul stain of such a crime be cast upon himself, to defame his memory and ruin his family ; and afterwards to burn the dead body which had been so used ; was thought such a complication of cruelties, as few barbarians had been ever guilty of. All of which was fixed upon the legate's friends.

These men, imagining that Dr. Standish's arguments on the former occasions had contributed to light up these flames, which now seemed to menace the ecclesiastical power, articles were framed against him. Standish had too much good sense not to perceive, that, without the king's protection, great oppression was inevitable, for having discharged his duty. He claimed his majesty's protection ; and the parliament addressed the king to maintain his temporal jurisdiction, and guard Standish against the malice of his enemies. The matter was brought to a hearing at Blackfriars, and those who framed the articles, and cited Standish, were found guilty of a *præmunire*. The court then broke up ; but at another meeting the king expressed his opinion in favour of Standish, and his determination to support the rights and temporal jurisdiction of his crown. It was requested on the part of the legate, that the matter might be

respite until an answer could be had from the court of Rome. The king made no reply ; but upon his command the spiritual proceedings against Dr. Standish were dismissed. And with respect to Hunne's affair, Horsey, who had murdered him and absconded in the legate's house, where however it was pretended he was prisoner, was ordered to surrender himself at the bar of the King's Bench ; and on pleading guilty, the attorney-general was directed to acknowledge it, and withdraw the indictment. The king did not wish at that moment to break with the pontifical party, and conceived that by this expedient of bringing the prisoner to his bar he would maintain his prerogative.

Men were not satisfied with this proceeding. They expected justice adequate to the crime ; but it exposed the pretensions and proceedings of papal power in so striking and disgusting a view, and gave all men such detestation of its abuses, as to fill the public mind with a desire for its abolition, and disposed them to be well pleased with the alterations that followed.

Leo X., as supreme pontiff, published the sale of a general indulgence ; and as his expences had not only exhausted his usual revenue, but even anticipated this extraordinary income, the several branches of it were given away to particular persons, with power to levy the imposition.

The produce of Saxony was given to his sister: she, to enhance her profit, farmed it to Arceboldi a Genoese, then a bishop, formerly a merchant, who still retained the lucrative arts of his profession. Judging that the Austin friars of Saxony, who had formerly the sale of indulgences, had learned means to secret the money, and expecting no extraordinary success from ordinary methods, he gave the occupation to the Dominicans. They preached and panegyrised the indulgence to a degree of extravagance and ridicule; and to add to the scandal, it is said, they spent in infamous houses the money, which devout persons had saved from their usual expences to purchase a remission of their sins.

Martin Luther, an Austin friar of Saxony, resenting the affront put upon his order, began to preach against the sale of indulgences; and being of a fiery temper, and provoked by opposition, he proceeded to decrie indulgences themselves, then to question the authority of the pope, and finally, the doctrines of the catholic church. Henry VIII. who had a particular prejudice against Luther, for the contempt he expressed of Thomas Aquinas, who was the king's favourite author, immediately opposed his tenets; and the pope conferred upon the king the ominous title of *defender of the faith*. The controversy now becoming illustrious by Henry's entering

the list, drew more attention from mankind; and the doctrines thus acquired, daily, new converts. The art of printing also, but lately invented, facilitated the bold and surprising progress of the Reformation. The complaints of papal usurpations, in England and other European kingdoms, had been of long continuance, and as this topic became popular, it paved the way for the tenets of Luther.

The Commons, in 1529, finding the occasion favourable, proceeded to pass bills for various ecclesiastical regulations. Great differences ensued between the courts of England and Rome; and upon Wolsey's fall, the same statute which had been employed for his ruin, was turned against the pope. Every clergyman who had submitted to Wolsey's legantine authority, that was the whole church, had violated the statute of provisors, and the attorney-general brought an indictment against them accordingly. They threw themselves on the mercy of their sovereign, paid the sum of 118,840*l.* for their pardon, and acknowledged, "the king was the protector and SUPREME HEAD of the church and clergy of England."

Men had penetration enough now to discover abuses, which were plainly calculated for the temporal advantages of the hierarchy, and which they found destructive of their own: and were

sufficiently prepared for a breach with the sovereign pontiff. Persecution also, promoted by all the energy and exertion of papal resentment, had lighted up the flames, and dragged victims to destruction. Such indeed was the effect of polemic irritation, that even men distinguished by elegant genius and enlarged sentiments, were thrown into superstitious and inquisitorial violence. Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, though adorned with the gentlest manners and purest integrity, ordered a gentleman of the Temple, James Bainham, accused of favouring the new opinions, to be whipt in his presence, and afterwards sent him to the Tower, where he himself saw him put to the torture. He abjured his opinions under these severities; but he afterwards felt compunction for his apostacy, courted the crown of martyrdom, and was burned as an heretic. The progress of the new doctrine was not impeded by such cruelty. The tide had now turned, and this opposition could not arrest, but only diffused it; and inspired men with horror against the unrelenting persecutors. Sir Thomas More, who had manifested his superstitious attachment to the ancient faith and inquisitorial prosecutions, now became a victim in his turn for his resistance of Henry's power. But the mind of More fortified him against the terrors of death; for not only his constancy, but even

his cheerfulness, nay his usual facetiousness never forsook him. When mounting the scaffold, he said to one, " friend hold me up, and when I go down again, let me shift for myself." The executioner asked him forgiveness; he granted his request, but told him, " you will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." Then laying his head on the block, he bid the executioner stay till he put aside his beard, " for," said he, " it never committed treason."

John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, was a prelate eminent for his learning and morals, still more than for his ecclesiastical dignities, and for the high favour which he had long possessed with the king. But having refused the oath of succession, he was thrown into prison. The pope, desirous to recompense these sufferings of a faithful adherent, created him a cardinal. This promotion of a man for his opposition to royal authority, roused the indignation of the king. Fisher was indicted for denying the king's supremacy; tried, ~~condemned~~, and beheaded.

The execution of a cardinal, because he would not acknowledge Henry's supremacy, excited all the rage of Rome. Pope Paul cited the king and all his adherents to appear at Rome, within ninety days, to answer for their crimes. As they failed to appear, he excommunicated them, subjected the kingdom to an interdict, declared the

king's issue illegitimate, dissolved all leagues with him, gave his kingdom to any invader, commanded his nobility to take arms against him, *freed his subjects from all oaths of allegiance*, cut off their commerce with all states, and declared it lawful for any one to seize them, make slaves of their persons, and convert their effects to his own use. This may be called the *ne plus ultra* of spiritual usurpation and civil tyranny; when considered with its appendix, which will appear hereafter. For the pope delayed the publication of the bull, till he should find agreement with England desperate and hopeless.

The parliament had made it treason to endeavour to deprive the king of his titles, and had added to them that of supreme head of the church. The monks, who had immediate dependance on the Roman Pontiff, and who apprehended their own ruin to be the inevitable consequence of the abolition of his authority, carried their animosity to ungovernable insolence. One of them named Peyto, preaching before the king, told him the dogs would lick his blood, as they had done Ahab's. The insult was disregarded by the king, and the preacher suffered to depart in peace. Dr. Corren preached before the king on the next Sunday, and was confuting Peyto, but another friar, named Elston, interrupted

him, and told him he was one of the lying prophets, who sought to establish by adultery the succession of the crown, and that he himself would justify all that Peyto had said. Henry shewed no resentment, except to order him and Peyto to be summoned before the council and to be rebuked. Under the shield of Rome, these men still continued to pour forth their arrogance against their sovereign, in presence of his council. And when Lord Essex told them, they deserved for their offence to be thrown into the Thames; Elston replied, that the road to heaven lay as near by water as by land. Several monks were now detected in a conspiracy, of which the issue might have been dangerous to the king, but the discovery proved fatal to themselves. Elizabeth Barton, of Aldington, being subject to hysterical convulsions, uttered strange sayings during the inseparable disorder of body and mind. Some silly people supposed these ravings to be supernatural, and knavish imposters declared them to be inspired revelations; thus, however, Elizabeth was dubbed the Holy Maid of Kent. The pope's ambassadors gave every encouragement to the popular credulity, and the Holy Maid was taught to declare against the new doctrines, against innovations in government, and that if the king prosecuted his plans, he should not be king a month longer, but die the death of a vil-

lain. Many monks, either from folly or roguery, or from faction, which is often a complication of both, entered into this imposture, and one of them published the prophecies of the Holy Maid. But very soon the forgery of the prophetess's miracles was detected, and the scandalous prostitution of her manners laid open to the public. These passions, which so naturally insinuate themselves amidst the warm intimacies maintained by devotees of different sexes, had taken place between Elizabeth and her confederates. The detection of this imposture, attended with so many odious circumstances, hurt much the credit of the monks, and instigated the king to take vengeance on them. He suppressed three monasteries of the Observantine friars.

Finding that this act of power excited little clamour, he was encouraged to lay his rapacious hand on the rest. The great increase of monasteries was certainly one of the radical inconveniences of the catholic religion, considered in its civil and political effects. Every other disadvantage of that communion, so considered, seems to have been inseparably connected with these religious institutions. Papal usurpations, inquisitorial tyranny, multiplication of holidays, all these fetters on liberty and industry were ultimately derived from the authority and insinuations of the monks. The animosity of those men

against Henry was consequently extreme, because they regarded the abolition of papal authority in England, as the removal of the sole protection which they enjoyed, against the rapacity of the crown and courtiers. They saw reformation rise abroad on the ruins of the monastic state, and, moved by these considerations, the friars employed all their influence to inflame the people against the king's government. Henry finding their safety irreconcilable with his own, determined to seize on the present opportunity, and utterly destroy his declared enemies.

The king, however, resolved to proceed gradually in the abolition of the monastic orders, and only suppressed at present the lesser monasteries, which possessed revenues below 200*l.* per annum. By act of parliament, 376 monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to 32,000*l.* per annum, granted to the king. A previous visitation of the monasteries had taken place, under a delegated authority of the king's supremacy to Cromwell, in absolute uncontrollable power over the church. A new accession of sway was also gained. *Whoever maintained the authority of the bishop of Rome, by word or writ, or endeavoured in any manner to restore it in England, was subject to the penalty of a præmunire, that is, his goods were forfeited, and he was put out of the protection of the law. And who-*

ever received civil or ecclesiastical office or grant from the crown, and yet refused to renounce the pope by oath, was declared guilty of treason.

Henry was now decided to put an end to the great empire of pontifical power, in which also he indulged a rapacity arising from profuseness. The entire destruction of the monasteries followed, and in less than two years the king had got possession of all the monastic revenues.

In order to reconcile the people to these innovations, stories were published of the detestable lives of the friars, in many of the convents, and great care was taken to defame those whom the court had determined to ruin. The reliques, also, which had so long been the objects of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule. Mention has been made, with triumph, by the protestant historians of these times, of all the sacred deposits of convents; such as the parings of St. Edmond's toes; some of the coals that roasted St. Lawrence; the girdle of the Virgin, shewn in eleven different places; two or three heads of St. Ursula; the felt hat of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the head-ach; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, much revered by big-bellied women. But at Hales, in Gloucestershire, there was during ages a most miraculous relique, attended by a most miraculous circumstance. It was the sacred blood of Christ, brought

from Jerusalem, but which was not visible to any one in mortal sin ; and would only deign to discover itself to him, who by good works merited absolution. This was the blood of a duck, which was renewed weekly by two monks, who were in the secret. They put it into a phial, one side of which consisted of thin and transparent crystal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they shewed him the dark side of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his offences ; and then finding his money, or patience, or faith, nearly exhausted, they made him happy by turning the phial. The most miraculous crucifix also had been kept at Boxley, and bore the appellation of the *Rood of Grace*. The lips and eyes and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries ; but Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, broke the crucifix at St. Paul's Cross, and shewed the people the spring and wheels by which it had been secretly moved. Hume remarks, "as such fooleries are to be found in all ages and nations of the world, and even took place during the most refined periods of antiquity, they form no peculiar nor violent reproach on the catholic religion." They were and will be in all ages and nations the instruments of public influence. In ancient Rome, by being subordinate to the policy, they insured the supremacy of the state ; and in modern Rome the same

effects proceeded from the same causes. For this reason, they were removed from this realm with no less advantage to the purity of the Romish church, than to the preservation of the state: six hundred and forty-five monasteries were suppressed, ninety colleges demolished; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels; one hundred and ten hospitals; the whole revenues of which amounted to 161,100*l.* It is worthy of observation, that all the lands and possessions and revenues of England had been shortly before rated at three millions per annum; so that the revenues of the monasteries did not really much exceed the twentieth part of the national income; a sum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended.

Though the nation desired to break off the shackles of Rome, these violences excited great murmurs. It struck at the root and fundamental principles of property; and men much questioned whether trustees or tenants for life, could by any deed, however voluntary, transfer to the king the entire property of their estates; and *a fortiori*, how they could be deprived of them by violence. These important investigations, accompanied by loud murmurs, required immediate policy and redress. First, therefore, in order to reconcile the people to such mighty and alarming innovations, which justice certainly

could not sanction, nor conscience approve, they were told, that henceforth they would be released from the burden of all taxes, as the king would be able, during both peace and war, to bear the whole charges of government by the abbey lands ; and next, in order to gain over the nobility and gentry to this measure, he either made gifts of the revenues of the convents to favourites and courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms.

Thus he pacified the high and the low. His profuseness was indeed singular in some cases ; he gave the whole revenue of a convent to a woman, as a reward for making a pudding which gratified his palate. The emperor Charles remarked, when Henry dissolved the monasteries, and sold their revenues or bestowed them on his nobility and courtiers, that he had killed the hen which brought him the golden eggs. For he had formerly drawn immense sums from these establishments ; but he had now only one great object in view, to break the neck of pontifical power ; and thus he set his foot upon it. Beside the land possessed by the monasteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England, and of the tythes annexed to them. All these were likewise transferred to the crown ; and by these means came into the hands of laymen.

The violence of such subversions, in utter contempt of those big-sounding epithets and holy execrations which had so long kept the world in awe, inflamed the indignation of Rome. The pope now published the bull which had been passed against Henry; and in a public manner HE DELIVERED OVER HIS SOUL TO THE DEVIL, and his dominions to the first invader.

The Duke of Norfolk was at the head of the catholics; and as he had before made use of the influence of Anne Boleyn against Wolsey, he now directed the insinuations of Catherine Howard his niece, on whom the king had fixed his affection, against Cromwell, who was the supposed author of the violences on the monasteries. Without trial, examination, or evidence, the house of peers condemned him to death; whom, some few days before, they had declared worthy to be vicar-general of the universe. The king, too, who found that great clamours had arisen against the administration, was not displeased to throw on Cromwell the load of public hatred; and, by making so easy a sacrifice, he hoped to regain the affections of the people. Cromwell was accused of heresy and treason, but unjustly. If he merited his fate, it was by his having been the king's instrument, in conducting like iniquitous bills in a former sessions against the Countess of Salisbury. Affairs thus took a new turn,

which inspired the catholics with hopes of a final prevalence over their antagonists. The king's councils were now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner : and a furious persecution commenced against the protestants. The king, however, did not spare the catholics who denied his supremacy ; so that these who were against the pope were burned by papal influence ; and those who were for him, were hanged by the king. Catholic policy kindled at this moment the fires of persecution ; but it only served to increase the ardour of mens' minds glowing for a revolution in religion. The enthusiastic zeal of the reformers, inflamed by punishment, proved contagious to the compassionate minds of the spectators. The king, however, was now sensible of all these mischiefs ; and resolved on uniformity of opinion. The Litany was translated into the vulgar tongue ; and one of its prayers was, *from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and from all his detestable enormities, &c.*

To change the religion of a country is one of the most perilous enterprizes which a sovereign can attempt, and often proves most destructive to royal authority. But the rough hand of Henry was well adapted by Nature for rending asunder the bonds which ancient superstition had fastened on the nation ; and a concurrence of civil and ecclesiastical circumstances armed him with the

utmost power of imperious despotism, of which any history furnishes an example. It enabled him to set the political machine in movement; to stop it suddenly; to regulate its career; to say, thus far shalt thou go, but no farther.

The abolition of the pontiff's power contributed much to the regular execution of justice. While the Romish influence subsisted, there was no possibility of punishing any crimes of the clergy, on their claiming contact with the church. It would not allow the magistrate to try the offence of its members; and the church could not inflict any penalties upon them. But Henry restrained their pernicious immunities. The privilege of clergy was abolished for the crimes of petty treason, murder, and felony, to all under the degree of a subdeacon. But before, not only the clergy were protected in their crimes, but the laity were exempted from punishment by the shelter afforded in churches and sanctuaries. The parliament restrained these abuses. It was first declared, that no sanctuaries were allowed in cases of high treason, next in those of murder, felony, rapes, burglary, and petty treason; and it limited them in other particulars.

Whether the superstitious protection of criminals, or the abuse of the catholic tenets by indulgence pardons and other means, produced immorality or not, there is a circumstance well

worthy of observation. Hollingshed asserts, that 72,000 criminals were executed during the reign of Henry, which would amount to near 2000 yearly. He adds, that in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, there were not executed above 400 yearly : and about half a century since it appeared, that in all England there were not executed above 50. If these facts be correct, such an improvement in morals, since the change of religion and abolition of papal power, is one of the numerous advantages, and a most happy and important one, which we have derived under the establishment of the protestant faith and king's supremacy.

The imperious character and authority of Henry had retained the partizans of both religions in subjection ; but upon his demise, the hopes of the protestants, and the fears of the catholics, produced every where disputes and animosities, the usual preludes of more fatal divisions. The papal power was exerted to its utmost to animate and strengthen its party. When Edward VI. (1546) mounted the throne, the Protector Somerset was guided by the counsel of Cranmer, who was averse from violence, and sought to bring over the people by insensible innovations, to that system of doctrines and discipline which he deemed most pure and perfect.

The power of Rome, however, still prevailed, and the pulpits resounded with defences of the

ancient practices and superstitions. Orders were therefore given to restrain the topics of sermons; and twelve homilies were published, which were enjoined to be read to the people by the divines. This was opposed by Bishops Bonner, Gardiner, and Tonstall; but the influence of Somerset, and the example of England, excited a new desire of Reformation even abroad; and the sovereign pontiff was much alarmed by a general council. The Emperor Charles, no less than the pope, had learned to make religion subservient to his ambition and policy. He desired to repress the power of the court of Rome, as well as to gain over the protestants. The Council of Trent was actually employed on the abuses and doctrines of the church, and the pope was in terror for his greatness. The zeal even of the bishops menaced the pontifical authority with ruin, by the exaltation of episcopal power to its primitive rights; and the legates found it necessary to escape from the results, by a prompt and speedy artifice. It was immediately rumoured that the *plague* had just broken out in Trent; the council was on a sudden transferred; and thus the pope avoided Reformation.

Though the new doctrine was now established in England, the catholic preachers could not forbear from inculcating some of the old Romish tenets. Among these were Bonner and Gardiner.

The former, however, retracted ; and the latter admitted that the king was supreme head of the church, but not of the council, during a minority. The severities which were adopted against men invested with authority, and who possessed means of contact and co-operation with pontifical power, were thought at that time a necessary policy. But with respect to others, the rigorous mode of proceeding which was pursued will not admit of justification. It was shameful and impolitic to furnish the enemies of the Reformation with the power of retorting the same objection against the protestant religion, which had been so stiecessfully urged against popery. The extreme rigor of laws restrains their execution, and defeats the ends of justice. A law was made, that any common man refraining from offers of employment during three days, should be branded in the face with a hot iron, and become the slave of the informer. This was levelled against the monks, who, since the dissolution of the monasteries, instead of working for their support, strolled from family to family, and excited disturbances. But the inhumanity of the law rendered it abortive. With respect to the prelates, who still manifested their adherence to Romish principles, by retarding the execution of the new laws, and countenancing refractory incumbents, it was resolved to deprive them, and begin with Gardiner, who was re-

moved from his bishopric, and committed to close custody.

Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, was one of the most eminent prelates of that age, still less for the dignity of his see, than for his learning, moderation, humanity, and beneficence. He opposed, by his vote, and all the weight of his authority, the innovations in religion, but as soon as they were enacted, he submitted to the laws, and upheld the system established. His known probity shielded his compliance from the charge of an interested or time-serving spirit; it was universally attributed to a profound sense of civil duty, and the just conclusions of his understanding, *that private opinion ought to be sacrificed to public peace and national tranquillity.*

CHAPTER V.

*King's Supremacy; and Pope's Usurpation;
Dreadful Persecutions; Cranmer; Bonner;
Gardiner; Pole; Paul IV.; Charles V.*

1558.

MARY was a bigot in the most gloomy sense, and her whole reign was a tissue of persecution for the restoration of the popish church and power. With this view she committed the great seal of England to Gardiner, before his pardon was expedited; so that he sat as judge in the Chancery, while he was under sentence of death. The popish bishops, Bonner, Gardiner, and Tonsal, were restored to their dioceses; and all the protestant bishops deposed or imprisoned, among whom were Cranmer and the venerable Latimer. The queen ordered the chancellor to purge the church of married ecclesiastics; and of sixteen thousand inferior clergy, two-thirds were deprived of their benefices, besides some bishops.

The title of *supreme head of the church*, although inseparably annexed by law to the crown of England, was now omitted in the summons of parliament. The two houses voted an address, acknowledging their guilt of a most horri-

rible defection from the true church, professing their sincere repentance for past transgressions, declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted to the prejudice of the sovereign pontiff and the holy see, and intreating their majesties to intercede with the holy father for his forgiveness of so criminal and so terrible a schism. This request was easily granted. Cardinal Pole, the legate of the pope, repaired to the House of Peers, and, in the name of his holiness, prescribed ~~an~~ abolition of all laws enacted against papal authority, as a penance for their transgressions; and on pronouncing absolution to both houses, which they received upon their knees, he removed all ecclesiastical censures, and received them into the bosom of the church. When Pope Julius was informed of those occurrences, he said it was an unexampled instance of his felicity: to receive thanks from the English, for permitting them to do what he ought to give them thanks for performing. Three ambassadors were dispatched to Rome to yield obedience to his holiness in the names of the king, queen, and three estates of parliament.

The statutes against heretics, passed in the reign of Richard II. and Henry IV., were revived; and Gardiner was resolved on the extirpation of heresy: but Cardinal Pole unsuccessfully opposed this persecution. Numbers of vic-

time were hurried to the flames, and suffered amidst circumstances horrible and melancholy. Doctor Taylor, vicar of Hadley, an old and venerable ecclesiastic, was brought to London, and being personally reviled by Gardiner with the epithets of traitor and villain, because he opposed the celebration of mass in his church, was sent back to be burned at Hadley. When he was conducted to the stake, he addressed himself to those present who were his parishioners, and was struck on the head by one of the guards. He was then fixed in a barrel of pitch, and a faggot being flung at the good old man, which wounded him severely, and covered his whole visage with blood, he said, "Oh friend! I have harm enough, what needed that?" When he repeated a psalm in English, one of the guards struck him on the mouth, bidding him speak Latin; and while he was employed in pious ejaculations, another cleft his head with an halbert in such a manner, that his brains came out, and he expired.

The brutality of Bonner, impelled by frantic zeal, drove him to tear the beard of a poor victim from his face, and to torture him with the flame of a taper, until his veins burst, and his sinews were consumed, because he could not convert him to the popish faith. Surely like instances should be made as public as the day, to

convince bigots and zealots how fruitless is such barbarity, how odious such inhumanity.

Gardiner's plan was to attack men eminent for virtue and for learning, whose example either of punishment or recantation would have an influence on the multitude, and whom he hoped terror would bind to submission. But in Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's, he found a perseverance and courage, which it may seem strange to find in human nature, and of which all sects and all ages do, notwithstanding, furnish examples. Rogers, besides the motives of self-preservation, felt other very powerful inducements to compliance. He had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children: yet such was his serenity after condemnation, that the jailers, it is said, waked him from a sound sleep, when the hour of his execution approached. He had desired to see his wife before he died; but Gardiner told him, that he was a priest; he could not possibly have a wife; thus joining insult to cruelty. Rogers was burnt in Smithfield.

A man named Tool, who was hanged for robbery, having expressed at the gallows some doubts about transubstantiation, was tried after his death, and his body burnt for a heretic.

Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, was tied to a stake, and the queen's pardon laid upon a stool before him, which it was in his power to merit

by a recantation; but he ordered it to be removed, and cheerfully prepared himself for that dreadful punishment to which he was sentenced. He suffered it in its full severity. The wind, which was vehement, blew the flame of the reeds from his body; the faggots were green, and did not kindle easily: all his lower parts were consumed before his vitals were attacked; one of his hands dropt off; with the other he continued to beat his breast. He was heard to pray and to exhort the people, till his tongue, swollen with the violence of his agony, could no longer afford him utterance: ~~he~~ was in torture three quarters of an hour, and bore it with inflexible constancy.

Ridley, Bishop of London, and old Latimer, formerly Bishop of Worcester, both celebrated for learning and virtue, perished together in the flames at Oxford, and supported each other by mutual exhortations. When tied to the stake before Baliol College, Ridley called to his companion, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the flame, or enable us to abide it:" and Latimer consoled him in his turn, saying, "We shall this day light such a candle in England, as I trust, by God's grace, shall never be put out." Gardiner was so eager after the blood of these prelates, that he would not dine on the day of their suffering, until he received the news of their death, which did not

arrive till four o'clock in the afternoon. He then ate his dinner with uncommon satisfaction : but the same evening he was seized by a disease, which brought him to the grave in less than a week. He is said to have felt some remorse in his last moments, and to have exclaimed, " I have sinned with Peter, but I have not wept with Peter."

Two German theologians, Bucerus and Fagius who had been dead several years, were summoned to give an account of their faith : and as they did not appear, they were condemned to be burnt for heresy. Their remains were dug up, and consumed to ashes at Oxford.

In Guernsey, a scene of almost incredible barbarity was acted : a mother and her two daughters were committed to the flames ; one of them being married, and in the last month of her pregnancy, was, by the violence of the pain, taken in labour, and produced an infant, which a humane spectator rescued from the fire ; but after some consultation, the magistrate, who superintended the execution, ordered the innocent to be thrown back into the flames, where it perished with its mother.

Cranmer was cited by the Pope to stand his trial at Rome, but being kept in close custody at Oxford, he was, upon his not appearing at Rome, condemned as contumacious. Bonner, Bishop

of London, and Thirleby of Ely, were sent to degrade him; he was first clothed in derision, with pontifical robes of coarse canvas; then Bonner insulted him by most indecent railery, and ordered him to be stripped of his ludicrous attire, according to the Romish ceremony of degradation. Thirleby wept bitterly during the whole scene; while the former executed the melancholy ceremony with all the joy and exultation that suited his savage nature. The queen, not satisfied with the eternal damnation of Cramer, which she believed inevitable, and with the execution of that dreadful sentence to which he was condemned, was prompted, by her bigotted revenge, to seek also the ruin of his honour, and the infamy of his name. Persons were employed to attack him, not by disputations against which he was armed, but by insinuation and address. Dignities were placed before him, to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by recantation; hopes were held up to him of long enjoying those powerful friends, whom his beneficent disposition had attached to him during the course of his prosperity. Overcome by a fond love of life and the pleasures of such future happiness, terrified by the prospect of those tortures which now awaited him, he suffered, in an unguarded moment, the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution; and he agreed to sign

the doctrines of the papal supremacy and real presence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, sent orders that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the people, and be led immediately thence to execution. Cranmer having either received a secret intimation of their design, or repented of his weakness, surprised the congregation by a contrary declaration: he said, "there was one miscarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he sincerely repented; the insincere declaration of faith, which the fear of death alone had extorted from him; that he took this opportunity of atoning for his error, by a sincere and open recantation, and was willing to seal with his blood that doctrine, which he formerly believed to be communicated from heaven; and that as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it should be punished by a severe but just doom, and should first pay the forfeit of its offence." He was thence led to the stake amidst the insults of the Catholics; and having now summoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with singular fortitude. He stretched out his hand, and without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the least sign of weakness, he held it in the flames until it was entirely consumed; his thoughts seemed wholly occupied with reflexions on his former

fault, for he called aloud several times, "*That unworthy hand.*" Cranmer was a man of candour, learning, and capacity, possessed of merit, and adorned with those benevolent virtues which were fitted to render him useful and amiable in society. His morals procured him universal respect, and his martyrdom crowned him the hero of the Protestant party. Bonner, who had so inhumanly reviled and persecuted him, was a man of profligate manners and of a brutal character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy sufferers. He sometimes whipped the prisoners with his own hands, till he was tired by the violence of the shameful and cruel exercise. Gardiner was a man of selfish character, a profound dissembler, and of a proud, vindictive, cruel disposition. When he resolved on persecution, he vainly expected that a few examples would strike terror into the reformers; but finding the work multiply, his policy devolved the invidious office on others, and chiefly on Bonner. Not less than 284 persons perished as victims for their faith in the reign of Mary. When we contemplate such barbarities, the mind is almost inclined to doubt that the perpetrators are the children of human nature, far less the ministers and servants of Christ, whose doctrine is mercy, love, and beneficence: but these men look and act like the ministers of infernal malice

let loose upon the world. Gardiner's cautious conduct and success had so raised his character for wisdom and policy, that his opinion was an oracle in the queen's councils, and his authority supported persecution. Cardinal Pole was a man of virtue and candour, respected for his learning, piety, and humanity, but considered as a good man, rather than a great minister; and his disapprobation could not arrest persecution. Gardiner made his religion subservient to his policy. Pole would not suffer considerations of human policy to come in competition with his religion. Gardiner's temper and interest led him to support, by persecution, a religion which he regarded with great indifference. Pole's moderation and contempt of selfish interest, induced him to advise a toleration of heretical tenets which he blamed.

Certain it is, that persecution is the scandal of all religion; and so far from being the work of men's conviction in opposite tenets, it is a proof that their regard has never reached the remote and sublime objects of religion. Must not the spectators of persecution be moved with pity toward its martyrs, and naturally seduced to embrace principles which can inspire men with constancy almost supernatural? Will not men allow that persecution is not conviction either for the weak, the ignorant, or the obstinate? It seems

It seems better calculated to make hypocrites than converts. To beat men in order to teach them what they do not believe, is preposterous—and if it be to force assent to what they do not believe, then punishment is a lecture of hypocrisy and falsehood. If the fundamental principles of any sect be to execrate, and abhor, and damn, and extirpate another, what choice is there left for the constituted authorities or magistrate, but to take a party, and secure the public tranquillity; for there is no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty covered with the mantle of religion. ~~It is computed by a great author*~~, that not less than 50,000 persons were hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burnt on account of religion, in the Low Countries alone, from the time that the edict of Charles V. was promulgated against the Reformers; and in France the number was immense; yet in both countries the progress of opinion, instead of being checked, was rather forwarded by these persecutions.

The burning of heretics was an infallible plea to the pope, but no great solicitation was requisite, to admit a strayed flock within his pale from which he had reaped such profit. Paul IV., however, who was one of the most haughty pontiffs ever elevated to the papal chair, was not

* Father Paul, lib. 5.

pleased that Mary retained, among her titles, that of Queen of Ireland. He affirmed that it belonged to *him alone*, as he saw proper, either to erect new kingdoms or abolish the old: however, he condescended to erect Ireland into a kingdom, and then admitted the queen's title to be assumed from his own concession. Paul farther demanded, that England, in order to shew its filial piety, would restore all the privileges and emoluments of the Romish church and Peter's pence. With respect to the nation, these remonstrances were *negatory*; but as to the queen they were *imperative*. She determined, therefore, to restore all the church lands in possession of the crown: and though the exchequer was exhausted, she directed convents and monasteries to be built as monuments of her zeal. The council objected to these measures; but the papal conclave had more weight, for the queen declared that she preferred *the salvation of her soul to ten such kingdoms as England*.

The conduct of Paul was uniform in his high pretensions: he thundered in the ears of all ambassadors his lofty supremacy; that he wanted not the aid of any prince; that he was above all potentates of the earth; that monarchs must not pretend to a familiarity or equality with him; that he had the power to alter and to regulate kingdoms; that he was the sovereign successor

of those who deposed kings and emperors ; and that rather than submit to any thing below his supreme dignity, he would set fire to the four corners of the world. Kings, he said, he would not admit as his companions ; they were all his subjects, and he would hold them under his feet : so saying, he stamped upon the ground with his old and infirm limbs, for he was now past fourscore years. Who could forbear in those days to cast a comparative regard from this imperious pope on his lofty throne of supremacy, to Charles V. in his humble and tranquil retreat in Estremadura ? This prince, though educated amidst wars and intrigues of state, had descended from the power and exaltation of a throne, to set apart his time and thoughts for inquiring after sacred truth in religion, which he had hitherto considered only in a political light. The result was a propensity to the new doctrines, and an unexpected alteration in his sentiments. This great emperor thus prevented the decline of age ; he quitted wars, and thrones, and human policy, to embrace religion : but this priest made religion subservient to his policy. He had formed it into stepping-stones to mount a throne in the feeble extremity of old age, in order to assert universal usurpation, to exult in dominion, with restless ambition and revenge to blot the divine charter of religion descended to us from

Heaven, and throw all nations into combustion*.

The character of Mary is conspicuous in the preceding details; the most prominent feature of which was bigotry, shaded by the deepest cruelty and revenge. Her temper was bad, her understanding narrow: sometimes she was sincere, sometimes she was faithless. But bigotry on one side, and casuistry on another, could easily justify to her mind the violation of any engagement. In the complication of vices which entered into her composition, there is scarcely the tincture of any virtue, except a changeable shade of sincerity.

* Charles V. in his hours of relaxation amused himself with works of mechanism, and drew a reflection from the construction of clocks upon the utter impracticability of the object, which he had so much pursued during his grandeur. "How impossible," said Charles, "that he who never could frame two machines which would go exactly alike, could ever be able to make all mankind concur in the same belief and opinion?"

CHAPTER VI.

Supremacy restored; Assumption of the Arms and Title of Elizabeth, by Mary Queen of Scots; Origin of the League; Conduct of the King; Low Countries involved; Catholics frequent Protestant Churches; King sends a consecrated Banner to Ireland, and excites Rebellion; Seminaries established Abroad by the Pope, for English Catholics; Proceedings of the English Convent at Rheim; The Vow of Savage; Project of Ballard; Plots against Elizabeth; Spanish Armada, &c.

1558 to 1625.

WHEN Elizabeth mounted the throne, the authority of the Roman pontiff was incompatible with her title to the crown. But Sir William Cecil taught her, that the curses and execrations of the Romish church were, in the present times, more an object of ridicule than terror, and had now as little influence in this world as in the next. Steps were immediately taken for the re-establishment of the protestant religion. The parliament enacted, that all the statutes of Edward, relative to religion, should be renewed and confirmed; that the nomination to bishoprics should be vested in the queen; that all persons in office should take the oath of supremacy; and that

no person, by word or writing, should support any foreign authority in the kingdom under severe penalties; that there should be an uniformity of worship; that on the vacancy of any bishopric the queen might seize on all its temporal possessions, making a just recompense to the see by some of the impropriations belonging to the crown. But this pretended equivalent was much inferior in value, and thus the queen, amidst all her concerns for religion, committed, like preceding reformers, vast depredations on the ecclesiastical revenues.

Such measures failed not to inflame the animosity of Rome. The pope became the declared enemy of Elizabeth. Mary of Scotland claimed her crown by a title which many of the English privately acknowledged. The French king, and Philip of Spain who had been repulsed in his wishes of marriage with the queen, roused by papal influence against her alterations in religion, became likewise her determined foes; and the Irish were arrogant, violent, and blindly devoted to the pope. In such a precarious emergency she laid down two maxims, from which she never swerved afterwards. The first was to conciliate her own people: the second was, to find work for her enemies in their own dominions. The pope, anxious to regain his power over England, sent a brief to Elizabeth, exhorting her to return within the pale of the Romish church; but the nuncio's

offers were rejected. The King of Spain, restoring the collar of the order of the garter, declined afterwards all alliance with England. The holy see, contemplating the example of England in its effects, became alarmed at the progress of Reformation in other countries, and determined on vigorous counteraction. A dreadful persecution ensued in France under the Cardinal Lorraine against the protestants. Elizabeth soon felt the necessity of regulations for the safety of her own people, and issued a proclamation, commanding anabaptists and heretics to quit the realm within twenty days, under pain of imprisonment. The pope, still eager to try every effort of policy, conceived it might be judicious, under the existing circumstances, to resort to a measure of address; and therefore made advances to Elizabeth to send some English bishops to the council of Trent; but Elizabeth forbid his nuncio to enter her dominions; and denied the authority of the Bishop of Rome to *call a council*, who had *no more power than any other bishop*. Philip solicited the pope to excommunicate her: while he insulted her ambassador, and ordered her merchants to be persecuted by the Spanish inquisition. The catholics also were urged on, and began to cabal in private for the re-establishment of the Romish faith. And Mary of Scotland likewise joined in correspondence with the malcontents; whose pretensions to Elizabeth's crown and dignity

were displayed by the assumption of her arms and title. The Lords Northumberland and Westmoreland had also prepared measures for rebellion, together with Mary and her ministers ; and had entered into a correspondence with the duke of Alva, the Spanish governor of the Low Countries, who promised arms, ammunition, and troops, and one of his most famous generals to command them. This, however, was frustrated.

The parliament met, and the first law passed was levelled against the queen of Scots ; it enacted, that any person who should attempt any thing against the queen, or question her right to the crown, or call her heretic or schismatic, should suffer one year's imprisonment for the first offence, and for the second, be guilty of præmunire. Another law denounced it to be high treason, to obtain, publish, or execute, any papal bull or writing, or to reconcile any person to the church of Rome ; it likewise decreed the penalties of a præmunire against the aiders and abettors of such offenders, and all those who should introduce into the kingdom, or receive crosses, beads, or any thing hallowed by the Bishop of Rome ; and all these, who should conceal such bulls, were guilty of misprision of treason. And a third statute enacted, that all natives departing from the realm, and not returning within six months, were subject to forfeiture of real and personal estates.

A new conspiracy was now formed by Ridolphi, a Florentine merchant, who, while he publicly pursued the occupation of commerce, privately managed all the intrigues of the court of Rome with the catholics in England. He had, at the desire of queen Mary, conferred with the Bishop of Ross, about the offers made to her by the pope and the king of Spain. The object of this was a subversion of the government and religion by foreign invasion and domestic insurrection. Their chief reliance in England was on the catholics, but they counted also on numbers of indigent gentry, chiefly younger brothers, who, by the late decay of the church, being without a prospect of livelihood suitable to their birth, were ready to throw themselves into any desperate enterprise. In order, however, to rouse and animate the malcontents, some great nobleman was required to be placed at their head. And on account of his power and his popularity, none seemed so proper as the Duke of Norfolk. Norfolk, who was a good protestant and a loyal subject, could not relish a scheme patronised by the pope and the catholic interest, and though he involved himself in the enterprise, he did not forget his sovereign, his country, or his religion. He aimed at liberty for the queen of Scots, and the consent of Elizabeth to their marriage; but could not reproach himself as a rebel or a traitor. However, having implicated

himself by receiving papers, and which his secretary omitted to burn, they appeared as full evidence of his guilt, and sentence was passed upon him accordingly. Twice Elizabeth signed the warrant for his execution, twice she revoked the sentence—and, after months of hesitation, from concurrent motives of regard and compassion toward a man not less exalted by his rank than his merit, the Commons addressed her in strong terms for his execution; and Norfolk fell.

The Spanish ambassador was ordered to leave the realm, on account of his connexion with Ridolphi, and his share in other conspiracies. Philip resented this disgrace by the imprisonment of all English subjects in Spain, the confiscation of their property, and the prohibition of commerce. Elizabeth, regardless of his resentment, concluded a league with Charles IX. of France. But the pleasure which this alliance produced was soon succeeded by horror, at an event that marked this monarch and his mother to be two monsters of barbarous and most inhuman dissimulation. They invited the chiefs of the protestants to Paris, under a pretence of celebrating the nuptials of the Princess Margaret with the King of Navarre. But on the eve of St. Bartholomew a signal was given, and the king leading the way, a massacre of the protestants commenced, when all conditions ages and sexes were involved in undistinguish-

able ruin. The streets of Paris flowed with blood, and the people, more maddened than glutted with cruelty, exercised on the bodies of the dead all the rage of most licentious brutality. About 500 men of rank perished in this massacre, and about 10,000 of inferior condition. The people in the provincial towns emulated the bloody and brutal example of the capital, and about 30,000 victims were sacrificed, in order to make men believe in the christian principles of those people, guilty of such outrages against God and man. This butchery for the establishment of papal supremacy and doctrines was highly approved at Rome, but overwhelmed the protestants of Europe with sorrow and consternation.

Elizabeth now saw the danger of her situation. This massacre was the first-fruit of that general conspiracy of the league of Bayonne, for the extermination of protestants. The protestants deserted France in numbers, others remained, and taking up arms, formed a considerable force. Two parties now existed in France, and all was confusion. Henry of Anjou soon mounted the throne, but he found the catholics under the Duke of Guise, and the protestants headed by the Prince of Condé and the King of Navarre. The former, an artful and bold leader, reduced his partisans into a regular body, and laid the

foundation of the famous *league*, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the total suppression of the hugonots. Unhappily, from the extreme violence of one side, it was conceived toleration could no longer be admitted. The king declared himself the head of the seditious confederacy of the league, but his measures manifested his reluctance; and his undefined policy gave no contentment to either party. His moderation was suspicious to both. He hoped by artifice and subtlety to allure the nation from confusion into the love of pleasure and repose; but he was caught in the snare which he prepared for others. And sinking into dissoluteness and indulgence, he lost the esteem of his people wholly, and their affections partly. Instead of advancing such men of character and ability as were neuters between these dangerous factions, he gave his confidence to young and agreeable favourites, who being unable to prop his falling authority, leaned upon it entirely, and augmented that weight of general odium which bore down his administration. The artifices of the king were too refined to succeed, and too frequent to be concealed. The general body of the nation devoted themselves, therefore, to one or other of the two parties.

These civil commotions were important; they ranged Elizabeth on the side of the protestants,

and Philip on the side of the Romanists. The conflagration embraced the Low Countries, where the cruelty, insolence, and oppression of the Spanish governor Alva, drove the people to arms. William, Prince of Orange, retired from this scene of tyrannic danger to his paternal estates in Germany. He was summoned, however, by Alva to appear before his tribunal; he returned with an army. Uniting the revolted towns in a league, and inflaming the inhabitants by every motive which religious zeal resentment or love of freedom could inspire, he exhorted them, in defence of their faith their liberties and their lives, to endure the utmost extremities of war; and thus laid the foundation of that once illustrious commonwealth, which was perfected under the protection of Elizabeth.

Religion was the main spring of all the great political movements of this age. The queen, however, established no inquisition in mens' bosoms; and the catholics, in the beginning of her reign, shewed little reluctance against attending the protestant worship. The pope, however, hastened the publication of his bull, excommunicating the queen, and freeing her subjects from all oaths and allegiance. The emissaries of the pontiff spared no exertion to widen the breach between the two religions, and to represent the

frequenting of protestant churches as criminal in catholics. These practices produced consequences which increased the severity of government.

The catholics of Ireland, being excluded from offices under government, were urged on by the agents of Rome, and broke out into rebellion. James Fitzmorris repaired to Rome, and undertook to reduce the kingdom of Ireland to the obedience of the holy see. He was furnished by the pope with a small sum of money, a consecrated banner, and letters of recommendation to the king of Spain, who supplied him with a party of soldiers, and three ships, in which they arrived at Kerry. The rebels were defeated and partly punished; but their spirits were again raised by a reinforcement of Spanish and Italian troops, with arms for five thousand men. Rebellion again broke out, and a conspiracy was formed to massacre the lord lieutenant and all the protestants of Ireland, who were at that period but few. The rebels, however, were subdued, and tranquillity restored.

Similar scenes were apprehended in England, as the pope had sent over priests to preach sedition, four of whom were executed for having maintained, that the queen had been lawfully deposed by his holiness. The pope and cardinal Lorraine, established seminaries at Rheims and

Rome for English catholics; but a proclamation was issued, ordering all persons who had children, wards, or relatives in foreign seminaries, to deliver in their names to the ordinary in ten days; to bring them home in four months; but should they refuse to return, to withhold from them all supplies of money, and not to harbour or maintain any priest or jesuit, on pain of being punished as favourers of sedition.

A plan was laid by one Throgmorton, with Mendoza the Spanish ambassador, for the invasion of England and the subversion of the government. Papers containing a list of the principal catholics, and of the sea-ports most fitted for a descent, were discovered. Throgmorton confessed he had concerted a method, whereby the catholics might levy men in the queen's name, to join the foreign forces. All this, however, he retracted on his trial. In the interval between his trial and execution he subscribed his former confession. And when at the gallows, he denied every circumstance of the matter.

Another plan was formed by the pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Guise, for the invasion of England, which was discovered by the papers of one Creighton, an English jesuit. Pursued by pirates on his passage, he tore some papers, which being collected and pasted together, the secret was discovered. William Parry,

also, a Welchman, and member of the House of Commons, manifested his attachment to the Romish cause, by singly opposing a bill against the jesuits. His zeal carried him on until he was impeached, when he confessed he had been determined by Morgan, the English refugee, to assassinate the queen, and by Raggazoni the pope's nuncio at Paris. He wrote a letter to the pope; which was conveyed through Cardinal Como, in which he communicated his intention to the holy father, and craved his absolution and paternal benediction. Having received an answer from the cardinal, informing him that his purpose was extremely applauded at Rome, he determined to execute it. He said, that under the pretence of disclosing a feigned conspiracy, he had obtained admittance to her majesty; but being struck with remorse, he laid aside his dagger and treasonable design; that cardinal Allen's book, having since taught him it was not only allowable, but honourable to kill excommunicated princes, he had resolved to accomplish his former purpose. Parry was executed. An act followed for the removal of all popish priests from the realm, in four days, under pain of high treason; and the return of all English subjects from foreign seminaries in six months, under pain of being denounced as traitors; and all remittance of money to foreign seminaries to be

punished on conviction, with perpetual banishment and confiscation of effects. This rigid statute was thought necessary amidst the numerous and dangerous machinations excited by the court of Rome. Bloody designs now appeared every where, as the result of that bigotted spirit by which the two religions, but especially the catholic, were at that time actuated. Somerville, a gentleman of Warwick, somewhat deranged, had heard so much of the merit attending the assassination of heretics and persecutors, that he came to London to murder the queen; but betraying his design by some extravagances, he was thrown into prison, and perished by a voluntary death. Baltazar Gerard undertook and executed the same design against the Prince of Orange. That great restorer and famous protector of religious liberty fell by the hand of this assassin at Delft. War also, another effect of religious fury, now raged between England and Spain. Drake was sent with twenty sail to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies, and returned crowned with laurels and loaded with treasure. But the enterprises of Leicester in the Low Countries were much less successful than those of Drake. In this campaign, near to Zutphen, Sir Philip Sidney fell, the most perfect model of an accomplished gentleman, that the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction could form. Virtuous

conduct, polite conversation, heroic valour, and elegant erudition, all concurred to render him the ornament and delight of the English court. When he was lying on the field, mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought to him to relieve his thirst. But observing a soldier near him in a like miserable condition, he said, "this man's necessity is still greater than mine," and resigned to him the bottle of water.

The religious fury abroad seemed to obliterate, at this moment, every maxim of common sense, and every principle of humanity. The English seminary at Rheims, intoxicated with admiration of the omnipotence and infallibility of the pope, revered his bull, by which he excommunicated and deposed the queen. And their extravagance was such, that they asserted it was a performance immediately dictated by the Holy Ghost. The assassination of heretical sovereigns, and of Elizabeth in particular, was now represented as the most meritorious of all enterprises, and to perish in such an attempt was to secure the glorious and never-fading crown of martyrdom. This doctrine hurried on John Savage to make a solemn vow, that he would murder Elizabeth; and he was sent over recommended to the confidence of the most zealous catholics. John Ballard, also a priest of that seminary, formed a project of dethroning Elizabeth and of restoring the ca-

tholic religion by force of arms. He communicated it to Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, who encouraged him to hope for succours from the pope, the Spaniards, and the Duke of Guise who had resolved to make some attempt on the queen. Ballard proceeded to England to effectuate at once his project of assassination, insurrection, and invasion. Hence arose the conspiracy of Babington, whose ambition gallantry and religious zeal taught him to despise every danger in the cause of Mary, and against the government of Elizabeth. With these men and Savage, several others joined in the conspiracy. Babington's zeal proceeded to indiscretion. He caused a picture to be made where he was drawn standing amidst the six assassins, with a motto subjoined, expressing that their common dangers were the bond of their confederacy. Secretary Walsingham by private means got a copy of this picture for Elizabeth, that she might know the assassins. And by the impression which it made upon her mind, she recognised Barnwell in her garden. Walsingham, with great address, made himself master of the whole plot; but the conspirators at length suspecting this, resolved on the immediate assassination of the queen; and Savage and Charnock were deputed to execute it without delay. But a proclamation being issued, in which they were described, some of them were

taken, disguised as peasants, at Harrow ; and fourteen were hanged at St. Giles's Fields, their usual place of meeting. This conspiracy hastened the trial of Mary ; and her correspondence with Babington, her conviction. The zeal of a quick mind like Mary's, the resentment of a lofty spirit vehement in its purpose, and the sense of injuries and interest, induced her to unite with conspirators, who, actuated by impulses of superstitious frenzy, had resolved on the murder of Elizabeth.

The perpetual object of the policy of Philip was to exterminate heresy, and support the popish religion : and considering the power and credit of Elizabeth as the chief bulwark of the protestant religion, he hoped, if he could subdue that princess, to reunite the whole christian world in the Romish communion. He had also long harboured a violent and personal desire of revenge against her for her acts of hostility. These hopes and motives determined him to invade England. Every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments and preparations ; Sicily, Naples, Spain, Portugal, Flanders, all were in action ; and the Spaniards, ostentatious of their force and exalted with vain hopes of success, denominated their navy the *Invincible Armada*. Pope Sextus Quintus conferred upon the armada a consecrated banner, and fulminated a new bull

of excommunication against the queen; he deposed her, absolved her subjects from their oaths of allegiance, published a crusade against England, and granted plenary indulgences to every one who would engage in the invasion of England. This inflamed the animosity of the nation against popery; but Elizabeth treated the partizans of that sect with moderation, and would not give way to an undistinguishing fury against them; she rejected all violent counsels on this occasion. The catholics, sensible of this generous usage, manifested a grateful zeal for the public defence. Some gentlemen of that sect, conscious that they could not justly expect any trust or authority, entered as volunteers in the fleet or army; some equipped ships at their own expence, and gave the command of them to protestants; others were active in animating their tenants, vassals, and neighbours, to defend their country.

The conclusion of the enterprize of this invincible armada, which had been preparing for three years, and had exhausted the revenues and force of Spain, which had long filled Europe with anxiety or expectation, was miserable and dishonorable. But Philip, though he was the slave of his ambition; though this mortifying event blasted all his hopes, fell on his knees, and expressed his joy that the calamity was not greater.

The Spanish priests had so often blessed this crusade, and so often prophesied its infallible success, they were at a loss to account for the defeat: at last however they found, the reverse originated in the Spaniards permitting the infidel Moors to live among them. A spirit of horrid bigotry distinguished this and part of the subsequent century beyond all other ages of the world. It was exemplified in the case of Henry III., who had joined the Hugonots and the King of Navarre. Jaques Clement, a dominican friar, embraced the desperate resolution of sacrificing his own life to save the popish church from this heretical king; and being admitted to the king's presence, he gave him a mortal wound, and was instantly put to death by the courtiers, who revenged the murder of their sovereign.

The puritans now became so violent in their treasonable doctrines, that some of them were executed. It will appear hereafter that these fanatics owed their origin to the contrivances of Rome; for when its loud and open fulminations lost their force, recourse was had to the policy of concealed and undermining operations. At this period Adam Loftus, who had been sent over by the Queen as Archbishop of Dublin, moved her majesty to found Trinity College, near Dublin, in order that the Irish subjects might no longer be tempted to send their sons to

foreign seminaries for education, where they had imbibed all the pernicious doctrines of Romish policy and rebellion. Elizabeth endowed it accordingly with all the privileges of an university: and it was hoped, that as foreign contact diminished, papal influence would cease.

Rome and Spain increased their efforts against Elizabeth. Cullen, an Irish fencing-master, was convicted of having been sent to assassinate her: York and Williams were found to have been suborned for a like purpose by Fuentes and Ibarro, who were at the head of Spanish affairs: and they also corrupted Lopez, a Portuguese Jew, who was one of her physicians, with a bribe of 50,000 crowns to destroy the Queen. This horrid plot was discovered by intercepted letters, and he confessed the matter with two of his accomplices. At the place of execution Lopez declared, that he loved the queen as well as he loved Jesus-Christ; an expression which coming from the mouth of a Jew, excited the mirth of the spectators.

Philip, two years after this, excited a fresh rebellion in Ireland, urging on Tyrone to demand the restitution of estates, and of religion. Tyrone ravaged the north; and treated at once with Philip and Elizabeth, but cunningly transmitted to the lord deputy the letters of that monarch. These he presented as proofs of his

loyalty, while it was but artifice to deceive the vigilance of the lord deputy, and enhance the opinion of his own importance. By various stratagems of this nature he obtained advantages over government.

The resentment of Philip being urged on by the influence of the pope he determined again on the conquest of England: but his formidable fleet was dispersed. All **Ulster and Connaught**, however, encouraged by his emissaries, had now risen in arms, big with the hope of his assistance, but they were vigorously attacked by Thomas Lord Burrough, who unfortunately died soon after. During the last voyage of Sir Francis Drake, a person named Squire had been taken by the Spaniards, and was persuaded by Walpole, an English jesuit, to attempt the lives of the queen and the Earl of Essex. He furnished him with a poisonous powder to be sprinkled for this purpose upon the queen's saddle and the earl's chair. Squire tried the experiment, and it was vain. Walpole, supposing that Squire had deceived him, sent over, in revenge, a man to accuse him. Squire was taken, tried, and hanged as a traitor. Elizabeth always conceived her life in danger from such attempts, on account of the personal revenge and malignant bigotry of Philip, which made him a ready tool for the policy of the Roman pontiff, in pursuit of his lost

power and decaying revenue. Philip, however, now died, after having embroiled Europe during many years, and having lost the Seven United Provinces by an arbitrary administration and most cruel bigotry.

CHAPTER VII.

Rebellion in Ireland; Causes of the abject State of Ireland; Continued Rebellions in Ireland; the Pope's design to make his Nephew Sovereign of Ireland; Treachery and Rebellion of Tyrone; Essex appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; Government committed to Lord Loftus; Rebellion; Origin of Protestant division.

Reign of Elizabeth continued, 1558 to 1625.

THE fire of rebellion which Philip and the pope had kindled in Ireland, ceased not to burn violently after his decease, being kept alive and supplied with all the materials of combustion by the holy see. The Earl of Tyrone had again rebelled; and through his operations, all Connaught had revolted. A rebellion was also raised in Munster, and the English settlers were expelled from their houses and plantations. The Earl of Ormond defeating them, forced them to yield hostages; and then marching against the rebels of Leinster he relieved Maryborough. Thus a general conflagration of rebellion was lighted up by that secret policy of the holy see, which was adopted as a substitute for those ecclesiastical fulminations, that had lost all force when the Reformation was established under Elizabeth.

The state of Ireland exhibits a rare example in

the annals of human policy. It is curious and interesting to the philosopher, and instructive to the politician, but disgraceful to human intellect and human nature. The English crown had dominion over Ireland, but without authority. All obedience was nominal ; and resistance alone real. The system was too weak to keep up civil government, and not strong enough to put down lawless independence. The institutions were calculated to destroy order, instead of preserving dominion over a conquered people. The English army had no pay, but received the privilege of free quarter upon the natives. Rapine and insolence on the part of conquerors inflamed revenge and hatred on the part of the conquered. Want of security introduced despair, and nourished sloth. The English, instead of imparting to the Irish their civilized customs, as friends, refused to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, like enemies. Thrown out of the protection of justice, their sole security was in force. Flying from towns and cities, the residence of their inhuman masters, they sheltered themselves for safety in marshes and forests. Treated like wild beasts, they became such. A barbarity yet untamed joined with natural ardour and heightened by revenge, rendered them daily more intractable and more dangerous. To subdue those people was not considered as a source of military glory for the arms of Eng-

lish power. The conquest of Ireland was delegated to private adventurers, who enlisting soldiers at their own expence, and maintaining them in free quarters, reduced provinces of that island, which they converted to their own profit. These conquerors established separate jurisdictions and principalities; assumed the power of peace and war; exercised military law over the Irish whom they had subdued: then gradually over the English, by whose assistance they had conquered: and when their authority struck root, they threw off English institutions, which were little favourable to barbarous dominion, and degenerated beneath the Irish. For, while they abandoned the virtues, they retained the vices of civilized society, on which were superinduced the adopted depravity of uncultivated nature.

Such was the cause of the abject state of that island during centuries. When every christian nation was ardent in the pursuit of every civil art, which tended to the elevation of man in cultivated life; that country temperate in climate, fertile in soil, rich in animal and mineral productions, peculiar in its situation for commerce on the globe, possessing innumerable harbours at once safe and accessible, and inhabited by a people of great mental and bodily powers, was, notwithstanding all these moral and physical advantages, sunk in the same deplorable condition as the northern and western parts of Europe,

before they received civility and slavery from the refined policy and arms of Rome. Rude ignorance thus placed the Irish, though naturally inquisitive, beyond the reach of curiosity or love of novelty, when religious disputes agitated the minds and passions of every other people. The superstitious observance of ancient practices, mingled and polluted with many new and wild opinions, held unshaken empire over them; and even the example of the English was sufficient to render the Reformation odious to them. They put to the sword all the inhabitants of the town of Athlery, though Irish, because they followed the example of the English, and had begun to conform to English customs.

Shan O'Neil had raised a rebellion in Ulster, in 1560, but was checked; and experienced impunity. Having renewed the rebellion in 1567, and being vanquished, he flew to the Scots, who received him but violated the laws of hospitality. They murdered him at a feast. This man scorned the title of Earl of Tyrone, and assumed the rank and appellation of King of Ulster: he said the queen was his sovereign lady, but he never made peace with her except *she solicited* it.

In 1569 the Earl of Desmond caused great disturbances. In 1570, the Earl of Thomond attempted a rebellion in Conaught; but was forced to fly to France. In 1578, Stukely, another

fugitive, found great favour and credit with the pope, Gregory the Thirteenth, who had formed a design of placing the crown of Ireland on the head of his nephew, Buon Compagno. Stukely flattered his holiness's ambition, and so far acceded to his scheme of usurpation, that he accepted the title of Marquis of Leinster from the new sovereign; and eight hundred Italians were levied for this enterprise. Sent by the pope to Spain, he received from Philip great encouragement and rewards; but he proceeded to Lisbon, and entered into the service of Don Sebastian, King of Portugal; with whom he perished in the battle of Alcazar. The power and the influence of Rome, however, ceased not by other means to urge on the re-establishment of the sovereign pontiff's supremacy. But in 1579, the new rebellion of Desmond was suppressed, who had been supported by a body of Italians and Spaniards.

In 1580, the pope, however, furnished more money, and a consecrated banner, to reduce the kingdom of Ireland to the obedience of the holy see, aided by the soldiers and ships of Spain. And for the same project, both Italian and Spanish troops, and large supplies of arms, were afterwards sent to Ireland.

In 1585, rebellion assumed an aspect more formidable; and a most unhappy expedient in the government of Ireland was adopted by Sir John

Perrot, the lord deputy. He put arms into the hands of the Irish inhabitants of Ulster, in order to enable them, without the assistance of government, to repress the incursions of the Scotch islanders, by whom these parts were much infested. Many of the Irish gentry, who through zeal for the Catholic religion, or the inducement of Philip, had served in the wars of the Low Country, now returned; and Ireland being thus furnished both with officers and soldiers, with discipline and arms, became truly formidable, and was from that period able to maintain a more regular war against her ancient masters.

In 1590, Brian O'Rourk was tried and executed in London for rebellion. Mac Mahon was executed in Ireland, and his estates divided. Tyrone was pardoned on condition, among other engagements, that he would not impose taxes, exercise jurisdiction, intercept ammunition or provisions intended for the use of the English garrisons, nor admit into his territories monks, friars, or malcontents.

The Irish chieftians, however, all engaged in a rebellious league, in 1593, to expel the English garrisons; and the Earl of Tyrone joined in this confederacy, but submitted afterwards, and was forgiven.

A rebellion was also excited, in 1595, under the conduct of Macguire and Mac Mahon. The forces in Ulster and Conaught amounted to

10,000 horse and foot, commanded by experienced officers, who had served in the Low Countries. The queen offered pardon to the rebels, if they would dismiss their forces, repair the forts which they had demolished, restore the effects which they had seized, admit garrisons, sheriffs, and other officers; and discover their transactions with foreign princes. They rejected these proposals. Tyrone, however, capitulated, and gave hostages; but he excited Mac Hugh to renew the rebellion. Tyrone himself afterwards attacked Armagh; but made an apology, proposed a new conference, postponed the conference, and thus amused the lord deputy.

Encouraged by foreign emissaries, two parts of the nation were in rebellion in 1597. Tyrone endeavoured to dupe the new lord deputy with excuses, professions, and proposals: but instead of being cajoled by that crafty rebel, he marched directly against him, took the fort of Blackwater: and died soon after. Ormond succeeded him, and agreed to a truce.

But Tyrone renewed the rebellion in 1598, conquered and slew Sir Henry Bagnal, and reduced the fort of Blackwater. He was afterwards defeated, and compelled to give hostages.

Hugh Neil, nephew to Shan O'Neil, had been raised to the dignity of Earl of Tyrone by the queen; but he preferred the pride of barbarous dominion to the pleasures of tranquil opu-

lence, and excited civil discontents in 1599. He was cruel, perfidious, and brave; with a confidence in the influence of his deceitful oaths and delusive professions, he put himself in the hands of Sir William Russell. Being successful in his artifice, he was dismissed: and relying no longer on the lenity and inexperience of English government, he resolved on open rebellion. He procured arms and ammunition from Spain; he united the Irish chieftains in dependance upon himself; and became a formidable enemy. The expense requisite for the support of an army against such a leader, not being supplied by England, Sir John Norris was more prompt to hearken to proposals of truce from Tyrone. But the war being thus spun out by artifices during some years, and that gallant Englishman finding he had listened to treacherous promises, and performed nothing worthy of his reputation, died of vexation and discontent. His successor, Sir Henry Bagnal, was still more unfortunate, being surrounded in disadvantageous ground, he fell with 1500 men. Tyrone was, therefore, looked up to with enthusiasm by the Irish, hailed as the deliverer of his country, and the patron of Irish liberty.

The English council were now convinced of their impolicy; the temporising means of granting truces to rebels, and of allowing them to

purchase pardons by resigning part of their plunder, served eventually to encourage insurrection and disorder. It was resolved, therefore, to push the war by more vigorous measures; and the queen cast her eye on Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, for this purpose. Though more devoted to books than arms, he seemed to possess talents equal to the undertaking. But the young Earl of Essex being ambitious of glory, was desirous of the government for himself; and his enemies, even more zealously than his friends, conspired to gratify his wishes. The queen, prepossessed in favour of Essex's genius, readily assented, and he was appointed governor under the title of lord lieutenant. In order to encourage him, the powers given to him were most extensive: and to ensure him success, he was furnished with an army of 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse. His enemies Cecil Raleigh and Cobham threw no obstacles in the way of such great preparations, conceiving that the higher the queen's hopes of success were raised, the more difficult for the event to satisfy her expectations. With this view they even swelled the high encomiums which his too sanguine friends diffused among the people of his exalted genius, his elegant endowments, his heroic courage, his unbounded generosity, and his noble qualifications. These artful politicians were aware, that if to his undaunted spirit opposi-

tion should teach temper and reserve, he must become invincible. They resolved, therefore, rather to give full breadth to those sails, which were already too much expanded, and to push him upon dangers of which he seemed to make such small account.

Essex hearkening to the Irish council, who dissuaded him from carrying the war into Ulster, where their estates lay, marched to Munster contrary to the orders of the queen. His exploits were inconsiderable, and his loss of men by sickness and fatigue was great. He received strong reprimands for contempt of orders, promised obedience, and disobeyed again. His troops were much diminished, but he received soon from England a necessary increase. He marched against Tyrone into Ulster, and concluded an inglorious truce. Essex returned to Dublin, where he was informed of the extreme anger of the queen at his second contempt of orders. His adversaries also caused false reports of the queen's dangerous illness to be circulated; and stopped all vessels from sailing but those which conveyed this intelligence. Loftus, though high in dignity, was more exalted by his talents and ennobled by his virtue; to him, therefore, principally, Essex immediately committed the administration of Ireland, and set sail for England. As nothing can better elucidate the characteris

tics of Elizabeth than some of the circumstances consequent to this event, a short notice of them may not be considered as unpardonable.

Leicester, the former favourite of Elizabeth, being informed, while in the Low Countries, of his mistress's displeasure at his conduct, disobeyed her orders by coming to England; but pacified her by his presence, by his apologies, by his flattery and insinuation; and disappointed the expectation of his enemies. Essex weighing the similarity of circumstances, but not the difference of character between Leicester and himself, arrived at court; and though besmeared with dirt and sweat, he hastened up stairs, rushed through the presence chamber, the privy chamber, into the queen's bed-chamber, who having just risen, was sitting with her hair about her face. He threw himself on his knees, kissed her hand, and was graciously received. He said afterwards, that though he had suffered much trouble and many storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home. But this arose from surprise, and the momentary satisfaction at the unexpected sight of a favourite. When the queen had leisure for recollection, his faults and disobedience returned to her memory; and Essex was disgraced. This triumph of his enemies, and the agony of an haughty spirit, occasioned a distemper which endangered his life. The queen alarmed, sent him

a message, "that if she thought such a step consistent with her honour, she would pay him a visit;" and in uttering these words, her eyes were suffused with tears. Sir Walter Raleigh took alarm at such an appearance of sudden revolution; and the conflict of violence and ambition threw him into sickness in his turn. Elizabeth was obliged to apply the same salve to his wound, and sent him a favourable message, expressing her desire of his recovery. The queen's medicine was successful with both these aspiring rivals.

Her anger, however, against Essex was kept alive, not only by his private enemies, but by public events. His misconduct in Ireland, and the insignificant purposes to which he had used so much authority, force and treasure, became daily more manifest and pernicious. Tyrone, so far from being utterly subdued as it was but reasonable to expect, thought proper in less than three months to break the truce; and joining with O'Donnel, and other rebels, he over-ran almost the whole kingdom. He was supplied with men money and arms from Spain; and the pope having consecrated a crown or plume of phœnix feathers, sent it to him with ample indulgences. Thus animated, he assumed the title of O'Neil; and exulting in his phœnix crown, consecrated by the pope, he appeared and was hailed cham-

panion of the catholic religion. He advanced with his army and adherents ; but Ormond and the wreck of the English forces could only obtain a truce. The cause of the pope now seemed to prosper ; but, in order however to arrest the progress of this champion of popery and rebellion, the queen returned to her former intention of appointing Mountjoy lord deputy. With the becoming delicacy due to his friendship for Essex, he declined the appointment on account of ill health ; but she obliged him to accept it.

The capacity, vigor, and decision of Mountjoy, scattered the queen's enemies before him : he hunted them with his arms, until they flew for concealment into the woods and bogs. By such successes he gave new life to the queen's authority in Ireland ; but the comparison and contrast of such achievements contributed to alienate Elizabeth from her favourite : and the partiality and prepossession of the people for his merit, complaining of the injustice done him, filled her with disgust. In order to justify her conduct to the public, she ordered him to be examined before the privy council. The Attorney-General, Coke, opened the cause against him with all the insolence and cruelty which that great lawyer usually exercised against the unfortunate. He exaggerated the indignity of the conditions, which Tyrone had been suffered to propose ;

odious and abominable conditions, said he; a public toleration of an idolatrous religion, pardon for himself and every traitor in Ireland, and full restitution of lands and possessions to them all.

The defence of Essex deserves to be noticed in part. He began by renouncing with great submission all pretensions to an apology; and declared his resolution never, on this or any other occasion, to have any contest with his sovereign. Having abjured, he said, all sentiments of ambition, he had no scruple to confess every failing, or error, into which his youthful folly or manifold infirmities might have betrayed him; that his inward sorrow for his offences against her majesty was so profound, that it exceeded all his outward afflictions; nor did he retain any scruple of submitting to a public confession of whatever she had been pleased to impute to him; that in his acknowledgments he retained only one reserve, which he never would relinquish but with his life, the assertion of a loyal and unpolluted heart, of an unfeigned affection, of an earnest desire ever to perform to her majesty, the best services which his poor abilities would permit; and, that if this sentiment was recognized by the council, he willingly acquiesced in any condemnation or sentence, which they could pronounce against him. This submission was uttered with so much

eloquence, and in so pathetic a manner, that it drew tears from many of the audience.

Sentence was pronounced against him, by which he was deprived of office, and imprisoned at home. The Earl of Cumberland resisted the sentence; Cecil, his enemy, behaved with great regard and humanity; but Francis Bacon, so much distinguished afterwards by his profound genius for the sciences, was blamed by the public for appearing against a munificent benefactor, though he acted in obedience to the queen. This man, notwithstanding his great talents and powerful relations had been neglected; but Essex, who could distinguish merit, and passionately loved it, had zealously attempted to procure him the office of queen's solicitor! Having failed, he conferred on him a present of land worth eighteen hundred pounds.

The queen was so pleased with Bacon's conduct on the trial that she imposed a new task upon him, of composing a narrative of the proceedings, in order to satisfy the nation of the justice and lenity of her conduct. Bacon wanted firmness of character, but was not void of humanity; he gave to the whole transaction the most favourable turn for Essex: and in particular, he painted in elaborate expressions, the dutiful submission which Essex discovered in the

defence that he made for his conduct. When he read the paper to her, she smiled at that passage, and observed to Bacon, that old love, she saw, could not easily be forgotten : he replied, that he hoped she meant that of herself.

Essex wrote to the queen, who was much pleased with his sentiments, and replied, that she heartily wished his actions might correspond to his expressions, that he had tried her patience a long time, and that she must now try his submission. Essex, with the ardor and impatience natural to a temper, which being unformed by early correction, could not bend long to late chastisement, was anxious to be convinced whether he could ever hope to be reinstated in credit and authority. He conceived he had found a touchstone for this purpose in a patent of his which was near expiring. He possessed a monopoly of sweet wines, which he resolved to request her majesty to renew. He considered this event as the critical and decisive circumstance of his life ; and in fact it proved so. But nothing could have been more injudicious than at such a moment, to make such a request of a queen, of such severe and haughty temper. She refused his demand ; and even added in a contemptuous style, that an ungovernable beast must be stinted in his provender.

This rigour, pushed one step too far, for erro-

mean conduct, into which he was led by the advice of her majesty's privy council in Ireland, in the suppression of rebellion, proved the final ruin of this young nobleman, and was the source of sorrow and vexation to herself. He now burst all restraints of submission; and lost in his views of ambition, he hurried on from crime to crime until he expiated them on the block. There were two circumstances attending his trial and execution, disgraceful to the memories of two great men, and therefore afflicting to human nature. Bacon owed much to the active friendship of Essex; and had often experienced his generosity. He was not one of the crown lawyers, and therefore was not obliged by office to assist at his trial. Yet in order to obtain the queen's favour, this man was active in bereaving of life his generous friend, and fond and earliest patron. All the tender affections of Elizabeth were called forth on the occasion of Essex's condemnation: she was wrecked by agitations between decision and irresolution. She felt the combat of public resentment and private inclination; of sovereign pride and female compassion: of her own safety and her favourite's death. These rendered her an object of pity, perhaps more than Essex himself; but she signed the warrant for his execution. She countermanded it. She again resolved on his death. She felt a new return of tenderness. Fi-

nally she resolved, but with a fixed melancholy ; for it never abandoned her.

The melancholy spectacle of his execution was, on account of the general sentiment of compassion, prudently removed from the public eye to a private place in the Tower. Sir Walter Raleigh, however, who had urged on the fate of Essex, with cruelty and animosity, came to the Tower to behold his execution from a window ; and feasted his eyes in savage joy with the death of an enemy. A conduct so unmanly, and so ungenerous, augmented the general hatred under which he already laboured ; and no apology which he could make, could be accepted by the public.

Rebellion having again broke out in Ireland, through the influence and aid of Spain, the lord deputy drove Tyrone from his camp, took several castles, and secured the abbey of Armagh by a strong garrison. A Spanish fleet arrived at Kinsale under John de Aquila in 1601, with four thousand veteran troops : and the English army retreated to Cork. The Spanish general assuming the title of general in the holy war for the preservation of the faith in Ireland, immediately published a manifesto, declaring that he was come to execute the pope's bull, and re-establish the catholic religion in Ireland. He endeavoured to persuade the people that Queen Elizabeth was deprived of her crown by the pope ; that her sub-

jects were absolved from all allegiance to her ; and that the Spaniards were come to deliver the Irish from the power of the devil. Tyrone and others resolved to join him : but the lord deputy had invested the Spaniards in Kinsale, and sent a detachment who stopped the progress of Tyrone. Another reinforcement of Spaniards arrived at Beerhaven and Baltimore, under the command of Alonso O'Campo, and being joined by Tyrone and O'Donnel, formed an army of 7000 men ; but the lord deputy attacked and defeated them, and made O'Campo, with other Spanish officers, prisoners. Another reinforcement of Spaniards arrived at Castlehaven under Syriago, but hearing of the defeat of O'Campo, he set sail for Spain immediately. O'Donnel accompanied him, and Tyrone fled to his fastnesses in Ulster. Discouraged by such disasters, Aquila surrendered. The Spaniards being conveyed home in English ships, made so unfavourable a representation of Tyrone and his confederates, that the Spanish king declined sending any more troops to Ireland ; but in order to push forward the re-establishment of the catholic religion, he supplied the rebels with money, arms, and ammunition.

A rancorous quarrel now broke out between the jesuits and secular priests in England. They accused the jesuits of being concerned in all the conspiracies against the queen, of having even

hired assassins to murder her, and attributed to their abominable crimes the severity of the penal laws against catholics. Blackwell the superior of the secular priests, who was attached to the jesuits, continued to oppress the seculars and even declared them to be schismatics. Secretary Cecil recommended the seculars to the protection of the French king; but Elizabeth ordered the jesuits, by proclamation, to quit the kingdom immediately, and likewise sush seculars as refused to take the oath of allegiance.

It appears by an extract from the papers of Lord Cecil, which passed down through Dr. Usher, primate of Ireland, and Sir James Ware, to the public; that a Dominican friar, was tried before the queen and Archbishop Parker, as an impostor and sower of sedition. This man under the mask of a most zealous protestant, was much admired and followed by the people, for his seeming piety, but particularly for his bitter declamations in the pulpit against the pope. His name was Faithful Commin, and in the course of his examination before the queen and council, he disowned the supremacy, pretended to the gift of the spirit, and it appeared that he assembled the first independent congregation in England. He was dismissed upon bail to appear before the council again. But in the meantime he escaped out of the country. Information was afterward

laid before the queen and council, that on coming to Rome, he was cast into prison by Pius Quintus. But Commin wrote to the pope, that he had something of importance to communicate to him. Being brought into his presence, the pope addressed him by saying, "Sir, I have heard how you have set forth me and my predecessors among your heretics of England, by reviling my person and railing at my church." To whom Commin replied. "I confess my lips have uttered that which my heart never thought, and your holiness is not aware, that I have done you a most considerable service, notwithstanding I have spoken so much against you." To which the pope answered. "How in the name of Jesus, Mary, and all the Saints hast thou done so?" I preached, said Commin, against set forms of prayer, and I called the English prayers mass, and have persuaded several to pray spiritually and *extempore*; and this hath so much taken with the people, that the church of England is become as odious to that sort of people whom I instructed, as mass is to the church. And this will be a tumbling block to that church while it is a church." The pope commended him, and gave him a reward of 2,000 ducats for his good service, and Faithful Commin departed for the Low Countries. The queen's agents abroad, were immediately instructed to take Commin and send

him over to England. But he was informed of his danger, and fled back to Rome.

This circumstance gave occasion to *the act for preventing popery and other sects*, which enjoined all people, from ten years old and upwards, not having lawful impediment, to repair every *Sunday* to hear divine service, under the penalty of forfeiting *twelve pence* for every such default.

Subsequent to this, a jesuit named Thomas Heth, pretending to be a poor minister, applied to the Dean of Rochester for some preferment, saying he was the brother of Nicholas Heth, Bishop of Rochester in the time of Henry VIII. The dean thought it right to hear him preach in the cathedral before he would speak to the bishop in his behalf. But while in the pulpit, he pulled out his handkerchief, and with it a letter, which dropped on the floor. It was addressed to him by the name of Thomas Finne, from one Samuel Malt, a notorious English jesuit, then at Madrid. The sexton found the letter in the pulpit next day, and carried it to the dean, upon which Heth was apprehended and brought to examination on the 22 of November, 1568. It appears by the registry of the episcopal see of Rochester; that the plan of this jesuit and his fellow labourers was, to bring the prayers of the church into discredit, as not being spiritual prayers; that they

preached against episcopacy, and for a *purser* reformation, or in other words, were *puritans*; while pretending to refine, their intention was to destroy. In order also to prevent protestant baptism, or children from being baptized protestants, they became anabaptists. Several books against baptism of infants were found in his trunk, with a license from the fraternity of jesuits, and a bull dated the 1st of Pius Quintus, to preach whatever doctrine that society pleased, for the dividing of protestants, particularly distinguishing the *English* protestants by the name of heretics.

Such were the means the pontiff adopted on the loss of his supremacy, in hopes of defeating by divisions those whom his papal thunder ceased to affect. The letter dropt by this jesuit was as follows :

BROTHER,

“ The council of our fraternity have thought fit to send you David-George-Theodorus Sartor, and John Huts, their collections, which you may distribute wherever you may see it may be for your purpose, according to the people’s inclinations. These mixtures, with your own, will not only a little puzzle the understandings of the auditors, but make yourself famous. We suppose your wants are not considerable at present, by what we have heard; how your flock do admire

you more and more every day. Be not over zealous in your proceedings in the beginning, but gradually win on them, as you visit them, and according as you find their inclinations bend to your design: let me hear how you have proceeded, for it will satisfy your brethren much, and enable them the better to instruct you for the future.

“ *Hulsingham, Coleman, Benson*, have set a faction among the *German* heretics; so that several, who have turned from us, have now denied their baptism, which we hope will soon turn the scale and bring them back to their old principles. This we have certified to the *council* and cardinals, that there is no other way to prevent the people from turning heretics, and for the *recalling* of others back again to the *mother church*, than by *diversities* of *doctrines*. We all wish you to prosper.

SAMUEL MALT.”

Madrid, October 26th, 1568.

Thus we see that the sects and divisions among the protestants in Germany, originated with the jesuits: and that the jesuits, pope, and cardinals, agreed upon it as a maxim, that divisions and separations are the most effectual steps to destroy the protestant religion.

The operations carried on by the court of Rome, for the introduction of papal authority,

through the jesuits, were most artful and dangerous, and those through the power of Spain, ceaseless and important. The queen adopted vigorous measures against the jesuits; and resolved to find work for the Spaniards at home, instead of involving her in trouble by fomenting and aiding rebellions in Ireland. She dispatched an expedition to the coast of Spain; the admiral met the galleons, loaded with treasure, but was not strong enough to attack them. The vice admiral met some rich ships, but they escaped for a similar reason. Those two brave officers, Levi-son and Monson, determined that their expedition should not be entirely fruitless. They went and attacked Cerimbra, and though defended by a castle, by gallies, and by a numerous militia; yet, notwithstanding all these, and that winds and tides were adverse, they broke into the harbour, dismounted the guns, sunk, burnt, or put to flight the gallies, and obliged a carrack to surrender with a million of ducats. This was a sensible loss to the Spaniards, and a supply still more important to Elizabeth.

Rebellion now raged afresh in Munster; but after the expulsion of the Spaniards, matters hastened to a settlement. The activity of the lord deputy allowed neither repose nor security to the rebels; the chieftains fled to the woods and morasses for concealment, and some of them sought

mercy and received it. The Irish were reduced to a calamitous condition; their houses and corn were destroyed, their cattle driven away, and thousands of them perished in the woods by cold and famine. They now cursed their leaders; and Tyrone offered submission; Mountjoy, however would admit but an absolute surrender of life and fortune to the queen's mercy. Tyrone therefore appeared before the lord deputy, at Mellifont, in a habit and posture suitable to his present state, and after acknowledging his offence was committed to custody, in order to be sent captive to the queen.

But an event which resulted from the misconduct of Essex in Ireland, had now rendered her incapable of satisfaction at Mountjoy's success. When Essex returned from his fortunate expedition against Cadiz, observing the queen's increased attachment for him, he regretted his frequent absence from her, while other assiduous attendants might supplant or injure him. Moved by this tender jealousy, she presented him with a ring, and desiring him to keep that pledge of her affection promised him, that if he should fall into any disgrace, or she should be inspired with prejudices against him, if he would only send her that ring, the sight of it should recall her tenderness, insure him a patient hearing, and a favourable ear for his apology. This precious gift was

guarded by Essex to the last extremity; and then committing the ring to the Countess of Nottingham, he desired she would deliver it to her majesty. Her husband, the mortal enemy of Essex, stopped the execution of the commission. Elizabeth expected every moment this last appeal to her tenderness; but after much delay and most violent internal combats, resentment and policy made her sign the warrant for his execution. The Countess of Nottingham, when at the point of death, being seized with remorse, obtained a visit from the queen and confessed the fatal secret. The queen astonished, and crying "that God might forgive her, but she never would," broke from her, and delivered herself up to the deepest and most incurable melancholy. She refused all consolation and denied all food. She cast herself on the floor, where she remained immovable, a prey to lamentable affliction. She uttered but few words, sighs were the vent of her despondency. Ten days she lay on the carpet deaf to her physicians, until an anxious mind preying on a frail body, her senses left her, she fell into a slumber, and expired without a struggle.

Her talents for government were singular, and she possessed the two rare qualifications for empire, temper and capacity. Holding a great command over herself, she obtained an uncon-

troled ascendancy over her people. By her real virtues she secured their esteem, by her pretended ones she engaged their affections. She mounted her throne amidst difficulties ; she sat upon it in felicity, for she governed with success. Though the true secret for the government of religious factions was unknown to her in practice, yet her superior prudence served as a substitute for toleration, and saved her people from the confusion of theological controversy.

CHAPTER VIII.

James I.; Popish Plot; Rochester and Countess of Essex; Archbishop of Spalato; Bacon; Duke of Buckingham.

1602 to 1625.

THE catholics expected great indulgence on the accession of James, both on account of his being the son of Mary, whom they supposed to have been sacrificed to their cause; and because he had shewn some previous partiality towards them, which nothing, they believed, but interest and necessity had since restrained. James was no enemy to the religion of the catholics, but he was strongly averse from their attachment to the court of Rome. He was inimical, however, to the puritans. The Scotch presbyterians had treated his person with indecent familiarity, and his power with disrespect; and the republican spirit by which they were animated, was odious and offensive to a prince who cherished the maxims of an arbitrary monarch. Wherever he cast his eyes every thing concurred to encourage his prejudice, because he was destitute of discrimination. Comparing himself with the other hereditary sovereigns of Europe, he conceived that as he bore the same

rank, he was entitled to equal prerogatives. The power almost unlimited which had been exercised in England above a century, he ascribed solely to royal birth and royal title, not to the character of the monarchs nor conjuncture of the times. He thought, therefore, all legal power was centered in his person by an hereditary and divine right. James, however, did not experience a complaisance in the Commons to adopt these opinions; but early in his reign felt the malevolence of the parliament party, and the influence of their encroaching spirit. He complained of this, not without foundation; and the puritans proceeded, not without interest. For the House petitioned the king in their favour for a relaxation of the ecclesiastical laws, by virtue of his dispensing power; and they discovered, in the same paper, a spirit of intolerating animosity against the catholics. Being thus incensed against the parliament, and disappointed by the king, a plot was formed by the catholics to destroy at one blow the king, the royal family, the Lords, the Commons, and bury all their enemies in one common ruin. The opportunity for this offered itself at the meeting of parliament; and the means adopted by Catesby and Piercy to consign to destruction the determined foes of their religion, as a glorious and useful vengeance, were by an explosion of gunpowder under the hall at the very moment the king should address the two

houses. They anticipated the triumph of acting like instruments of divine vengeance, and beholding in distant safety those sacrilegious walls, within which such edicts against their religion had passed, tossed into millions of fragments, and their inhabitants, while meditating perhaps new persecutions, pass from flames above to flames below, there for ever to endure the torments due to their crimes.

Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, whose zeal and intrepidity were well known to them, was brought over from Flanders; and this man, regardless of his own life, undertook to set fire to the desolating train. The conspirators were bound to secrecy by taking the sacrament, as the most solemn rite of their religion, which Garnet, the Superior of the Order of Jesuits in England, administered. Some repugnance was felt at the destruction of the catholics, who must of necessity be present in the house; but Garnet and Tesmond, another jesuit, removed these scruples, by shewing that the interests of religion required the innocent to be sacrificed with the guilty.

This dreadful secret, though known to above twenty persons, had been religiously kept a year and a half. No pity, no remorse, no fear of punishment nor hope of reward, had induced any one conspirator to discover or abandon this horrid enterprise, for the massacre of whatever was

great or eminent in the nation. It is a crime without parallel. Every motive of humanity was silenced by bigotry, every reasonable thought expelled by religious fury. Happily, however, the nation was saved by indiscretion.

A letter to Lord Monteaule discovered the plot, which was delivered to his servant by a person unknown. It is said, however, that the letter came from the king, to whom the plot was communicated through the Duke of Sully, by Henry IV.; and upon this account, among others, Ravillac was afterwards employed by a party of the church of Rome to assassinate this great prince.

These conspirators were men neither desperate in fortune, nor profligate in character, but heretofore void of reproach. A bigotted zeal alone had distorted prejudice into reason, and crime into duty. Digby was as highly esteemed and universally beloved as any man; and was particularly honoured by the good opinion of Queen Elizabeth. After his condemnation, he wrote to his wife, "that no cause drew him to hazard his life and fortune, but zeal for God's religion." The parliament met; and the king in his speech observed, that though the conspirators had engaged in so criminal an attempt, yet all catholics should not be involved in the same guilt, nor be supposed capable of such enormous barbarities.

A distinction should be made with respect to those men who, though they concurred in the scholastic dogmas of the Roman church, rejected the supremacy of the pope, and never admitted the seditious principles of the pope's power to dethrone kings or sanctify assassination. At the same time he fully disclosed his aversion from the puritans as republicans in principle. An act was then passed for an annual thanksgiving on the 5th day of November; and it was also enacted, that *all recusants should take the oath of allegiance, renouncing the papal power of absolving subjects from obedience to their legitimate sovereign, and abjuring, as impious, the damnable doctrine of Rome, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, might be deposed or murdered by their subjects.* The *majority of the catholics, with Blackwell, their superior, consented to take the oath of allegiance, notwithstanding a brief issued by the Pope who forbade him to comply, on pain of eternal damnation.* James being alarmed at the murder of Henry IV. by an inflamed bigot, commanded, by proclamation, in order to secure himself against men of such detestable principles, all jesuits to quit the kingdom, and prohibited all popish recusants from coming within ten miles of the court. Nothing but extreme personal timidity, which he was said to have in-

herited from the horror of his mother at the murder of David Rizzio, could have urged James thus to turn his back upon the professors of a religion, which had its allurements for him. This dread prompted him even to seek the connexion of Philip, by marriage of his son with the infanta. But though a timid prudence prompted him to desire the friendship of a great sovereign, so formidable to protestant princes by his sway with Rome, and by his own power, there was also another motive. The immense fortune that he hoped the infanta would bring, and which was afterwards settled at two millions, would, he conceived, supply his necessities, and indulge his profuseness. His grants and donations to his favourites were prodigal and boundless. He presented Carr, now Lord Rochester, with an order upon the Exchequer for 5,000*l*.

The Lord High Treasurer, Salisbury, who could scarcely find expedients sufficient to keep in motion the overburthened machine of government, regretting that James, with an unsparing hand, loaded with treasures this useless pageant, had recourse to a stratagem, in order to lay his prodigality before his eyes. He invited his majesty to dinner, and conducted him through an apartment, where he had scattered the whole sum in specie extensively over a table. The king surprised, exclaimed, at the sight of so much

gold, and asked what this immense treasure was for? He answered, with affected indifference, it was merely what his majesty had ordered for the Viscount Rochester. The king swore it was too much for any private man, and desired him to give him no more than 2,000*l*.

James was as unlimited in his affections, as profuse in his favour. Rochester, whose name was Carr, had no accomplishments from nature, but good looks; none from acquirement, but the grace of demeanor. Being recommended to Lord Hay, this nobleman, who knew the attachment of the king to exterior appearance, immediately discovered the road for Carr to mount to honours and fortune. The king had frequently tournaments at Greenwich, and, without mentioning him at court, Hay assigned to Carr the office of presenting to the king his buckler and device at a match of tilting, and hoped that a youth of such grace and figure would attract his notice. Fortunately an incident gave new interest to such claims. As Carr advanced, most splendidly apparelled, his fiery steed flung him, and broke his leg in the king's presence. Struck with his beauty, James approached him with pity and concern, ordered him to be lodged in the palace, all care to be taken of him, and instantly after the tilting, went to visit him in his chamber. The simplicity of the boy secured

the conquest, which his exterior graces had begun. Being totally illiterate, James was delighted with the prospect of infusing into his favourite, knowledge and experience: and, conceited of his own wisdom, anticipated the result of his lessons in the mysteries of policy and government, which would place his pupil above the sagest ministers of the age. He taught him with delight, created him a knight, then a peer, gave him the garter, brought him to the privy council, and without any particular office, made him supreme director of all his business and political concerns. Sensible, however, of his own deficiency, this youth had recourse to a sincere counsellor, Sir Thomas Overbury; and under his guidance, he enjoyed the rare fortune of favour from his prince, without hatred from the people. But as soon as he became regardless of this safe pilot, he was wrecked upon a rock, that plunged him into the deepest abyss of guilt, infamy, and misery.

Glittering in the sun-beams of his sovereign's favour, high in fortune, with the grace of youth, and all the attractions of manly beauty, it was not difficult to attain what seemed only wanting to complete the measure of his felicity, a kind mistress. Lady Essex, in the full lustre of beauty, possessed the love and admiration of the court. Having been married at the age of thir-

teen years to Lord Essex, who was only fourteen, he was sent to travel, and had then returned after four years absence. But when he approached his spouse, she met him with aversion and disgust. The addresses of Rochester had won her heart. She imagined, that, by refusing the embraces of Essex, she could never be deemed his wife, and that a separation and divorce would open the way for a marriage with her beloved Rochester. The lover, as well as his mistress, was impatient till their mutual ardour should be crowned with marriage, and their union be rendered indissoluble. He applied to Overbury on this conjuncture. So long as Overbury had considered his patron's attachment to the Countess of Essex as an affair of gallantry, he had favoured its progress; and it was partly by the passionate letters which he, in violation of all moral principle, had dictated, that Rochester obtained such success in his addresses. Like an experienced and crafty courtier in those days, he knew that a conquest of this nature, by throwing a lustre on the favourite, would endear him still more to James, who was charmed to hear of the amours of his court, and hung with pleasure and delight upon every tale of gallantry. But Overbury's first false step was now followed by the utmost alarm, when Rochester mentioned his design of marrying the countess. He left no ar-

gument untried to dissuade him from such a purpose. He represented to him how hateful, difficult, and dishonourable an enterprize it was, to procure her a divorce from her husband ; how dangerous, shameful, and base, to take into his bed a profligate woman ; who, being married to a young nobleman of the first rank, had not scrupled to bestow favours on the object of a capricious and momentary passion. And, in the zeal of attachment, he threatened Rochester, that if he could so far forget his honor and his interest, as to form such a marriage, he should abandon him for ever.

Rochester was so weak as to reveal all this to the countess, who was so vindictive as to inspire him with her revenge ; and he was wicked enough to swear vengeance against his friend for the highest instance of fidelity and truth. He procured Overbury's committal to the Tower by false accusations, whom she caused her uncle, the Earl of Northampton, to poison. The divorce was obtained, which Essex favoured as an expedient to separate himself from a bad woman. Rochester married her, and was made Earl of Somerset, that the lady should not lose her rank, though she had lost her honor.

The inquiry of justice did not reach the favourite ; but the still small voice of conscience will be heard amidst the din of pleasure, and flat-

tery of courts. It astonishes the criminal with the sudden sense of his secret enormities; and dashes his cup of pleasure. The enjoyments of love, and the kindness of a sovereign, could neither blot out nor console the consciousness of the murder of his friend. The graces of youth were gradually lost, the gaiety of manners visibly dulled, and the elegant flattery of polished attention was changed to repulsive sullenness and silence. The attachment of the king, which had begun in the accomplishments of Somerset, ceased when they disappeared and contributed no longer to his pleasures.

The sagacious courtiers observed this; and Somerset's enemies seized the opportunity of introducing to the king's notice George Villiers, a youth of good family, polished manners, and handsome person, whose air was graceful, and appearance prepossessing. Somerset was now like a mistress in the wane of her charms; but the discovery of Overbury's murder, through the confession of the apothecary's apprentice who mixed up the poisons, exposed him to the ruin and infamy which he merited. The whole labyrinth of guilt was soon unravelled; and the accomplices received the punishment due to their crime. Somerset and the countess were imprisoned for some years, but finally received their liberty, and a pension, on which they retired, and

languished out old age in infamy and obscurity. They passed many years together in the same house, without intercourse or correspondence, their guilty loves being turned into the most deadly hatred.

On the trial Coke told Mrs. Turner, one of their accomplices, that she was guilty of the seven deadly sins: she was a whore, a bawd, a sorcerer, a witch, a *papist*, a felon, and a murderer. And what is not less worthy of observation, Bacon, the attorney-general, remarked, that *poisoning* was a *popish* trick. The king, also, on his arrival at Newcastle, when making his entry into England, gave liberty to all prisoners except those confined for treason, murder, and "*papistry*." Surely the furious bigotry of the catholics, which broke out in the gunpowder treason, appears less wonderful in consideration of such circumstances.

Northampton's previous death saved him from trial and punishment. He was a catholic in his heart, and being warden of the Cinque Ports, persons of that religion were admitted into the kingdom without examination; so that England was in a little time filled with popish priests and jesuits, who had come prepared for the worst purposes against the church and state. By exciting divisions in the church, and disseminating their own principles against royal supremacy, under a

puritanical garb, a harvest of mischief and disorders was expected, and which unhappily came afterwards to maturity. The people began to murmur; and the Earl of Northampton, being accused as the cause of this dangerous influx of jesuits, prosecuted several persons on the writ of *scandalum magnatum*. The Archbishop of Canterbury, however, in the midst of these prosecutions, produced a letter of the earl's to Bellarmine, declaring himself a zealous catholic, wholly devoted to the see of Rome. The king reproached him with such foul dissimulation; and he retired to his country house, where he died in a few weeks, a professed papist.

Marcus Antonius de Dominis, archbishop of Spalato, arrived in England, as a convert from the popish religion. This archbishop had been brought up from his childhood in the study of divinity, so that his mind was impressed with a reverential awe for its precepts, and his understanding was the willing instrument of its authority. Eminent for those talents which he displayed in the chairs of literature at Verona, Padua, and Bressia, he was advanced to the bishopric of Segnia, and was afterwards translated to the archbishopric of Spalato, and the primacy of Dalmatia and Croatia.

It had been his long and anxious wish to see

christendom united : and, when retired to his diocese, he sat down to investigate and consider the causes of religious distractions. He bent his whole mind to search and find whether any means could be formed to recombine the catholic church upon the basis of its ancient union, after so lamentable a divorce in matters of faith. The more he longed for this conjunction, the greater was his inward grief to behold men, professing the blessed doctrine of christianity and universal love, inflamed with such bitter hatred and unquenchable broils, and shamefully cutting and tearing with manifold divisions, the seamless garment of our Saviour. During ten years he devoted himself to study, allured by no worldly bait, for he was already exalted. Neither was he wrought on by any man's persuasions, instructed by any man's arguments, nor directed by any man's counsels ; for he held conference with no man on his undertaking. He derived no strength from books of controversy against the doctrines of the Romish church ; for, he abhorred them from his youth, and shunned them as detestable. He consulted the scriptures alone ; and was guided by the orthodox fathers most renowned and revered in the catholic church.

With an eye undimmed by human or temporal views, with a mind thirsting solely after spiritual truth, and with a heart and head devoted

to the wise re-union of Christians, the result of a life of learning, and ten years most intense study, was a work which he prepared for this great and most important purpose. He proposed that matters deemed important should remain untouched until referred to the ultimate decision of competent future authority; that matters indifferent should remain so, and be left to every man's own judgment, without any interference between God and his conscience; and that the dispersed members of the body of the catholic church, who arose from one and the same basis, should be recombined upon the same basis, by reverting to the fundamental and great principles of christianity, as laid down in the gospel and primitive creeds.

With this design the Archbishop of Spalato came to England; and with liberality and wisdom on the part of our church, he was immediately made Dean of Windsor. This promptitude on our side, to coalesce with others upon the pure and incontrovertible principles of the gospel, did not, however, meet an equal return on the part of the Roman pontiff.

The intentions of the archbishop were now known over the christian world, and his principles and design declared, to establish unity in the christian church. He had published to mankind his plan of recombination, and distinctly laid down the grounds for Reformation in the

papal church; but he suffered himself to be seduced to Rome, and fell the victim of barbarous treachery. It was proposed, and, no doubt, he embraced the proposal with a view to facilitate and forward his important plan, that he should accept the high rank and elevation of cardinal; but when he arrived, he was sunk in a dungeon, where he died, and his body was publicly burned.

He maintained, amidst other points, that the supremacy of the church of Rome was an usurpation; and that every bishop had the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of his own diocese, except in cases of need, when all other bishops were obliged to assist him with their help. He grounded this upon the authority of St. Paul, the opinion of Eleutherius an ancient bishop of Rome, and the words and actions of Cyprian. So far was Rome from being supreme, that, according to the archbishop, Cyprian who was bishop of Carthage directed it frequently by his advice and conduct, in times of need, as part of the universal church. Upon the same principles he stated like proceedings on the part of Polycarpus, Ireneus, Hosius of Corduba, Athanasius, Basilii, both the Eusebii, Lucifer of Caralli, Hilary of Poitiers, Theophilus and Cyrillus of Alexandria, Aurelius of Carthage, and many others. "It is therefore agreeable with my office, say it is my most proper duty," said the archbishop,

“ to endeavour, to my power, as Cyprian teacheth me, to work a cure upon the court of Rome, which setteth up and maintaineth a conspiring faction, rending and ravaging the flock of Christ. My church, with many others, doth groan under the pope’s heavy yoke, who heartily hateth reformation, and with tooth and nail opposeth it, both with his own strength, and with the forces of such princes as adhere to the papacy ; so that he hath, and daily increaseth, a boundless power of life and death over any that shall lift up a finger towards the redress of this his tyranny. It was therefore necessary for me thus to withdraw myself from my province, that, having broken the bonds of servility, and getting freer breath, I might have opportunity to blaze abroad the truth ; and, without control, deplore the ruins, which the insolencies of the court of Rome have brought upon the holy universal church.”

The mortifications of the catholics in England were not so great at this time, as those experienced by the presbyterians ; numbers of whom abandoned their native country, and formed a colony in New England. A gloomy fanaticism had now taken possession of Scotland, and was making considerable progress in England. Probably as a preservative against it, James resolved to grant a petition, with which he was presented on his journey from Scotland to London, praying

permission to re-establish a privilege, which the vulgar had lost, with respect to amusements on Sunday after divine service. He published his "Book of Sports," recommending all diverting exercises after sermon, which gave great offence. The clamours grew loud and extensive; this was looked upon as a remnant of catholic indulgence. It was stated that the papists had increased to a great degree; that the king's eagerness for the marriage of his son with a daughter of Spain denoted, as well as other circumstances, his bias for the catholic religion; and the popular indignation run high at the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh, as a sacrifice to court catholic Spain. It was a saying of Prince Henry's, who had conceived great affection for Raleigh, "Surely no king but my father would keep such a bird in a cage." When Raleigh was going to be executed, he felt the edge of the axe, by which he was to be beheaded; *'tis a sharp remedy*, said he, but a sure one for *all ills*. Raleigh was a man who possessed more talents than virtue. Shortly after him fell the celebrated Bacon, an ornament to his age and nation, but a melancholy proof of the imperfection of human nature. With a character of elevation, which he held in his genius from heaven, he was intemperate in a desire of preferment, which could make no addition to his honour, but discovered the defect in his nature. A

profuse inclination to expense, which could give him no entertainment; and a wasteful indulgence of his servants, which increased his prodigality; prompted him to take bribes from the suitors in chancery; but his integrity as a judge was not warped by the wages of iniquity.

Pope Alexander the VI. had displayed an instance of pontifical supremacy, by bestowing on the Spaniards the whole western world, and on the Portuguese the whole eastern world; but whether it was the cowardly policy of James, that urged him to court the connection of catholic Spain, and her power: or avarice, the child of profuseness: he hearkened to the proposal of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador in England. This man's flattery was the more artful, because covered with the appearance of frankness and sincerity; and his politics the more dangerous, because disguised under a mask of mirth and pleasantry. He made offer of the second daughter of Spain, with an immense fortune, to the king's son. Spain, however, had resolved not to marry its princess to a heretic; but James, beside his motives of dread, and desire of security, flattered himself that the Spanish connection would restore the palatinate to his son-in-law through friendship and attachment. But while his errors had so long sought this restitution by remonstrances and entreaties, by arguments and em-

bassies, rather than by power and compulsion; while his people heard of catholics carrying on wars and persecutions against protestants, and that the reformed religion was rooted out of Bohemia, they thought their own interest involved, and regarded neutrality as a base desertion of the cause of God and his holy religion.

The Parliament assembled, and the zeal of the Commons remonstrated against the progress of the catholic religion, the king's indulgence towards its professors, and the expectations of the catholics for its re-establishment, founded on the Spanish match. They intreated his majesty to maintain his son-in-law by arms; to turn his sword against Spain, whose treasures and whose power were the bulwark of the popish interest in Europe, and that he would enter into no negotiation for the marriage of his son, but with a protestant princess*. This bold step was an outrage upon the king's favourite measures of government, lenity toward the popish religion, and attachment to the Spanish alliance. The

* Gondamar said, in one of his letters to the Duke of Lerma, printed in the history of that duke's life, "that he had lulled King James so fast asleep, that he hoped neither the cries of his daughter or her children, nor the repeated solicitations of his Parliament and subjects in their behalf, should be able to awake him."

king wrote to the speaker, threatening to punish such misdemeanors in Parliament, as well during its sitting, as after its dissolution. The Commons inflamed and terrified replied, that if any member abused his liberty, it belonged to the House alone to inflict punishment upon him. When the committee came to present the reply, James ordered twelve chairs to be brought, *for there were so many kings coming.* His answer was prompt and sharp, informing them, they had no privileges, but those granted by the king, and that flowing from such precedents and prerogative, they were only a toleration, not an inheritance. Alarmed by this, they opposed pretension to pretension, and formed a protestation claiming liberty of speech, and an authority to interpose with their advice and counsel. The king, informed of this growing heat in the Commons, hurried to town, sent for the journals, and with his own hands tore out the protestation before the council, and ordered his reasons to be inserted in the council book. He then prorogued the Parliament and afterwards dissolved it. Sir John Saville, a man of great power in the House of Commons, and a zealous opponent of the court, was made comptroller of the household, a privy counsellor, and a baron. This event is memorable, being the

first instance of a king advancing any man on account of parliamentary interest and opposition to his measures.

Whether motives of policy predominated with Philip of Spain, or the milder views of gratitude friendship and generosity, which are frequently paramount among princes as well as private persons ; or whether the justice and moderation of James in his transactions, by his reliance on Spain, and his confidence in her friendship, obtained at last the cordial affection of that nation so celebrated for honour and fidelity, the completion of the matrimonial alliance seemed now to be beyond doubt. This was a moment of the utmost importance to the sovereign pontiff and to the catholics. Villiers was now raised to the title of Buckingham, and ruled over the court and nation. A coolness existed between the Prince of Wales and him. He was desirous to remove this feeling, and to participate in the credit of the Spanish negotiation. He represented to the prince, that persons of his exalted station were peculiarly unfortunate with respect to their marriage, the chief circumstance in life, and commonly received into their arms a bride unknown to them, and to whom they were unknown, neither endeared by sympathy nor won by services, but wooed by treaties, attached by negotiations, and married by political interests.

He stated that however accomplished the princess, she must consider herself a melancholy victim of state ; but it was in the prince's power to soften all these rigours, and lay such an obligation on her as would attach the most indifferent temper and warm the coldest affection. A journey to Madrid would be an unexpected gallantry, equal to all the fictions of Spanish romance, and so suitable to the amorous and enterprising spirit of the nation, that it must immediately introduce him to the princess under the agreeable character of a devoted lover and a daring adventurer.

The mind of the young prince was animated by these generous and romantic ideas, and they obtained a hasty and unguarded consent to their undertaking from the king. But he was no sooner alone than he saw the difficulties and dangers which might occur. He reflected, that however the world might pardon this sally of youth in the prince, they would never forgive himself, who, at his years, and with his experience, could intrust his only son, the heir of his crown, and the prop of his age, to the discretion of foreigners without even the frail security of a safe conduct for him. The temerity of the enterprize was so apparent, that the event, how prosperous soever, could never justify it ; and if disastrous, would render him infamous to his people, and ridiculous to posterity. Tormented

with dread, he begged of them to desist from so foolish an adventure. The prince received the disappointment with sorrowful submission and silent tears. Buckingham presumed to speak in an imperious tone, which always prevailed over his too easy master. He had again the weakness to assent to this journey. It was agreed that the prince's secretary, Sir Francis Cottington, and Endymion Porter, a gentleman of the bedchamber, should accompany them. Cottington was called, and James told him, he had always been an honest man, and therefore he was going to trust him in an affair of the highest importance, which he must not, upon his life, disclose to any man whatever, "Cottington," added he, "here is baby Charles and Stenny," (these ridiculous appellations he usually gave the prince and Buckingham,) "who have a great mind to go post into Spain, and fetch home the infanta. They have chosen you for one. What think you of the journey?" Sir Francis, who was a prudent man, and had resided some years in Spain as the king's agent, was struck with all the dangers of the journey, and scrupled not to declare them. The king threw himself upon his bed, and cried, "I told you this before;" and fell into a passion and fresh lamentations, complaining that he was undone, and should lose baby Charles. The prince shewed dissatisfaction, and Buckingham

broke into a passion against Cottington. The poor king was thrown into a new agony for a servant, who, he foresaw, would suffer for answering honestly. And he said with some emotion and an oath, "*Stenny*, you are much to blame for using him so ; he answered me directly to the question, very honestly and very wisely, and yet you know, he said no more than I told you before he was called in."

CHAPTER IX.

Charles arrives at Madrid; unfortunate Marriage with a Princess of France; State of Ireland; Exertions of Catholics to return Members to Parliament; Dr. Usher's Promotion for his Labour and Learning; his Services in enforcing the Lawfulness of the King's Supremacy; the Lord Deputy's Representation of the Mischiefs of the Priests depending upon the Pope's Supremacy for Promotion: and of the Papal Hierarchy and Jurisdiction established in Ireland.

Continuation of James, 1602 to 1625.

THE prince and Buckingham passed disguised through Paris, where Charles saw Princess Henrietta Maria at a ball, whom he afterwards espoused. On their arrival at Madrid the most studied civilities were shewn to the prince. The Spanish monarch presented him with a golden key, which opened all his apartments, that the prince might, without any introduction, have access to him at all hours. He took the left hand of him on every occasion, except in the apart-

ments assigned to Charles ; for there he said, the prince was at home. Olivarez, though a grandee of Spain, who has the right of being covered before his own king, would not put on his hat in the prince's presence. All the prisons in Spain were thrown open, and all the prisoners received their freedom. And every sumptuary law with regard to expensive apparel was suspended during Charles's residence in Spain. The infanta, however, was only shewn to him in public ; the Spanish ideas of decency being so strict, as not to allow any further intercourse, till the arrival of the dispensation from Rome.

The pope hearing of the prince's arrival in Madrid, took advantage of it, and added some new clauses to the dispensation. One article of the dispensation provided, that the children should be educated by the princess till they attained the age of ten. The pope's view was obviously to impress their minds with catholic principles : and though so tender an age might render theological prejudices vain, yet the same reason which urged the pope to insert that article should have induced the king to reject it. But the pope was resolved to lay the foundation of the re-establishment of papal influence and power. Beside the public treaty, there were separate articles sworn to by the king, for the suspension of the penal laws against catholics :

the repeal of them in parliament, and a toleration of the free exercise of the catholic religion in private houses.

Gregory XV. who granted the dispensation, died; and Urban VIII. was chosen in his place. The nuncio refused, therefore, to deliver the dispensation until it should be renewed by Urban. That crafty pontiff delayed the dispensation, and had conceived hopes to effect the prince's conversion, by some expedient, during his residence in Spain. But on the first hint, Charles obtained permission to return.

The reserve and modesty of Charles, his unparalleled confidence in the honour of the nation, his romantic gallantry towards the princess, together with his youth and figure, endeared him to the court of Madrid. But, the English freedom and French vivacity of Buckingham, his sallies of passion and his imperious temper, which he neither could, nor cared to disguise, rendered him as odious as the prince was beloved. It is stated that Philip's minister having reminded Buckingham of his promises, that Charles should become a proselyte to the catholic religion, the duke gave him the lie without hesitation. Buckingham was incapable of dissimulation, headlong in his passions and void of prudence. He was sincere even from violence, and was a warm friend and a furious enemy. Buck-

ingham, after his arrival, laid a narrative before parliament, wherein he set forth, that the prince having experienced artifice and insincerity at Madrid, resolved to return, as there were no hopes of obtaining the infanta, or of restoring the Elector Palatine. Sir Edward Coke, rising up in the House of Commons after this narrative had been read, called Buckingham the saviour of the nation. But violent reflections were cast upon Lord Bristol, the English ambassador at Madrid. He prepared therefore to return. The King of Spain, conscious of this man's probity and how unworthy such reward was for a faithful discharge of his duty, intreated him to fix his abode in Spain, and accept of rank and fortune for his fidelity to his master. Bristol expressed his deep sense of gratitude for so princely an offer, but begged permission to add, that the highest dignity of the Spanish monarchy, however valued, would be but an unequal compensation for the loss of honour, which he must incur by accepting it. The esteem of Philip rose with the magnanimity of the Englishman, and he requested him to accept of 10,000 ducats, which might be requisite for his support, till he could dissipate the prejudices raised against him, and promised him it should remain a secret to all the world, and never be known to his master. *There is one person,* replied the gene-

rous Englishman, who must necessarily know it, the Earl of Bristol, who will certainly reveal it to his master.

James was pressed by the Parliament to proceed to severities against the catholics. His answer was gracious, though he declared against persecution, according to the maxim, that the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church : and, notwithstanding the insurmountable antipathy of his subjects against all alliance with catholics, yet, lest his son should be disappointed of a bride, he applied to the court of France. The Christian king demanded the same terms which had been granted to the catholic king ; and as the prince, during his abode in Spain, had given a verbal promise to allow the infanta the education of her children till the age of thirteen, this article was inserted in the treaty : and to that imprudence is generally imputed the subsequent distressed condition of his posterity. The court of England, however, it must be confessed, always pretended, even in the memorials to the French court, that all the favourable conditions, granted to the catholics, were inserted in the marriage treaty merely to please the pope, and that their strict execution was, by an agreement with France, secretly dispensed with. What a fatal complaisance to papal influence on the part of Charles ! while flattering the pontiff with ap-

parent power for his successors, he deprived of real empire himself and posterity.

Henrietta Maria brought over a catholic establishment with her, and erected afterwards a catholic chapel* in the centre of her palace at Greenwich. Loud murmurs were raised against the conduct of her clergy, and some strong public proceedings took place on this ground in the reign of Charles.

The bigotry of Ireland at this period cannot seem surprizing, when the laws of that country were only customs, calculated to keep the people in a state of disorder and barbarism. Their civil code consisted of three laws, or customs, denominated Brehon, Gavelkind, and Tawistry.

By the Brehon law, no crime how enormous soever was punished with death, but by a pecuniary mulct. The rate of the fine was affixed to the rank of the man, and was called his *eric*. When the lord deputy Fitzwilliam told Maguire he would send a sheriff into Fermanagh, which had shortly before been made a county and subject to the English laws: "Your sheriff," said Maguire, "shall be welcome to me; but let me know before hand, his *eric*, or the price of his

* George III. having conferred this palace upon his royal foundation of the Naval Asylum, this chapel now forms one of the dormitories for the female orphans of the king's sailors.

head, that if my *people cut it off*, I may levy the money upon the county."

By the law of Gavelkind, the land of a person, upon his decease, was divided among all the males of the sept or tribe, both bastard and legitimate; and if any of the sept died after this partition, his portion, was not shared out among his sons; but the chieftain, at his own discretion, made a new partition of all the lands belonging to that sept, and gave every one his share. As no man, therefore, had any fixed property or enjoyment of land; to build, plant, inclose, or cultivate, would have been lost labour.

By the law of Tanistry, the chieftains and tanists, though selected from the principal families, were not hereditary, but elective. Their authority was absolute, and certain lands were appropriated to the office, but its chief profit resulted from exactions, dues, and assessments, not fixed by law, but levied at pleasure. The Irish, therefore said, that "*those dwell westward of the law who dwell beyond the river Barrow*:" meaning, that the laws prevailed in a district of about twenty miles, which the English inhabited in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and denominated the Pale.

James abolished these Irish customs, established circuits, and the authority of the king and the law; but the triumph of justice and humanity,

over barbarism so profound, was thus only happily begun ; to perfect it required ages of perseverance.

The most bigotted support of the power and doctrines of Rome prevailed in Ireland, and great offence was offered to government. The lord deputy marched to Waterford to correct some religious seditions, but the gates were shut against him. Two priests, in the habits of different orders, came out, with the cross erected, and insolently told him, that a prince who persecuted the catholic faith, would not be obeyed by the citizens of Waterford ; and that, by a charter of King John, the city was exempt from quartering soldiers. He replied, that, with King James's sword he would cut King John's charter in pieces, and their city should be levelled to the ground. He was immediately admitted ; the inhabitants *all swore allegiance, and renounced all foreign jurisdiction.* Aided, however, by foreign powers, and fomented by priests and jesuits, rebellion wore so general and so menacing an aspect, the king declared by proclamation, that the extirpation of all the English subjects in Ireland seemed to be resolved on.

In the north of Ireland Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, proprietor of Enishowen, in the pride of youth, and insolence of Irish chieftaincy, being inflamed by furious zeal, resolved to bid defiance to Eng-

lish government. Sir Henry Dowckra had assigned the government of Derry to Sir George Paulett, and the command of the neighbouring fort of Culmore to Hart, a valiant English officer. O'Dogherty with subtle artifice concealed his sentiments, and lived in pretended amity with Hart. He invited Hart to his house; but the base traitor had a band of ruffians in waiting, who burst into the chamber of conceived hospitality, and seized Hart. Holding their weapons at his throat, he was desired by them to resign Culmore, or receive instant death. But Hart, with fortitude and loyalty, disdainfully refused to betray his trust. The wives of Hart and O'Dogherty, rushing into the chamber, arrested the deed of barbarous murder, by a forcible appeal to nature, with all the tears and eloquence of female horror. But the savage chieftain inspired his female guest with such terror, that while he held her husband prisoner, he prevailed on her to accompany him, and, by a fictitious tale gain admittance for him and his band of ruffians into the fort. She thus saved the life of her husband; but the brutal traitor murdered her brother, and massacred every other person in the garrison. In his rebellious triumph he attacked and defeated Derry, where, to glut his vengeance on Paulett, who once struck him in a dispute, he put him to the sword. He then plundered

the town, and next hurned it. Elated with success, his vanity formed vast expectations of aid from foreign powers; but an accidental shot, from the musket of an English soldier, put an end to his life barbarity and rebellion.

When religious principles expose men to important civil disadvantages in society, they are particularly bound to examine those principles with care and accuracy, lest they sacrifice the interests of themselves and posterity to an illusion. Nothing could have been more irrational, than the professions of zealous loyalty, and the practices of headstrong rebellion, to establish civil advantages. Where there was such repugnant contradiction, there could be no confidence; and the efforts of rebellion tended ultimately to defeat its own objects. The friends of government were sensible of its danger. Many of them had arrived with the worst impressions of the natives of Ireland; others had come with a portion of puritanical zeal against popery. The reformed considered the Romanists as partisans of idolatry, and the imps of anti-Christ; the Romanists looked with abhorrence on the reformed as children of heresy, and the blind ministers of Satan. Such dissentions impeded and endangered all civil administration. The lord deputy resolved to call a parliament; twenty-seven years of tumult and destruction had passed without a meet-

ing of the legislature. Seventeen counties and a number of new boroughs had been created in that time, and the lord deputy increased the number to forty. All the king's subjects were invited to exhibit their grievances to parliament. Six of the lords, however, wrote to the king against the convening of a parliament without any communication to them of the laws to be enacted; and requested the creation of boroughs to be suspended. They desired, also, the repeal of the penal laws; and said that the king would thus settle their minds in firm and faithful subjection.

This rash and insolent proceeding proved abortive; and those attached to the papal cause were filled with alarms. The clergy denounced from their pulpits excommunications against all those who should presume to vote against the friends of the holy see and church. They informed the lower classes, that Tyrone, furnished with foreign aid, would soon invade Ireland; and that all those who would stand firm to the Romish faith, should soon triumph over their enemies. The recusant lawyers practised differently on persons of higher condition. Hopes, fears, oaths of association, and all the devices of subtile policy and daring faction, were used to influence those who could be of service in the elections. Such was the success of these efforts to over-rule the government

in its plans of administration, that most of the privy counsellors, who stood for the shires, were rejected ; and most of the lawyers, known to be factious and turbulent in support of papal power, were returned,

When the members met in the house, a scene unparalleled ensued. Sir John Davis, the king's attorney-general, was proposed for the office of speaker ; but the Romish party proposed Sir John Everard, a recusant. They contended, however, that the new boroughs were illegally incorporated, that the members chosen for them were illegally returned, and that it was necessary, therefore, to reject those unduly elected, and then to proceed to the choice of a speaker by the constitutional members of the commons. It was replied, that parliamentary usage first chose a speaker, then committees to decide elections. The altercation became violent and disorderly, when Sir Oliver St. John observing to the House, that all controversies were to be decided by questions, and questions by votes, and that the affirmative party usually went out of the house, and the negative kept their seats ; he, therefore, desired all those who were of opinion, that Sir John Davis should be speaker, to attend him to the lobby, and he was followed by the majority. The recusant party refused to be

numbered ; and, in the absence of their opponents, being easily persuaded that they formed the majority of legal members, they proceeded to the election while the others were withdrawn. With an unanimous clamour for Everard, they seated him tumultuously in the speaker's chair. The friends of government on their return were astonished : they exclaimed against this outrage, and declared Davis duly elected. They then attempted to force his competitor out of the chair ; being violently opposed, they finally seated their speaker in the lap of Everard. This scene of tumult was closed by a secession of the recusants. The seditious, menaces, and open declarations of appeal to arms and foreign powers in support of their cause ; the agitations and cabals ; the influence of popish emissaries, and the consequent popular clamour, were all truly alarming to the state. But the Lord Deputy Chichester, with temper and moderation, guided men through this storm of violence and passion, until on each side it was gradually allayed. He permitted the recusants to appeal to the king : where force fell before authority. The puritans, however, displeased at his lenity, attributed the enormous outrages of the popish party to his want of vigor. The king, instructed by the knowledge, and guided by the wisdom of Chichester, heard the appeal repeatedly, and deliberately, with pa-

tience. He censured their conduct with severity; and reproved the presumption of their first application to the throne. Calling them *Parliament-recusants* in derision, he told them, scarcely one article of their complaint had been established, and that nothing had been faulty in the government of Ireland, unless, said James, with profane levity, “you would have the kingdom of Ireland like the kingdom of Heaven.”

Government now thought it necessary a convocation should be held in Dublin, for the purpose of framing a public confession of faith for the established church of Ireland. Dr. James Usher having distinguished himself for learning and abilities, was intrusted with this important work. He had imbibed his doctrines from the Calvinistical writings of foreign divines; and among his articles of faith, there were nine formerly disapproved of by Elizabeth and James. His zeal against popery concurred with the French reformers, in pronouncing the pope to be anti-Christ; and, without any condescension for the king's opinions, one article declared, that the Lord's day should be *wholly* dedicated to the service of God. His profession was adopted by the convocation, and was ratified by the lord deputy. As these articles were, in many instances, repugnant to the king's sentiments, some attempts were made to prejudice him against the com-

piler ; but James was so just to the labour and erudition of Dr. Usher, that he soon promoted him to the see of Meath.

The popish regulars having stolen into Ireland from their foreign seminaries, with the most unfriendly dispositions to government, were banished by proclamation : this was an act of apparent rigour, but really indulgent to the poorer catholics, who were oppressed by an idle, factious, and useless tribe. The open procedure of the popish party in erecting abbies, and their insolence in seizing churches for their own worship, became grievous and alarming to the reformed clergy. Dr. Usher, the most distinguished of this order, and the man whose sentiments had most weight, was appointed to preach before Lord Faulkland on his arrival. He chose for his text, *He beareth not the sword in vain* : and took occasion to recommend such restraints as might keep the Romanists within the bounds of a decent reserve, and at least deter them from public insolence and outrage. This unpopular doctrine exasperated the Romanists ; a clamour was raised against him as a persecutor, who pleaded for the extirpation of those who could not conform to the established religion ; but the prelate by a subsequent discourse very clearly demonstrated the lenity and the equity of such doctrines. The abilities of Dr. Usher were, according to Leland,

of considerable service to government in those times of religious and civil contests. He enforced the lawfulness of *the oath of supremacy*, with demonstrative truth, when magistrates were cited to the Castle-chamber for *recusancy*.

Lord Faulkland soon felt the mortifying task of administering a government exposed to the insults and perpetual alarm of its enemies. He represented to the king and council the incontestible proofs of the malignity of the disaffected, and the danger to be apprehended from the recusants. They formed, he said, a powerful party, prompt for any violent measures, which the ecclesiastical tools of Rome should prepare and prescribe. The alarming influence of these men; the consequences to be dreaded from their mutual union and connexion with Rome; their dependence upon the pontiff for promotion; the doctrines and desire of the see with respect to its claimed supremacy, all were strongly urged to his majesty. It was further stated by his lordship, that he had discovered an ecclesiastical hierarchy, with a regular subordination of orders, offices and persons, established throughout the kingdom by papal power; their jurisdiction exercised with as much regularity, and their decrees executed with as much authority, as if the pope were in possession of the realm. By such circumstances and acts of supremacy, the suspi-

cions of the king and his ministers were roused ; and, in order to guard the peace and security of Ireland, it was resolved, as a measure of necessity, to augment the forces in Ireland to four thousand ; but the king's death caused the security of Ireland to devolve on Charles, with the other perplexities attending the commencement of his reign.

CHAPTER X.

Conduct of the Puritans; they become Republicans; Three Parties struggle for Supremacy; Star Chamber; Abuses; Abbot; Laud; Richlieu; Buckingham; Rivalry of Buckiaghnam and Richlieu; Siege of Rochelle; Charles and Henrietta; Archy, the King's Fool; Supremacy and Prerogative in danger; Rozetti, the Pope's Agent; Queen's Confessor impeached; generous conduct of a Popish Priest,
1625 to 1649,

CHARLES called a parliament, and reposed a confidence in their affections for a necessary and sufficient supply. But their grant was rather a mockery of support, in the circumstances of the crown and nation. It is true, that even the absolute Elizabeth could seldom extort the requisite supplies; and habit, more than reason, is found, in every thing, to be the governing principle of mankind. Besides, the puritanical leaders of the Commons saw with regret the result

of their ancestors having blindly given way to practices and precedents, which procured unbounded power for the crown: and resolved, therefore, to grant no supplies to the necessitous king, without extorting concessions in favour of liberty. The new principles had rendered them hostile to the court; they wished to extend their own liberty, and leave but little to sovereign power; to fling off the restraint under which they were held by the established hierarchy, and to load the crown with shackles. A general odium too was excited against Buckingham, whose influence over the modesty of Charles exceeded that which he had acquired over the weakness of James. To fortify himself against the resentment of James, he had entered into the cabals of the puritans and affected popularity. But secure of the confidence of Charles, he had since abandoned the party. Such sentiments against Buckingham so lately and highly extolled in parliament; a refusal also of supply for a war, so earnestly solicited by the Commons; a departure, likewise, from uniform precedents in favour of prerogative; and a determination to straiten his authority, as it were, by a parliamentary conspiracy; seemed to Charles very little removed from sedition. But all the misfortunes of Charles's reign were combined with the results of religion on civil matters; through

the sentiments diffused over the nation by the subtle policy and machinations of the holy see, in its struggles for supremacy. This policy, however, proved a two-edged sword that cut both ways, destructive to papal as well as regal power. It is a sound observation, long since suggested to the historian by the experience of ages, that when the religious spirit mingles with faction, its operations upon society are almost supernatural and unaccountable; for it produces effects less correspondent with their known causes, than are found in any other circumstances of government. To such sovereigns, therefore, as lightly innovate in so dangerous a matter, there is great blame due; and for such as are already plunged in an enterprize of this nature by their predecessors, there is some apology, if the event disappoints expectation, and the undertaking fail.

Separations, schisms, and divisions, were adopted as the best engine of destruction against the reformed church, when the holy fulminations ceased to roll as being abortive. The popish emissaries declared from their pulpits against the authority of king, as well as the power of bishops, and asserted the right and popular liberty of independent congregations. And the better to mask their treachery, they abused the reformed church as the remnant of popery. Hence the spirit of purifying the reformed

church arose; and the puritan appeared, not only inspired with hatred against episcopacy, regal supremacy and popery, but longing to be independent both in religious and civil matters; he became therefore a republican. But casting his eye back again upon the catholic religion, he discovered in its principles and operations the seeds and the system for absolute monarchy, tyranny and slavery. His inflamed imagination immediately filled him with horror and new hostility against such a religion, and thus the destructive policy of popery produced its own punishment and defeat. The sect to which it gave birth became its most irreconcilable enemy. There appeared now three parties struggling for supremacy, Rome to regain it, the puritans to usurp, and the king to preserve it. And in a more advanced period of the civil distractions of this reign, the House of Commons exhibited one party hostile to popery, but not to prelacy or monarchy; a second, hostile to popery and prelacy, but friends to monarchy; a third, the inveterate enemies of monarchy, prelacy and popery. The two last were the presbyterians and independents, who had so completely detached the rock from the impending cliff, that the ruin, menaced by its fall, was inevitable.

The puritans, possessed by the spirit of independence in church and state, had lift up their

voice against the star-chamber, the high commission court, and the system of regal conduct with respect to parliament and supplies. In the present days such abuses would be most intolerable; but in the time of Charles they were systems continued, not created by him; he received them in spirit and example from his predecessors; and as part of the established forms of government, he conceived it to be his duty to uphold them. This doctrine was strongly impressed upon him, by those about him; for his character was rather that of facility in yielding to the opinions of others, than of energy in maintaining his own. And his misfortunes arose from the ill management of his counsellors, more than from any wilful errors on his side. A spirit of administration was thus adopted, for which precedents were pleaded, but the distance was wide between the cases. Dispatch, expediency, and necessity, will justify irregular exertions of power: but a continued series of such exertions, reduced to a system as a substitute for law, and in violation of the fundamental principles of the constitution, no provocation could warrant, nor was there precedent to justify. If one estate of parliament act wrong toward the sovereign, is he to punish the whole nation in their rights and liberties?

In the former reign, two parties had arisen in

the church; the one headed by Archbishop Abbot, the other by Bishop Laud. Abbot was a man of mild temper and great moderation, who was desirous not to press matters beyond what the peace of the church, the prerogative of the crown, and the good of the state required. Laud was a man not only of greater talents and erudition, but likewise of greater ambition, and either surrendering his judgment to views of elevation, or blinded by an intemperate zeal, he sanctioned those measures, which brought destruction on his sovereign.

The urgent necessities of the king, and the backwardness of the parliament to supply them, had induced him to raise money by loans and other means. The catholics were ready with their benevolence, and the clergy of Laud's faction were prompt in their contributions. An obscure clergyman, named Sibthorpe, maintained in a sermon at Northampton not only the lawfulness of such loans, but the indispensable duty of the subject to comply with them. Dr. Mainwaring, also, preaching before the king at Whitehall, asserted that "the king is not bound by laws concerning the subjects' rights or liberties; that the authority of parliament is not necessary for the raising of aids and subsidies; that the king's word and command in imposing loans and taxes, does oblige the subject's conscience upon pain

of eternal damnation." Abbot's aversion from such doctrines was well known; in order, therefore, to take advantage of him, Sibthorpe's Sermon was dedicated to the king, and his majesty's order was obtained for Abbot to license it. But Abbot refused, and stated his reasons in writing. Laud, however, licensed both sermons. Abbot was suspended from his functions, and confined to his house; he died in disgrace, and Laud was elevated to the see of Canterbury. Mainwaring, also, was rewarded with a mitre, and Sibthorpe with lucrative preferments. But the grounds of these transactions formed one of the articles in the celebrated remonstrance of the Commons to Charles. The zeal of Laud for uniformity between the churches of England and Scotland, proved the fatal torch that put the two countries in a flame, and which was augmented by all the incentives and artifice of papal policy. Cardinal Richlieu was a vigorous supporter of the holy see, and resisted the Reformation by secret intrigue in England, and by open violence in France. He had resolved to subdue the rebellious spirit of the hugonots, as well as to humble the haughty insolence of the great in the latter country. Undismayed and implacable, he prosecuted his vengeance. He discovered and he dissipated all the hidden cabals of the great. He exalted the throne; but he held his sovereign in chains;

whereas Buckingham, while he attempted to elevate Charles to the summit of power, levelled his throne to the dust. Richlieu seized the scattered liberties of France, and bound them in a simple monarchy. Buckingham rashly let loose the prerogatives of the crown, which the Commons secured and converted into a basis, whereon has been since raised a regular system of liberty.

A rivalry between these two ministers prompted Buckingham to prevail on the king, to embrace the protection of the hugonots, and to invade France. Charles regarded the hugonots as puritans, and had no great attachment toward them ; but he gave way to the solicitations of Buckingham. Thus a war arose from Buckingham's having sworn, " that he would see the queen in spite of all the power of France." The cause of this oath was the jealousy of the two ministers, not founded on rivalry of power and politics, but love and gallantry.

When Buckingham had been sent to conduct Henrietta Maria to England, the curiosity of the prince was called toward a man conspicuous for the favour of two successive monarchs, and for early elevation from a private station to the absolute command of kingdoms. His beauty grace and splendor ; his attractive elegance and polished talents ; the gaiety of his manners and magnificence of his expense, secured univer-

sal admiration. Elevated and emboldened by the smiles of the court, he dared to carry his ambitious love to the queen. And to a heart not undisposed to such tender feelings, his addresses were not unimpressive. A sympathy of mind so delicious, but so dangerous, seems to have been encouraged by that princess.

Information of this roused the vigilance and the jealousy of Richlieu. He too, from vanity or politics, had ventured to pay his addresses to the queen. But a priest past middle age, severe in character, and occupied in vast plans of ambition and vengeance, was but an unequal match in love for a young courtier like the gay and gallant Buckingham. The great cardinal was disappointed; but he resolved to counterwork the amorous projects of his rival; for when the duke had obtained an embassy for himself to return to Paris, a message was sent from Louis, that he must not think of such a journey. Buckingham, in a romantic passion, swore, "that he would see the queen in spite of all the power of France."

He proceeded with a fleet of 100 sail, and an army of 7,000 men, to Rochelle. But, altogether unacquainted with land or sea service, he lost two-thirds of his land forces, and gained only the vulgar praise of courage and personal bravery. The Earl of Denbigh was afterwards

sent to relieve the hugonots, but he returned without attacking the enemy's fleet. In order to repair this dishonour, Buckingham went to Portsmouth, where he had prepared a considerable fleet and army; but while conversing with Sir Thomas Fryer, he was suddenly struck over Sir Thomas's shoulder upon the breast with a knife. In the same moment, pulling out the knife, he said, the "*villain has killed me,*" and breathed his last. One Felton, a religious fanatic, formerly a lieutenant, to whom the duke had refused a company on the fall of his captain, inflamed by vindictive reflections, effected this bloody deed. The command of the fleet was given, on the decease of Buckingham, to the Earl of Lindsey, who sailed for Rochelle. The vast genius of Richlieu, which conceived not only the greatest enterprises, but the greatest means, had dared to project and execute a mole of a mile's extent across the harbour in that boisterous ocean. Lindsey in vain made various attempts to break through the mole, and force into the harbour with relief to the inhabitants, who had suffered all the rigours of a siege and famine. Finding their last hopes fail them, they were induced to surrender in sight of the English admiral, eleven thousand having perished, and only four thousand survived. A toleration, however, was given to the hugonots, the only open and avowed

toleration in any European kingdom ; but their sufferings were extreme : while the catholics, without toleration in the British realms, enjoyed considerable indulgences.

The Commons were now very loud in their censure against the Arminians, among whom were included Laud and other bishops. They imagined that the removal of these men would be a mortal blow to the hierarchy, which formed a solid basis for the support of monarchy. Fatalism and free will had occupied divines and philosophers in all the tranquillity of retreat, without being able to satisfy some men by their solutions : and now a popular and fanatical assembly pretended to discuss and decide these questions. The first reformers in England had embraced the most rigid tenets of predestination and absolute decrees. But Arminius and his sectaries opposed these principles ; and his doctrine diffused itself here, being embraced by many of the hierarchy, though rejected by the puritans. The puritans were now united by one common appellation, yet were actuated by different views and motives, and consisted of three parties. The political puritans maintained the highest principles of civil liberty : the puritans in discipline were averse from the ceremonies and doctrines of the church ; and the doctrinal puritans rigidly defended the system of the first reformers. These

three formed, however, one body of opposition to the court party, the hierarchy, and the Arminians.

At court, in the midst of his family, Charles was most respectable and amiable; kind indulgent and gentle to those around him; moderate in temper, sensible in discourse, and accomplished in endowments; of excellent taste in the arts, and learned beyond most men. His address, more stately than insinuating, corresponded, however, with the gravity of his nature, though it occasioned the remark afterwards, that he conferred a favour with less grace than his successor refused one.

Henrietta Maria, possessed of sense spirit and beauty justified the fond attachment and ceaseless confidence of the king. But her hasty temper sometimes precipitated him into imprudent counsels; and her extreme attachment to her religion, which could not have suffered if tempered by discretion, did great injury to the court by the impolicy and publicity of its effects.

Laud was a man of virtuous, but severe manners; his zeal was unremitting in the cause of religion, but it out ran his judgment. What could be more wide from the nakedness of the puritan's religion, than the pompous ceremonies which he introduced? No contrarieties in nature.

could be more opposite. Instead of attraction, he constituted repulsion: out of the elements of discord, he proposed to produce unison by violence and rigour. Nothing could be more preposterous, except the ceremonies themselves. They tended ultimately toward his destruction, and brought down upon him, at the moment, the suspicion and accusation of being what he was not, a catholic. When he asked the Earl of Devonshire's daughter, who was attached to the court, why she turned catholic? *It is chiefly,* said she, *because I hate to travel in a crowd.* Being requested to explain her meaning, she replied, *I perceive your Grace and many others are making haste to Rome; and therefore, in order to prevent my being crowded, I have gone before you.* The pride of this man participated of a sickly sensibility, which argues not a conscious possession of great qualifications, but rather an affectation of them, that is always apprehensive lest the pretension or appearance should not pass for the reality. Archy, the king's fool, having by privilege of office a right of jesting with his master and the whole court, happened unluckily to try his wit upon Laud. News having arrived from Scotland of the first commotions excited by the liturgy, which Laud had sent for adoption, Archy seeing the primate pass by him, called to him, *Who is fool now, my Lord?* The prelate, instead of laughing at the

excellence of the fool, obtained an order of council, that Archy should have his fool's coat pulled over his ears, and be dismissed his majesty's service. The Scots considered this liturgy as tinctured with the primitive pollution, and but a species of mass with some less show and embroidery. It gave birth to the famous covenant for the renunciation of popery, and resistance against religious innovation. The king now adopted the policy of concession after concession, which occasioned demand after demand, and while it discovered his weakness, it encouraged their insolence, and gave no satisfaction. Such were the results of the original machinations of Rome, which papal power still accelerated by a hand often invisible. The plans of Rome and Richlieu had been generally conducted with secret success through his Scotch secretary. But now Richlieu was roused by the imprudent candour of Charles, in declaring that he would oppose the ambitious project of that minister, to divide the Spanish Netherlands with Holland. In revenge, prompted by religion, and irritated by foiled ambition, this enterprising minister fomented the first commotions in Scotland, and supplied the covenanters with money and arms against their sovereign.

So great was the spirit of fanaticism, that women, laying down high rank and condition, and

forgetting the delicacy of their sex and decorum of their character, mixed with the rabble to carry rubbish on their shoulders to complete fortifications. A pretended saint, a woman of whimsies, named Michelson, partly hysterical, partly extatic, uttered her sacred oracles, and told thousands that their covenant was ratified in heaven ; but that the king's covenant was invented by Satan ; and that Christ was a covenanting Jesus. A zealous covenanter, named Rolls, was desired by the spectators to pray with her ; he apologized that he durst not, it would be ill manners in him to speak, while his master Christ was speaking in her. A correspondence was now detected by the Earl of Traquaire between the Scots and the French. By giving birth to distractions, the papal emissaries found they had weakened the church ; and by multiplying those distractions, it was hoped that the catholic power would be called in to support royalty or rebellion, and in either case to re-establish itself.

By reducing the crown to necessities, the puritans found that the king was forced into violent measures, serviceable to his adversaries ; and by multiplying these necessities, they foresaw his prerogatives would be undermined and overthrown. Such were the dangers in which the supremacy and prerogative were involved by papal ambition and artful policy. In the midst

of these events, the Count Rozetti, who was an agent of the Pope's, was received in a public capacity by the king, through the influence of Henrietta. Rozetti was summoned to appear at the bar of the House, but retired to the continent with precipitation. An impeachment was also brought against father Philip, the queen's confessor; and another against the superior of her majesty's capuchins: but these proceedings went no further. The clamours against the catholics became extreme. One Goodman, a jesuit, who had been condemned, being respited by the king, the two Houses took up the matter. They presented a joint remonstrance to the king, desiring he would not interrupt the execution of justice upon this jesuit and apostate. This generous catholic petitioned the king, himself, that he might be put to death rather than occasion any difference between the king and parliament. Such generosity shamed the Commons into silence. Public dissatisfaction, however, ran high, on account of the favour shewn to the catholics, who were protected and caressed at court. Loud murmurs also were excited against various modes of supply, adopted by the government under the pressure of circumstances. The city of London having refused a loan to the king, was accused before the star-chamber of having usurped more land than was granted to it, in the patent for the

establishment of the colony of Londonderry ; and was condemned in a forfeiture of their patent, and the payment of a large fine. Such rigour alienated the hearts of the citizens ; and increased the popular odium, so long roused by the sentences of the star-chamber and other courts, which were extremely severe on most trifling occasions. A waterman, belonging to a man of quality, having a squabble with a citizen about his fare, shewed his badge, the crest of his master, which happened to be a swan ; and then insisted on better treatment from the citizen. But the other replied carelessly, that he did not trouble his head about that goose. For this offence he was summoned before the marshal's court, and was fined, as having opprobriously defamed the nobleman's crest, by calling the swan a goose ; and was in effect reduced to beggary.

CHAP. XI.

Machinations of Rome. Strafford impeached: Conduct at the Table of Lord Chancellor Loftus: Pym and Hampden: State of the King: Bishop Juxon's Advice: generous Conduct of Strafford: Finch, St. John: the Ruin of the Hierarchy resolved on: Say, Essex, Fiennes, Vane; Supremacy and Prerogative in Danger: Bishops impeached: Parliament assume Military Authority.

Continuation of Charles, 1625 to 1649.

THE causes of disgust which had been growing during thirty years, were now come to a maturity that menaced some great revolution. The machinations of Rome had overspread the land with its various broods of fanaticism, engendered by its hypocrisy, and nourished in enthusiasm. Gradually infatuated by the seductive hopes and projects of levelling principles, they resolved on the utter extermination of the hierarchy and monarchical government. The House of Commons was besieged with petitions of grievances. Mr. Pym signalised himself by for-

mally accusing the king's administration with every shadow of error, misconduct, or grievance, that accumulation could collect, and aggravation inflame. He complained that the laws against papists were suspended, that persons of that communion were favoured with places of trust and honour in the commonwealth; that they were caressed at court; that within its walls they held their secret councils, and planned their designs; and that a nuncio exercised and displayed the authority of the pope in England. He inveighed against the audacious support of popish tenets, in books, sermons, and public disputes: the new ceremonies in religion, such as altars, images, crucifixes, and strange genuflexions, and theatrical pomp and parade. He compared the innovations in religion to the parable of the dry bones in the prophecies of Ezekiel. They first joined themselves together; then came the sinews and flesh; these were afterwards covered with skin; and at last the whole was inspired with the breath of life. It was his picture of the progressive revival of popery. Thus the storm was guided by Pym against Laud, which burst and overwhelmed both the Archbishop and Strafford.

The sagacity of Strafford descried this rising tempest; and he therefore wished to retire to his government of Ireland. Charles, amidst the

perils that surrounded him, placing his chief confidence in the capacity and attachment of Strafford, would not dispense with his attendance, but promised to protect him against all the fury of the Commons. He was, however, suddenly impeached by Pym, and as suddenly taken into custody. Laud was likewise impeached, and sent to the Tower. A most rigorous prosecution being commenced against the king's ministers, all his adherents were frightened into submission, and he was soon abandoned by his defendants. He now found the torrent irresistible; and having previously manifested a disposition to reconciliation, he adopted a system of acquiescence and concession.

Strafford was brought to trial, but instead of being guilty of the crime of treason, his conduct, if common allowance be made for human infirmities, appeared innocent and laudable. He had promoted in Ireland all the arts of peace and industry, increased its shipping an hundred-fold, tripled its customs, doubled its exports, advanced its agriculture, and encouraged the protestant religion without the persecution or discontent of the catholics. One of the strongest accusations against him originated in a circumstance that took place at the table of Lord Chancellor Loftus. It was mentioned there, that one of Strafford's attendants, who was a relative of

Mountmorris's, on moving a stool, had hurt his master's foot, which was inflamed with the gout. Perhaps, said Mountmorris, who was present at table, he did it to revenge the affront which my Lord Deputy formerly gave me. But I have a brother, who would not have taken *such a revenge*. For this ambiguous expression, Mountmorris, who was an officer, was tried by a court-martial for sedition, and condemned. Mountmorris is represented as a man of most infamous character; but the answer to this article of the impeachment was, that the sentence was the judgment of a court-martial, in which Strafford had no share. On the contrary, sensible of the iniquity of the sentence, Strafford said, he had not kept that nobleman a minute in suspense, but instantly told him, he would himself sooner lose his right hand than execute such a sentence.

Strafford's confutation of each article was replete with conviction, and displayed great wisdom, constancy, and eloquence; but when he combined all together, and repelled the whole force of the imputation of treason, the victory of reason and innocence was decisive—he moved the hearts of all, some few excepted, to remorse and pity. “My Lords,” said he, “I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges, which a saint in heaven has left me.” Here he made a

pause; pointing to his children, and shedding tears—then proceeded. “What I forfeit myself is nothing; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity, woundeth me to the very soul. You will pardon my infirmity. Something I should have added, but let it pass; and now my lords, for myself, I have been taught, by the blessing of Almighty God, that the afflictions of this present life are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory, which shall be revealed hereafter; and so, my lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind, I freely submit myself to your judgment, and whether that judgment be of life or death, *Te Deum laudamus.*”

The triumph of Strafford's innocence would have been too important in its results, not to rouse up a determined resolution of his ruin by all expedients. For beside the dread of his genius and authority, Pym and Hampden were menaced with an impeachment by him; and no man had more to answer for the calamities of the nation than Pym. His head was deep in the guilt of contrivance, and his hand in the execution of public mischief. He had been a clerk in the Exchequer, and possessed those parts that are derived from industry without the power of genius, or ornaments of education. He knew, through experience, the errors and mistakes of government, and failed not to magnify them, so as to

give to errors the colour of crimes. He spread, however, his shield over many delinquents, whose quality raised suspicion, that he had sold his protection to them for valuable considerations. Hampden was a man who had retired from licentious pleasures to strict sobriety, yet retained his cheerful affability. His integrity in private life was allowed by all to have been beyond exception. This, together with the opinion of his public justice and fortitude in resisting the ship-money, raised his reputation high. He was not a man of many words ; he rarely began a debate, but hearing all opinions, he took up the argument, which he stated shortly, clearly, and craftily, so as to conduct it commonly to the conclusion which he desired. If he discovered that he could not do this, he with great dexterity diverted the debate to another time, in order to prevent any decision in the negative, which might prove a future inconvenience. In private conversation his address was equally artful ; it consisted of a shew of great civility, and diffident modesty, that seemed to have no opinions or resolutions but such as he imbibed from the discourse of those with whom he conversed ; but whom he had a wonderful art of governing, and leading into his own principles and inclinations, while they believed he depended on their counsels and advice. In a word, says Clarendon, what was stated of

Cinna, might be applied to him : “ he had a head to contrive, and a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any mischief.” He was distinguished by his discernment in council, and eloquence in debate: and his valour, during the war, shone out with no less lustre.

The popular leaders, in their own defence, had brought a bill of attainder against Strafford ; and some notes of a debate in council, taken down by Sir Henry Vane, the secretary, were produced as evidence. But different members of the council testified that they had no recollection of those words, nor were the words themselves a just foundation for his condemnation. The cry of justice, however, had been raised by the fanatics against Strafford. Alarms were daily given of new conspiracies ; of vast multitudes of papists assembling in Lancashire ; of secret meetings in caves in Surry ; of a plot to blow up the river and inundate London. The people were urged to insist on the death of Strafford ; the lords were prevailed on by popular violence ; yet out of forty-five peers, nineteen opposed it. The king was deafened in his palace by the popular tumults and shouts for justice. Wherever Charles turned his eyes, he saw no security. Wherever he sought advice, his servants, basely consulting their own safety rather than their master's honor or dignity, declined the interposition of their

counsel between him and parliament. The queen terrified and always disliking Strafford, implored the king to satisfy the people, and secure safety. One man, however, there was, who, with virtue equal to his wisdom, advised Charles, if his conscience were against the bill, never to assent to it. Had this counsel of Bishop Juxon, conspicuous for that exalted courage which stands undismayed, with an eye and a heart fixed only upon innocence and truth, been followed by Charles, his friend and his country might have been saved, and himself; for in acceding to the sentence of Strafford, he signed his own death-warrant. He evinced to his friends, how undeserving he was of confidence or support; and to his enemies, that he basely yielded to fear. How different was the generosity and fortitude of Strafford; when informed of the king's irresolution and anxiety, he wrote a letter, entreating his majesty, for the sake of public peace, to put an end to his unfortunate, however innocent life.

The king alarmed by the fate of Strafford, and witnessing such violence and cruelty, determined to endeavour to appease them by immediate concessions. The Star-chamber was given up; and the tax of ship-money. This tax had originated with Attorney-general Noy, who conceived he should give the strongest testimony, that his learning in the law surpassed the knowledge of all

others, by making that to be law which other men believed not to be so. He was an unfortunate and most memorable instance, how necessary both a good education and a knowledge of mankind are, to make either a man of wisdom, or a man of business. Sir John Finch was gifted by nature with good talents; but upon this foundation, there was no superstructure of knowledge, with respect to the profession whereby he was to rise. He took up the question of ship-money where Noy left it, and being a judge, proceeded with it to that pinnacle, whence he almost broke his own neck.

An alteration was now proposed in the common prayer of the puritans, which Mr. Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, most vigorously resisted. Mr. Pym, in a conference with the lords, inveighed against the bishops, and Mr. St. John afterwards proposed an act to abolish their votes in parliament. This was a man who never abated nor dissembled his malignant spirit; but opposed with open and uniform obstinacy every thing which might advance the king's service, both after and before he was appointed his solicitor. His plan of excluding the bishops was now rejected; but it was resolved, notwithstanding, by the fanatics, to humble the king in such a manner, as to deprive him of the power of punishing them for the mortifications which they

had inflicted upon him. They determined, therefore, to abolish the hierarchy, as the support of monarchical government, and as the great mound which opposed the torrent of puritanism that now menaced the three kingdoms.

The other great leaders, who managed the machine of fanatical opposition in parliament, were Say, Essex, Fiennes, and Vane. Lord Say was ranked among those pilots, who steered men fraught with sedition to destroy the government. He hastened on, however, with ardent keenness to preferment; and, when he wished finally to stop the current of calamities, he then found, that he had authority only to do hurt, and none to heal the wounds which he had given. He fell, therefore, into as much contempt with those whom he had led, as he was with those whom he had undone.

Lord Essex was one of those characters whose pride is a substitute for ambition, and which made him angry to see any man receive more respect than himself, because he conceived no one deserved it more, or requited it better. For he was just and fair in his friendships, and incapable of foul practices, even toward his enemies. No man had sufficient credit with him to corrupt his loyalty, so long as he could discriminate what treason was. But the new doctrine of allegiance,

and the distinction of the king's power in parliament, and the king's power out of parliament, so bewildered his understanding, that he resigned himself to the guidance of those, who, he thought, wished as well, and judged better than himself. His vanity disposed him to accept of high command, by which he imagined he would become the preserver, not the destroyer of king and kingdom; but with this ill-grounded confidence, launching out into a tumultuous sea, amidst rocks and shelves, he never could return to a safe harbour.

Fiennes was a man of talents and learning; he had studied at Oxford, travelled in Switzerland, and acquired there an aversion toward the English church.

Sir Henry Vane, the younger, was a man of extraordinary talents, possessing wonderful sagacity to penetrate the thoughts of others, and deep dissimulation to conceal his own. His compliance was prompt, where contradiction would have been unseasonable; yet he never lost ground by this condescension. In mystery and artifice, if he did not surpass Hampden, he was excelled by no other man. He was selected to deceive a nation, which, says Clarendon, was supposed to excel in cunning; and performed his part with notable dexterity. For he prevailed on a people, who could no otherwise be prevailed upon than by

advancing their idol presbytery, to sacrifice their peace interest and faith to the erecting of a power, that resolved to persecute presbytery to extirpation.

The disturbances and distractions created by these men, prompted the catholics of Ireland to undertake a most horrid massacre, which shall be noticed hereafter. Rigorous steps were taken against the English catholics, and vigorous plans proposed with respect to Ireland; but notwithstanding all this ardour in appearance, nothing was done in reality, except what was calculated to keep alive the war in Ireland, rather than subdue the rebels. The fanatical leaders were taught by the Scotch invasion, to take advantage of the Irish rebellion to foment the fears of the English people, and keep their sovereign in a state of dependence. They raised money for the Irish war, but received it for English purposes; they removed arms from the king's magazine, to employ them against his own person. A remonstrance was made to the king against the growth of popery, the employment of jesuits and Romish emissaries, while public tumults were excited in Westminster, to make the air ring with exclamations of "no bishops! no bishops!"

They again introduced a bill for the exclusion of bishops from parliament; and menaced the lords, that if they would not consent to bills for

the preservation of the people, they, with such of the peers as would join them, would act without them. The majority of the peers plainly saw that the authority which would remove bishops from the rights of barons, would soon remove all other barons and nobles from their respective rights of peers: they clearly foresaw also, that the depression of nobility must inevitably follow popular usurpations on the crown. At the same time the rigid proceeding, enforced by the puritans, and acceded to by the king, against the catholics, inflamed the hostility of the latter against the supremacy. The papal party therefore in their turn, by secret emissaries, spurred on the puritans to destroy the supremacy; and the concessions of the king to fanatical tumult, joined to the preceding causes, rendered the downfall of prerogative and supremacy almost inevitable. Unfortunately, too, indiscretion followed indiscretion to accelerate this ruin, of which a strong instance follows.

Williams, Archbishop of York, was a man of imperious and fiery temper, with much freedom, but not precise veracity in his discourse; and of great learning, but too little gravity for a bishop. His passion and his levity provoked enemies, to whom his indiscretion gave advantages over him. In consequence of affronts received from the unruly populace collected about the house of par-

liament, he assembled some of the bishops, and by his advice twelve of them protested, that being exposed to insult and danger, they could not attend their duty in parliament; and therefore all proceedings during their forced absence should be considered as null and void. The king hastily approved of this step; and they were immediately impeached of high treason, for endeavouring to invalidate the authority of parliament. Some few days after a more fatal indiscretion followed on the part of the king, from which ruin immediately commenced; this was the impeachment of Lord Kimbolton and five members of the Commons. The solid and subtile plans of the puritans were calculated to excite the passions of the king into indiscretions, in order to take advantage of them. They resorted therefore to insolence in their language, and indecorum in their address; they aspersed his character with the blackest calumnies, and loaded it with the abominable odium of the Irish massacre. Charles being provoked to find that no concessions could set limits to their demands, that no grace could win their favour, began to ascribe such intolerable outrages to his own indolence and facility. The queen also stimulated his passions by urging, that such daring usurpations of his subjects would shrink before him, if he only exerted the vigor, and displayed the majesty of a monarch. At this

critical moment the judgment of Lord Digby was called in. Digby was a man with grace in his person and eloquence on his tongue, and a knowledge so universal for discourse, that he was equal to perform a part in the greatest affairs, but the most unfit to conduct them. His ambition and vanity were paramount to all his endowments, and inspired him with a confidence in himself; that sometimes intoxicated, often transported, and always exposed him. He supported such counsel at this moment as suited the passion of Charles; who, though commonly moderate, was ever disposed to precipitate resolutions, and now gave way to the fatal importunity of his friends.

His Majesty's attorney-general was commanded therefore to impeach Lord Kimbolton, and five members of the Commons, of high treason. The nation was amazed at this important accusation. Three of the five members, Pym, Hampden, and Holles, were the very heads of the popular party. Holles was the younger son and brother of the Earls of Clare. He possessed more accomplished talents than any of the party, and had derived great reputation from his conduct against the court and Buckingham. He was in all the secret councils, and was respected with submission as a man of commanding authority. But he could not prevent the persecution of

Strafford, who was married to his sister, and therefore would in no degree take part in the councils against him, though it did not otherwise interrupt his friendship with the most violent of the persecutors. But wonder had hardly arisen at this impeachment of him and the other members, when astonishment succeeded at a step more imprudent. A serjeant appeared in the king's name, and demanded of the House the five members. But however great the cause of wonder and astonishment before, a measure still more precipitate and fatal took place. The king went in person to demand, perhaps seize, the five members. When the king entered, the Commons stood up to receive him, and the speaker withdrew from his chair. The king took possession of it, and said, that he came to demand the members; and assured them that whatever he had done in favour of his subjects, he would maintain it. Looking around for the members, he asked the speaker if any of them were in the house. The speaker falling on his knee, prudently replied: "Sir, I have neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am: and I humbly ask pardon that I cannot give any other answer to what your Majesty is pleased to demand of me."

The utmost disorder arose, and as the king

retired, some members cried aloud *privilege! privilege!* it was repeated in the streets, and the reiterated echo of this expression, which now excites a smile, then filled the nation with the deepest and most real consternation. The imprudence of the king in this transaction, no man attempted to justify. But the legality of his proceedings admitted of many and just apologies. No maxim of law is more clearly established, or more universally allowed, than that the privilege of parliament does not extend to treason, felony, or breach of the peace: nor during former ages has either House ever pretended to interpose in behalf of its members, in any of those cases. Though some inconvenience might arise from the observance of this maxim, there is an ample remedy for such temporary inconvenience: but there is none for the abolition of a great principle, and uninterrupted precedent. Upon this principle the sovereign, as the great executor of the laws, was legally present to enforce their administration, which had been before despised, and to guard the Commons against these insults, which past or continued disobedience so well merited.

This proceeding of the king was ascribed to the counsel of papists and their adherents. And this was corroborated by a letter pretended to be intercepted between two catholics, which repre-

sented that the profane heretics would soon be exterminated in England. The pertinacious plots of the holy See for the recovery of Supremacy were well known to the crafty leaders of the puritans; who rather encouraged than suppressed such efforts, in order to use them as an engine for their own purposes. The parliament now assumed military authority, and gave the command of the city militia to Skippon, who, at the head of a tumultuary army, re-conducted the members to Westminster. The king retired from London to Hampton Court. Petitions in defence of privilege of parliament were procured from the counties, the city, the London apprentices, porters, poor people, or beggars, and the females, headed by a brewer's wife, who expressed their terrors of papists and prelates, massacres, and outrages, such as had been practised on their sex in Ireland.

CHAPTER XII.

Prerogative and Supremacy totter: Plots of Papists charged to the King: Puritans undermine the Constitution: Abolition of Supremacy required: Book of Common Prayer abolished: Parliament usurp Sovereign Authority: Laud: Cromwell models the Army: Romish Machinations the Ruin of Supremacy: Toleration of Protestants refused: the King goes to the Scotch Army: Conduct of the Army: Commissioners to the King: Charles refuses to violate his Coronation Oath.

Continuation of Charles, 1625 to 1649.

THE Commons having made an attempt to excite the kingdom to take up arms for their own defence, against *papists* and other ill affected persons, failed through the opposition of the Peers; but they resolved, by a bold and decisive stroke, to seize at once the whole power of the sword. Some severe votes against the lieutenants of counties had deprived all magistrates of military authority sufficient for the defence of the nation. A bill therefore was passed by the two Houses, to restore lieutenants and deputies to their military powers; and the names of all lieutenants

were inserted in whom the parliament could confide. Thus they were appointed without the king's authority; and by the bill they were made answerable to the parliament alone for their conduct. Prerogative, as well as supremacy, now tottered to the foundation.

To a bill so destructive of royal authority was prefixed a preamble breathing wanton insolence and defamatory outrage upon the honour and character of the king. It stated—that the *late attempt upon the Commons was a dangerous and desperate design*; which they had just cause to believe an effort of the bloody counsel of the *papists*, and other ill affected persons, who had already raised a rebellion in the kingdom of Ireland; and, by reason of many discoveries, they could not but fear, they would proceed not only to stir up like rebellions and insurrections in this kingdom of England, but also to back them with forces from abroad. There can hardly exist a doubt that the secret plots of Richlieu and Rome; and all the operations of their emissaries, were most craftily encouraged by the puritans themselves, as a battery for their purposes against the supremacy of the king, the power of the prelates, and the existence of the church. At the same time the efforts of the *papists*, which they had thus excited, were converted into a charge of crime against the king. In his reply to their

menacing invitation for his return to London, he said, " God so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true protestant profession."

In order to reconcile the people to the usurpations of the puritans, extraordinary rumours were diffused, and terrors of invasion, with a dread of the English and Irish papists; by which artifices the most unaccountable panics were spread throughout the nation. Petitions teemed in, demanding loudly that the parliament should put the nation in a posture of defence; and the county of Stafford expressed the dread of popish insurrection to be such, that every man was constrained to be upon his guard, and no man dared to go even to church unarmed. Most extraordinary is the mind of man! yielding at once to violent and sudden impulses; or borne away by a train of habitual impressions, it becomes blind, deaf, and infatuated: all the inlets of sense and the power of reason are lost; and man, instead of being a reasonable creature, is the animal of delusion. At the moment that puritanical rebellion was sapping and undermining, one after another, publicly and obviously, all the great outworks of the constitution in church and state, the nation was duped into a panic about pretended popish insurrection. It must be acknowledged, however, with candour and truth, that

whatever were the crimes of individuals among the catholics, the whole body have often been "more sinned against than sinning." And the odium and imputations so generally cast upon them, should have been rolled rather upon the ambition and avarice of papal power, which made some of them tools of its temporal vices, under the delusion of being spiritual agents, like instruments of heaven. Roman connection has in truth done more injury to the civil interests of the catholics of these realms, than all their doctrinal principles could ever have occasioned.

The distant parts of England, far removed from that furious vortex of new principles and new opinions which absorbs and transports the capital, still retained a faithful attachment to church and monarchy. At York the king was highly gratified by dutiful communications from the principal nobility and gentry of England; who exhorted him to save himself and them from ignominious slavery. That one fatal and passionate event of the accusation of the members seemed far outweighed by the numerous acts of deliberate violence, since offered to the king, and every branch of the legislature. The sound of liberty is always sweet to man: But that moderate freedom, which had been transmitted from their ancestors, being now better secured by

such important concessions from the king, was adhered to by many. They wisely preferred it to a giddy search after greater independence, and a manifest risk either of incurring a cruel subjection, or of abandoning all law and order.

The Commons proceeded to confer by an ordinance the command of the whole military force of the realm on persons of their own appointment. The dread of popery and prelacy, the antipathy to ceremonies, and the liturgy of the church, were excited by extreme clamour; and the fanatical spirit, let loose, confounded and dissolved every civil and moral obligation. In order to counteract the malignant impressions which the din of falsehood might make on the minds of his adherents, the king solemnly took a protestation before his whole army, assembled at Wellington, and said,

“ I do promise, in the presence of Almighty God, and, as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true reformed protestant religion, established in the church of England; and by the grace of God, in the same will live and die.”

Each party being desirous to throw on its antagonist the odium of civil war, the conflict of the pen preceded that of the sword. Charles had here a double advantage. His cause was

note favourable, being a support of the ancient government in church and state against the most unlawful pretensions : it was also defended with more art and eloquence. Lord Falkland had accepted the office of secretary, a man so eminent and extraordinary, that the wisest purpose, and most honourable duty of historical records, is fulfilled, by transmitting the great example of his virtues for the imitation and emulation of posterity. He adorned the purest virtues and richest endowments of nature, with the most prodigious acquisitions of learning. His society diffused around an inimitable sweetness and delight, and his life was a passage of simplicity and integrity. A rare union of qualities was found in Falkland ; he possessed splendour of wit and solidity of judgment, a fancy so infinite, with a knowledge so vast, that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet humble, as if he had known nothing. His house at Tew, in the vicinity of Oxford, became the resort of men the most celebrated for genius, learning, and politeness, not so much for repose as study. They repaired from the university to Tew, as to the seat of the Muses, to examine and refine those grosser propositions which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation.

Superior to the passions and pursuits of common minds, his ambition was spotless ; it aimed

at excellence in knowledge, and the esteem of good men. He fell in the field of honour, fighting for his king and country, in the thirty-fourth year of his age; illustrious in that innocence, which blesses the youngest; and adorned with a knowledge of the world and books, that the oldest rarely attain.

He was low in stature, ungraceful in address, and his aspect not inviting; his voice was still worse, being so void of harmony, that instead of pleasing it offended the ear. But that little person contained a heart so vast, and a nature so fearless, that no composition of the human frame ever disposed man to greater enterprise. And that untuned voice and tongue soon discovered a mind so excellent, that the wit and weight of all he said, carried greater lustre with it than all the ornaments of delivery could ensure.

By him, with the assistance of the king, were the memorials of the royal party composed. So sensible was Charles of his superiority in this matter, that he dispersed every where the papers of the parliament, together with his own; in order that the people might form their judgment accordingly. And so sensible was the parliament of its inferiority in this point, that wherever they distributed their own statements, they anxiously suppressed all those of the king's composition.

During the negotiations at Oxford, the puritans, who before had only insinuated, now demanded in express terms, the utter abolition of episcopacy. This demand fell to the ground, with the conferences which required prerogative supremacy and sovereign power, instead of the rights of subjects. The sentiments of Charles, as expressed in a private letter to the queen, are worthy of observation here. He said, that unless religion was preserved, the militia of England would be of little use to the crown; and that if the pulpits paid no obedience, which would surely be, if presbyterian government was absolutely established, the king would have but little comfort of the militia. This reasoning shews, says Hume, the king's good sense, and proves, that his attachment to episcopacy, though partly founded on religious principles, was also derived from the soundest views of civil policy.

The success of the Scottish covenanters flattered them in the fervor of their zeal, that they should be enabled to establish their religion, not only in England, but in the neighbouring kingdoms, and by supernatural assistances to carry their triumphant covenant to the gates of Rome itself. Richlieu, on the contrary, had carried the cause of Romish supremacy to the gates of Edinburgh, Dublin, and London. This minister had excited the first commotions in Scotland :

and La Ferte, the envoy from France, acted as a spy for the Parliament. Richlieu being now dead, his successor, Cardinal Mazarine, adopted all the maxims and policy of his predecessor. The King of Spain had also encouraged and assisted, not only the rebels in Ireland, but his ambassador at London held an intimate correspondence with the parliamentary leaders. The Parliament, by continuing their violent persecution and still more violent menaces against priests and papists, confirmed the Irish catholics in their rebellion. By disposing before hand of all the Irish forfeitures, they rendered all men of property desperate; for they seemed to threaten a total extirpation of the Irish natives. The Parliament offered to every subscriber one thousand acres in Ulster for 200*l.*; in Connaught for 350*l.*; in Munster for 450*l.*; in Leinster for 600*l.* And while they thus maddened the catholics, no measure of support was adopted toward the protestants, now reduced to the last extremity.

In times when enthusiasm led to distinction and preferment, it was impossible to confine within any natural limits, what was directed toward a supernatural object. Every man as prompted by the ardor of his temper, excited by emulation, or supported by the habits of hypocrisy, endeavoured to distinguish himself beyond

his fellows, and arrive at a higher pitch of saintship. In proportion to its fanaticism, every sect became dangerous and destructive. The presbyterians sought to humble and restrain the prerogative; the independents to abolish monarchy, and to introduce democracy. The presbyterians rejected the hierarchy; the independents renounced all forms of church government; and the election alone of the congregation bestowed the sacerdotal character. They rejected all ordinations, threw off the restraint of liturgies, and in their fanaticism of independence, disdained creeds and systems, neglected every ceremony, and confounded all ranks and orders. The soldier, the merchant, the mechanic, indulging the fervours of zeal, and guided by the illapses of the spirit, resigned himself to an inward impulse, and was consecrated by enthusiasm to teach, preach, and expound the Scriptures.

The catholics, long impressed with the infallibility of their pontifical guide, had justified upon that principle their doctrine and practice of persecution. The presbyterians, imagining that such clear and unerring tenets, as those which they adopted, could be rejected solely from a criminal and pertinacious obstinacy, had gratified themselves in a like doctrine and practice. Whereas the independents, from the extremity of the same zeal, were led into toleran

tion. A doctrine so reasonable owed its origin not to reason, but to extravagance and fanaticism. Popery and prelacy alone, whose genius they conceived tended towards superstition, the independents were inclined to treat with rigour.

Their political system kept pace with their religious. Not content with confining to very narrow limits, and reducing the king to the rank of first magistrate, as the presbyterians desired, this sect more ardent in the pursuit of liberty aspired to an utter extermination of monarchy, and even aristocracy; and projected an entire equality of rank and order, in a republic quite free and independent. In consequence of this scheme, they adopted the maxim, that whoever draws his sword against his sovereign, should throw away the scabbard. Oliver Cromwell and Sir Henry Vane were among the leaders of this sect.

On the fourth day of January 1644, the two Houses passed an ordinance for the abolition of the book of common prayer and the liturgy, and for establishing the directory composed by the ecclesiastical assembly. This event was ominous to the treaty then in agitation between the king, and parliament. But the propositions of this treaty soon appeared to be conditions to divest the sovereign of all power, and strip him even of the

ensigns of royalty. They demanded that the hierarchy should be abolished, and presbyterianism established in both kingdoms; that the king should subscribe the covenant; abandon his friends as traitors; give up the militia, and surrender even his children to the direction of the two Houses, which now engrossed all supreme and sovereign authority.

This usurpation was most iniquitously displayed by a barbarous act of tyranny upon Laud. Though one hundred and fifty witnesses were examined, and though the same illegality of an accumulative crime and constructive evidence, which appeared in Strafford's case, was resorted to; still so rotten and so false was the ground for a support of any judicial sentence against Laud, that they were forced to pass an ordinance of Parliament to deprive of life this aged prelate. No rebellion could be more against law than this murderous act. Throughout the trial the groundless charge of popery, though belied by his whole life, was urged against him, in order that every other error alleged, might be rendered unpardonable by this imputation, which was considered as the blackest and the highest of all enormities. The vigour of Laud's genius was not exhausted by long imprisonment; it evinced its spirit on his trial, and sunk not under the horrors of execution. "No one," said

he, "can be more willing to send me out of life, than I am desirous to go." He was a man of exemplary virtues, though alloyed by natural infirmities of an unpopular cast. To produce the best ends, he never studied the easiest or most conciliating ways; but conscious of his own integrity, he was regardless of the opinions of others. It is to be regretted, that a man of so much spirit energy and enterprise, had not imbibed more enlarged views of things, and had not embraced principles of conduct more suited to the nature of men and genius of human society.

The army of the Parliament being now new modelled by Cromwell, was composed of fanatic independents. The officers, in the intervals of military duty, were seized with extasies of devotion, and poured forth rhapsodies, which they mistook for prophecy and inspiration. Thus actuated they mounted the pulpits and poured forth their principles in a torrent of that sort of eloquence, which, though least understood, is most effectual to kindle the blaze of enthusiasm. Infected with this contagion, the common soldiers were seized by the same holy fervors. Conceiving they were under the operations of grace, they communicated their mutual feelings; and giving utterance to the spirit, they advanced to battle singing psalms; they fought with the

most eager zeal; and died in full confidence of the crown of martyrdom. With a detachment of these fanatical warriors, Cromwell marched from Windsor, and cut in pieces four regiments of the king's cavalry, near Islip, on the 24th of April, 1645. Disaster was but the precursor of disaster, and the king's affairs went fast to ruin. Fairfax and Cromwell were victorious in all directions; and sovereignty and supremacy were no more.

Fanaticism, that instrument of Romish machination for protestant divisions and the downfall of royal supremacy, had now completed the work of destruction; but the sovereign pontiff derived no advantage from such triumph. He had falsely reasoned, that the supremacy must pass from the king to him; whereas he found all his hopes and conceptions prove abortive. The spiritual government was now reduced to an established form in *congregational classical provincial and national assemblies*. All the inhabitants of each parish were ordered to meet and choose elders, on whom, together with the ministers, was bestowed the entire direction of all spiritual concerns with the *congregation*. A number of neighbouring parishes, commonly between twelve and twenty, formed a *classis*; and the court which governed this division was composed of all the ministers, together with two,

three or four elders, chosen from each parish. The *provincial assembly* retained an inspection over several neighbouring classes, and was composed entirely of clergymen. The *national assembly* was constituted in the same manner, and its authority extended over the kingdom.

Many members of the Parliament still mindful of the civil interests of society pressed for a toleration of the protestants. The fanatics cried out for extirpation of heresy: exclaiming that this indulgence would make the church of Christ resemble Noah's ark, and render it a receptacle for all unclean beasts.

Charles was at this period in danger of being made captive by Fairfax, at Oxford. To be led in triumph by his enemies, exposed to the insult and violence of an enthusiastic soldiery, who hated his person and despised his dignity, was an extremity desperate and abhorred. Montrevill, the French minister, interested for the king by the sentiments of natural humanity, and not by instructions from his court, whose policy favoured the Parliament, had solicited the Scotch general and commissioners to protect their distressed sovereign. He received professions and promises, and transmitted them to the king, perhaps with some exaggerations, the result of his zeal and feelings. From his suggestions, Charles

embraced the resolution of repairing to the Scotch army before Newark. In order to conceal his intentions, directions were given at every gate in Oxford to allow three persons to pass; and in the night, the king, accompanied by Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, went out at that gate which leads to London. He rode before a portmanteau, and called himself Ashburnham's servant. He passed through Henley, St. Alban's, Harrow on the Hill; and passed by cross roads until he arrived at the Scotch camp before Newark. The generals affected surprise on the approach of the king; and though they paid all exterior respect to his dignity, they instantly put a guard upon his person, and under the appearance of protection made him in reality a prisoner. No intercourse was allowed with his friends by letter or conversation. The Scotch generals would enter into no confidence with him: they treated him with feigned respect; but every proposal, which they made him, tended further to his abasement and ruin, until they delivered him over to the hands of his enemies, on the receipt of a sum of 400,000*l.* The Scotch nation had a large amount of arrears due to them for services, and made the payment of this sum a part of the arrangement for the delivery of the king. But they were reproached with the

infamy of betraying and selling their prince for money: and such grievous stains are not easily wiped away.

The presbyterians and independents had hitherto acted in concert against their sovereign: but now their animosities toward each other began to appear. Cromwell, who influenced the whole conduct of the independents, had gained a complete ascendancy over Fairfax, and filled the army with officers devoted to his interest. The majority of the members of Parliament were presbyterians, who being supported by the city of London, and dreading the views and principles of the general officers, proposed to disband the army. The soldiers, urged on by Cromwell, murmured and complained of this treatment. They elected agitators or deputies to discuss their affairs, and communicate their resolutions to a council composed of generals, field officers, and captains. These were the instruments by which Cromwell and his associates moved the whole military machine. The army now became tumultuous; its directors determined it should not be disbanded, but kept up as a counterpoise to the presbyterian interest. A part of them seized the king's person; then impeached eleven members of Parliament; and overawed the House to comply with various demands. The speakers of the two Houses, with other members, foreseeing that the

army must prevail, retired to it, in order to save themselves from destruction. Publishing a manifesto, whereby they declared they would support the two speakers, who had fled to their protection, the army advanced to Hounslow, under Fairfax. He entered London with a body of dragoons and re-seated the members in the House, which voted a month's pay to the army. Being indulged to such a degree of licentiousness, subordination had vanished, and Cromwell found much danger in a sect, which he had strengthened for his security. The Parliament, he saw, was now subjected; there was no further occasion for the concurrence of the soldiers; therefore their councils were ordered to be discontinued and the agitators were remanded to their respective regiments. They refused to obey the orders; the councils and conferences were continued; they claimed equal share in regulating the government with their generals; they insisted on an abolition of all distinctions, and thence acquired the name of Levellers. But Cromwell, by his prompt resolution, nipped their growing anarchy in the bud. He repaired to a meeting of the Levellers with a guard of chosen men; but finding expostulations vain, he fell upon them suddenly, killed some, hanged others on the spot, and sent the rest to London. By such vigorous and intrepid means he broke the

mutinous spirit of the Levellers, and reduced the army to submission.

Arms were taken up in the king's cause by various districts, which only served to magnify the ruins of royalty, and add to the fame and power of Cromwell. The dominion of the parliament had been of short duration ; for no sooner had they subdued their sovereign, than the army subdued them, and tumbled them from their slippery throne. But while the forces were employed in all quarters, the parliament began to resume their lost liberty, and act with wonted courage. The eleven members, who had been impeached by the army were recalled, and the vote of their expulsion reversed. They sent commissioners also to Newport in the Isle of Wight to treat with Charles. When these persons presented themselves before the king, they were struck by the manifest change that appeared in their hapless sovereign ; being bereft of his servants and cut off from all human communication, he laid aside all care of his person. He had allowed his beard to grow ; and his hair too, being dishevelled and neglected on his discrowned head, was now almost totally silvered by the hand of time or pressure of anxiety ; and his apparel bore the marks of misfortune and decay. Thus he stood before them a venerable figure of majesty in distress ; which

even his enemies could not contemplate without fixed reverence and compassion. But notwithstanding such external marks of decline and decay, the vigor of his mind was unbroken. During two months he sustained the argument against fifteen men of the most distinguished capacity in both Houses; and they could never obtain any advantage over him. The Earl of Salisbury, surprised at these instances of uncommon conception understanding and elocution, said to Sir Philip Warwick, "the king is extremely improved of late." "He was always so," replied the other, "but now you are at last sensible of it."

Charles assented to all the demands except two. He would neither give up his friends to punishment, nor desert his duty to religion. The bitterness of his repentance for his abandonment of Strafford, had determined him against the repetition and guilt of a like error. With respect to religion, he declared, his conscience would never consent to the abolition of episcopacy, which was the great work of Apostolical institution: and as to the sale of lands destined for the support of the church, he held it to be not only sacrilegious, but a direct and express violation of his Coronation oath, *by which he was solemnly bound to maintain the rights of the clergy.* Two of the

parliamentary theologians, who attended the discussion, told his majesty with more fanaticism than charity, "that if he would not consent to the utter abolition of episcopacy, he would be damned."

CHAPTER XIII.

Conduct of Ireton; conduct of Lady Fairfax; Charles executed; want of fidelity to Strafford; consequences of Graces to Irish Catholics; Viscount Ely; Ormond; Papal Hierarchy seize Churches; Efforts for Papal Establishment; Rebellion; Sir W. Cole's Conduct; Sir George Rawdon; horrid Massacre; Dreadful Retaliation; generous Conduct of some Popish Priests.

THE siege of Colchester was made memorable by an event new and without example. After having suffered the utmost extremity of famine, and feeding on the vilest aliments, the garrison desired to capitulate. This was acceded to, but Sir Charles and Sir George Lisle were made instant sacrifices to military punishment. This unusual and unwarrantable severity was loudly exclaimed against by all the prisoners. Lord Capel, fearless of danger, reproached Ireton with it; and in high and noble indignation, challenged him

in the names of the prisoners, to exercise the same impartial vengeance on all of them, as they were all engaged in the same honourable cause. Lord Capel had no obligations to the crown, but he felt his great duties to his sovereign; honor and conscience devoted his person and his fortune to the support of legitimate rights. He was a man, in whom his enemies could discover but few faults, and his friends need not have desired more accomplishments. He was happy in his domestic affairs, and more happy in thinking himself blest in them. All men revered his memory, though few followed his example; and he whose virtue courage and fidelity can stand comparatively beside Lord Capel's, will be one of those who deserve best of the English nation. Lucas enjoyed such a great name and esteem in war, that although he possessed neither good understanding humour nor conversation, yet all men desired to accompany him in his death. Lisle, notwithstanding the fierceness of his courage in the field, had the softest and most gentle nature; he was kind to all, and beloved of all, and without a capacity to have an enemy.

Ireton, bloody and obstinate, was regardless of Lord Capel's remonstrance; and Lucas was first shot. But he gave the order to fire himself, and with the same alacrity, as if he commanded a platoon of his own soldiers. When he fell, Lisle

ran instantly and kissed the dead body ; and then presented himself to a like fate. Thinking the soldiers stood too far from him, he desired them to come nearer. One of them replied, " I warrant you, Sir, we will hit you." He answered, smiling, " Friends, I have been nearer to you, when you have missed me." Thus perished this generous spirit of modesty courage and humanity ; but both were sacrificed for their military excellence by Ireton, a man of the worst purposes, and upon all occasions of an unmerciful and bloody nature. His determined obstinacy often extorted the concurrence of Cromwell himself against his inclinations. Ireton forced the passive Fairfax into this measure at Colchester, whom Cromwell had consigned to his government during his absence.

Fairfax, though invested with supreme command, was but second and subordinate. He had no expanse of mind, though great in war ; but his courage was equalled by his humanity ; in his conduct he was open, in his views disinterested, in his professions sincere. No personal advantage could tempt, nor ambition seduce him from that course of public conduct, which he had adopted, though unhappily derived from errors of religious and party zeal. He had neither talents for cabal. nor penetration to discover the cabals of others .

he placed his whole confidence in Cromwell ; whose impenetrable dissimulation, under the appearance of open sincerity and a scrupulous conscience, imposed on the easy nature of this brave and virtuous man.

The parliament though destitute of a hope of success determined to resist, and resolved that they should proceed to the settlement of the kingdom on the basis of the king's late concessions, notwithstanding they had before voted his proposals with respect to the church unsatisfactory ; but Pride, formerly a drayman, now a colonel, seized a number of the members ; and the House being thinned of about two hundred, this invasion was denominated *Pride's purge*. The remaining members voted that the king's concessions were unsatisfactory, and that no member absent at the passing of this vote should be received until he subscribed it. But the extreme of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance yet remained ; the public trial and execution of their sovereign. For this purpose, the House voted that it was treason for the king to levy war against his Parliament ; and having thus invented a new treason, a high court of justice was appointed to try Charles.

Before Charles was conducted from Windsor to London by Colonel Harrison, the most furious enthusiast in the army, Hamilton, who was pri-

soner there, was admitted into the king's presence : falling on his knees, he passionately exclaimed, "*My dear master !*"——" I have indeed been so to you," replied Charles, embracing him. All the symbols of sovereignty were withdrawn, and being treated by his attendants with familiarity, rudeness and disrespect, the reflection of Charles was, "*Nothing is so contemptible as a despised prince.*"

The arrangement for the trial being adjusted, when the crier, calling over the court, pronounced the name of Fairfax, a voice answered from among the spectators, *He has more wit than to be here.* When the charge was read against the king, *in the name of the people of England,* the same voice exclaimed, *not a tenth part of them.* Orders were given to fire into the box whence these insolent observations came ; but it was discovered Lady Fairfax was there. Borne along by the violence of the times, she had fanned her husband's zeal against the royal cause ; but now seeing the awful and unexpected results of all Fairfax's victories, she, as well as he, was struck with abhorrence and remorse. The soldiers were instigated by their superiors to cry for "justice and execution," as Charles walked through the hall from the execrable tribunal. One miscreant reviled and scoffed at him, and even presumed to spit in the face of his anointed Sovereign. He

bore the insult with all the piety and meekness of a primitive martyr, saying "poor souls, for a little money they would treat their commanders in the same manner." A soldier, however, roused by manly sympathy and virtuous loyalty, implored aloud from heaven a blessing on oppressed and fallen majesty; his officer, hearing his zealous prayer, beat him to the ground, in the king's presence. *The punishment, methinks, exceeds the offence,* said Charles.

The French, the Dutch, the Scotch, the Queen, the Prince, all addressed the Parliament, for the king in vain. His fate was fixed and irrevocable.

Four generous men, high in dignity, but more exalted by their virtue, represented, that they were the king's counsellors, and had advised all those measures which were now imputed to him as crimes; that he as *king could do no wrong*, therefore, in law and fact, he was perfectly innocent, but that in both they were guilty. Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, Lindsey, called therefore for punishment on themselves, and to spare that precious life, which every branch of the legislature, every department of the state, every subject in the realm, ought with the utmost hazard, and to the last extremity, to protect and to defend. Such a generous effort must immortalize their names, but could not save the king's life. He was condemned to death. An awe excited by

this dreadful event overwhelmed the people with fear and astonishment: they waited in silent horror, as if they expected a dissolution of nature. "There is, Sir," said Juxon to him on the scaffold, "but one stage more, which though turbulent is yet a short one; it will carry you from earth to heaven, and there you will find the prize to which you hasten; a crown of glory." "I go," replied the king, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown;" and at one blow his head was severed from his body. Such was the dreadful result of fanatical divisions excited by the lust of ambition and avarice on the part of the holy see, and accelerated by its struggles, not only in England but Ireland, to regain Supremacy. "*Che gusto di tagliar teste coronate!*" "What pleasure to take off crowned heads," was the horrid expression of papal ambition, panting for supreme power.

The fanaticism of the soldiers was wrought up to such a degree of enthusiastic phrenzy by prayers, sermons, and exhortations, that they imagined the highest merit in the eyes of heaven consisted in a furious disloyalty toward their prince. Fairfax, who absented himself from the trial, now strained every effort to arrest the execution of the fatal sentence, but was duped by religious artifice. Cromwell and Ireton exhorted him to seek directions from heaven on this important occasion,

as the king seemed to be rejected by it. Harrison was appointed to join in prayer for this purpose with the credulous general. They had, however, previously signed the warrant of execution; and Harrison prolonged his doleful cant until intelligence arrived, that the fatal blow was struck. Harrison rose from his knees and declared to Fairfax, this event was the miraculous answer of heaven to their devout supplications.

Charles was unhappily born in a period when the precedents of past reigns participated of arbitrary power, and the spirit of the nation rushed forward to liberty. He was brought up, also, amidst sentiments of high prerogative; and he conceived that his duty as well as honor obliged him to maintain them. But the tide of fanaticism had borne down the religion of the country; the principles of supremacy and sovereignty had given way to an enthusiastic frenzy of independence; and the people became mad and mighty in their fury to destroy all those restraints, which regal power had derived from the constitution. Charles had neither dexterity to manage and turn aside this torrent of popular encroachment, nor vigour to subdue its pretensions. With a judgment far superior to that of his counsellors, he had not confidence in his own understanding, but suffered himself to be guided by proud partial and inflexible men. Unfortunately too his at-

attachment to his consort occasioned too much deference to her wishes, who was superstitiously attached to popery, and importuned him incessantly in favour of the catholics. Towards his dependents Charles was not liberal; his conversation was not free, nor his address pleasing; whereas there is no policy more easy, and none more sure or more wise, for all the public and private purposes of princes. The prepossession of address, and the dignified facility of conversation, raises men to a momentary elevation, which conciliates their feelings, and inspires confidence; while generous words and acts towards dependents, beget a flattering sense of personal kindness, that insures attachment and fidelity, where there is virtue, understanding, or emulation.

The memorable and awful examples of ages tell us, that if the confidants or companions of kings and princes be void of such qualifications; royalty suffers for their guilt, and is loaded with the odium of their vices. Unhappily Charles by his own conduct, struck at the root of all confidence and fidelity, when instead of protecting he deserted Strafford, his zealous and faithful friend; but in his last moments he reproached himself, and said, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker, for as he had suffered an unjust sentence to take effect upon his friend, he was now punished by an unjust sen-

tence upon himself. Charles was humane and truly pious. His conception was quick; his understanding clear, his elocution chaste, and his manner dignified. He was one of the best husbands, best fathers, worthiest men, and best christians of his age.

His misfortunes were accelerated by the events in Ireland, which make it necessary to take a retrospective view of the affairs of that nation previous to his death. The British government had been so long in the impolitic habit of neglecting Ireland, that it was not attended to on the important event of the Reformation. The consequence of this neglect and mismanagement was obvious in the effects: the Reformation had made but little progress; and consequently the adherents of papal power far out-numbered the supporters of the king's supremacy. The spirit~~ed~~ power of Rome was employed to encourage and inflame its votaries. Pope Urban the Eighth exhorted them by a bull to lose their lives rather than take that wicked and pestilent oath of supremacy, whereby the sceptre of the catholic church was wrested from the hand of the vicar of God Almighty. Such senseless blasphemy had full effect upon their ignorance and superstition. To recover this supremacy was, in their estimation, to insure heaven.

With the appearance of an extraordinary ex.

ertion of loyalty, they offered a loan of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds to Charles in his necessities ; but they solicited certain graces in return. Under the sanction of those graces, they proceeded to celebrate their religious worship with all the parade of public solemnity and pompous ostentation : they seized on churches for their service, exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction openly, and severely ; crected friaries and nunneries ; and in the city of Dublin, under the eye of the government, established an academic body. Numbers of ecclesiastics swarmed into the kingdom from foreign seminaries, filled with inveterate prejudices against England. Seculars and regulars, bound by oath to defend papacy against the world ; to labour for augmentation of its power and privileges ; to execute its mandates and persecute heretics ; all appeared in dangerous concert under the authority of the holy See, and subject to the orders of the congregation of *propaganda fide* lately established at Rome.

The Commons of England watched these proceedings with severity. A proclamation was issued against such presumption, by the Irish government. Clamours ensued amongst the Irish catholics, together with a tardiness in their pecuniary aid. Charles and his ministers, impatient at these murmurs and reluctance of the recusants to make good their engagements, recalled Lord

Faulkland, and committed the administration of Ireland for the present to two lords justices, Loftus Viscount Ely, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Richard Earl of Cork, lord high treasurer of that kingdom; men united by friendship and affinity, and of considerable weight and consequence in the nation. Charles, however, saw that the authority of the crown in Ireland must be maintained by military force, and therefore resolved to commit the government of that kingdom to Lord Wentworth, as soon as he could dispense with his services in England. But the tendency of public affairs in Ireland accelerated his departure.

Wentworth, who had formed a contemptuous opinion of the whole Irish nation, revived an order of the late reign against members wearing their swords in parliament. The object was to prevent the consequences of any excess or transport arising from party in debate. It had been complied with by the members without considering the insult on their privileges. The Earl of Ormond, yet in youth, but with all the feelings of the old English nobility, whose spirit was high, and understanding solid, heard the order with scorn, and refused to deliver up the ensign of his dignity, when demanded by the usher of the black rod, who stood at the door to receive

the swords of the peers. Provoked at the peremptory repetition of the demand, he told this officer, if he must have his sword, he should receive it in his body, and proceeded to his seat with stately indignation. Wentworth, incensed at such singular contempt of his authority, summoned Ormond before the council. This young nobleman appeared; he avowed his perfect knowledge of the order, and his own wilful disobedience; but he added, that he had received the investiture of his earldom *per cincturam gladii*; and was both entitled and bound by the royal command to attend his duty in parliament, *gladio cinctus*. Wentworth was abashed and confounded. Ormond became a favourite with Wentworth, and at the age of twenty-four was admitted to the council table.

The papal hierarchy now exercised regular jurisdiction, and in various places had possessed themselves of the lands of the church. The Scottish presbyterians, outrageously zealous for their own discipline and worship, insulted the established church daily, abused its rites, and treated its worship with contempt. Puritans and recusants, encouraged by the alarming disorders in Britain, now became formidable. The one was inflamed by the zeal of popular independence, the other infected by the contagion of

factionous turbulence, and both united in systematic opposition against the king and his rights.

Unfortunately the peace of Ireland was soon most fatally destroyed by rebellion. The causes were of long growth, and the effects have been of permanent duration, for they have not ceased to operate after a period of one hundred and sixty-eight years.

Instead of extinguishing prejudice by policy, the system of years had been calculated to inflame animosity. Smarting with the remembrance of ages of contempt and sufferings, the Irish regarded the English government as a cruel and injurious usurpation. Numbers of the old Irish race, excluded during centuries from the benefit of laws and civilization, and bound, as it were, to barbarity, retained in remote districts their original manners with their original resentments augmented and inflamed.

The professed policy of the preceding reign was, to unite all the Irish, and to abolish all odious distinctions. The real policy of his ministers and their successors was to divide them into two parties, the one consisting of loyal subjects, who were late servants of the crown; the other including dangerous or disaffected subjects, who were all the rest of the inhabitants. The old English settlers thus insulted, were spirited and proud; but to

the insult of infatuated folly was added the iniquity of injustice and barbarous oppression. Obsolete claims, fictions of law, fraud, and circumvention, and all the artifices that interested wickedness could invent, were practised against them.

To the influence of such circumstances upon the human heart and mind, in estranging the old settlers as well as natives from English government, the still more powerful operation of religious principles and deep-rooted propensities was added. The strangely neglected and mismanaged cause of the Reformation had rendered the greater number of the inhabitants most obstinately devoted to popery. The Romish clergy enjoyed that unbounded influence over the gentry, which the tenets of their religion gave them: and the uninformed people they governed at their will. These ecclesiasties had received their education and principles in the seminaries of France and Spain. They returned bound solemnly to the pope in unlimited submission; and were PUBLIC TEACHERS WITHOUT PROFESSION OR BOND OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE KING; fraught with zeal, and propagating doctrines which the moderate men of their own communion professed to abominate. They maintained the *universal monarchy* of the pope, civil as well as spiritual; his authority to excommunicate and depose princes, to absolve

subjects from oaths of allegiance, to dispense with the laws of God and man, to sanctify rebellion and murder, and to change the essential nature and differences of vice and virtue. With such impious and afflicting sophistry of the schools and councils they filled their superstitious notaries, contrary to the letter, sense, and design of the gospel; to the writings of the apostles and the commentators of their immediate successors; to the belief of the catholic church for ten ages; and to the clearest dictates of nature.*

Ecclesiastics of this description, teaching such principles, enjoyed a spiritual jurisdiction in Ireland, under the authority of the pope. But this jurisdiction was precarious, being subject to the restraint of civil power, and therefore did not comport with those feelings of authority imbibed where popery was legally established. The state connived at the private-exercise of their religious rites. But their imaginations were impressed with the public splendour of religious ceremonies in foreign countries. They had witnessed the grandeur of their prelates, the reverence of the clergy, the magnificence of their endowments, and the riches of their revenues. Small as the income of the protestant clergy was at that time, yet the superstition of the laity, and the

* Walsh, the Irish Franciscan Remonstrance, Dedicata, Lc.

dread of ecclesiastical censures, would soon have augmented it, if possessed by the popish clergy, in emulation of the splendid examples abroad. Whereas mortified in their situation at home, reduced to disguise and secrecy, enjoying but a scanty and dependent subsistence, they were impatient to exchange it for an established and splendid income. But to accomplish those desires, except by arms and insurrection, would have been an attempt as absurd as fruitless. Hence therefore arose rebellion.

With this view they inflamed the Irish abroad by the remembrance of lost grandeur, and the brave efforts of their fathers for their religion and their liberty. They animated them to rise from their present state of depression to the assertion of their rights and civil elevation, by executing vengeance on their oppressors. By all the merits of their being sufferers for religion, by all the blessings of their aiding so pious a cause, they implored succours from foreign courts; and while they magnified the strength and the impatience of the Irish catholics to take up arms for the faith, they received no unfavourable answers. Such intimations of encouragement were communicated with zeal to the old Irish, who, querulous, proud, violent, unemployed, and disdaining every profession but that of arms, were easily roused to any desperate attempt.

Heber MacMahon, a Romish ecclesiastic, gave early information to Lord Strafford of a general insurrection intended in Ireland, for which he had himself been employed to solicit assistance from foreign courts. Strafford only restrained, but did not suppress its spirit by his vigilance. He increased its violence by his severity.

The government was well acquainted that there had passed from Spain a considerable number of Irish churchmen for England and Ireland; as well as some good old soldiers, under the pretext of raising levies for the King of Spain; and that it was whispered by the Irish friars in that kingdom, a rebellion was expected shortly in Ireland. Roger Moore was the head of a great Irish family, which had been expelled from princely possessions in Leinster, by the violence and fraud of Mary. His hatred of the English had been confirmed, and his knowledge and manners improved abroad. Breathing vengeance for the subversion of old establishments, Moore returned to Ireland. His heart was on fire, but his head was cool, cautious, and deliberate. Graceful in person, and dignified in aspect, he was courteous and insinuating in his address: quick to discern the characters of men, and pliant to adapt himself to their sentiments and passions. With such qualities he soon conciliated the esteem, and won the affections of the native Irish. They beheld

this gallant chieftain with an extravagance of rapture; looked up to him as their glory and protection; and celebrated him in their songs. It became a proverbial expression, that their dependance was on "God, our Lady, and Roger Moore."

He soon attached to him Richard Plunket, a man vain in his temper, indigent in fortune, and bigotted in religion. He had been bred in England, and obtained in Flanders military command distinction and advancement. With a politeness which recommended him to numerous connections, his plausibility enabled him to influence and govern them. He next addressed himself to Connor Macguire, Baron of Enniskillen, who was chieftain of his sept in the county of Fermanagh. He was a youth of mean understanding, licentious life, and expensive habits; overwhelmed with debts, proud of ancient grandeur, and impatient of his present poverty and distress. Moore told him, this was the moment to restore the possessions and religion of his fathers; unless he would meanly suffer the English to rob him of his rights, and extend their persecution of the catholics into Ireland for the extermination of every professor of the Romish faith. The artifice of Moore prevailed on Macguire, and likewise joined to him several other leaders. To quicken the hope, and animate the

resolution of these conspirators, an emissary arrived with assurances of arms money and ammunition from Cardinal Richlieu, and instructions to hold themselves in readiness for insurrection. Owen O'Neal informed his associates that he had himself received the most solemn promises of assistance both from Richlieu and the Spanish ambassador; that their object was the defence and rights of the catholic religion, and that every catholic power must necessarily espouse the cause. It was resolved by the conspirators, that the rebellion should be general, that it should commence on one day in all places, and be conducted with as little bloodshed as possible: And it was proposed by some that the whole island should be reduced to the obedience of the pope.

The progress of rebellion soon hastens men to excess; and extravagance is ever in proportion to ignorance and inexperience. Heber MacMahon, who has been mentioned before, was admitted to the secret consultations of the conspirators. A meeting of the Romish clergy, together with some laymen, was held at the abbey of Multifarnam in the county of Westmeath, where the fate of the English and other protestants was the subject of debate. Some proposed their banishment; others proposed the same lenity exercised toward the Moors on their expulsion from Granada by the King of Spain;—an unmolested de-

parture with some effects. Others exclaimed against this: and as an effectual bar against any return to regain their possessions or execute vengeance, insisted upon a general massacre and utter extermination of the English and other protestants.

Sir William Cole, a gentleman of Enniskillen, informed government of very suspicious appearances, which he had observed; but in ten days after, by his vigilance address and loyalty, he obtained and furnished a full account of the intended rebellion. Yet this instance of his zeal proved ineffectual. His letter to the lords justices was either intercepted or suppressed.

The flame burst out: and the conflagration was general. The chief places of Ireland were immediately seized: towns, forts, castles, entire counties were in possession of the rebels. Sir William Cole, however, by his bravery and vigilance, had secured Enniskillen; though Macguire had possessed himself of nearly the whole of the county. Nine others were actually reduced by the rebels. O'Neal soon found himself at the head of 30,000 men, who had flocked to his standard. The reports of insurrection were scarcely heard before the English were in the hands of their ruthless enemies. Few of them, however, fell by the sword, except in open war or assault. The Irish adhered to the original plan in the commencement of this scene. The English were confined

to prisons, in momentary dread of destruction ; or were driven from their habitations naked, destitute, exposed to the rigour of a severe season, fainting and dying in the highways, or crawling to some place of refuge, in the ghastliness of fear and famine.

But the ignorant mass of rebels being told that the government of both Ireland and England had resolved on the extirpation of the Irish catholics, their vengeance and fury were awakened. They vowed not to leave one Englishman in their country : and to have no king but one of their own nation.

A manifesto was published by the leaders to give a specious colouring to their cause, and amuse government ; while the immediate object of their solicitude was to obtain succours from abroad, and to engage the pale to join in their rebellion. Richlieu held out to them the most encouraging hopes of powerful support.

The first army of the rebels regularly formed, was that which made a violent assault upon the town of Lisburn. It was sustained with steadiness, and repelled with vigour ; but by the arrival of Sir George Rawdon, an eminent English settler and gallant officer, and by his dispositions at the moment of danger, the repeated efforts of the besiegers only augmented their confusion, and swelled the number of the slain. They were

finally put to shameful flight by the skill of Rawdon, and with so great carnage, that the number of rebels slain trebled the amount of the English garrison. The consequences, however, of this success were horrible. All humanity fled. The protestants of whole districts were indiscriminately massacred, without regard to sex, age, or condition. Some were dragged out of prisons in which they had been previously confined, goaded forward like beasts, by guards exulting in their sufferings, and determined on the destruction of those who should not sink under such tortures. They enclosed some in houses or castles, which they set on fire with a brutal indifference to their cries, and a hellish triumph over their expiring shrieks and agonies. Some were plunged into rivers by their tormentors. The Romish ecclesiastics encouraged this work of carnage: the women forgot the tenderness of their sex, and with execrations, like furies, imbrued their hands in blood: even children in their feeble malice, lifted the dagger against the helpless prisoner.

Those who escaped languished in miseries most horrible. Disordered in their imaginations by such frightful scenes of butchery and recollection of horror, every suggestion of phrenzy tortured them without end. The minds of others overpowered and weakened by terror, listened to the tales of disordered imaginations, which suggested

miraculous escapes from death, and miraculous judgments on murderers; marks of slaughter on the guilty, indelible by every human effort, with visions of spirits chaunting hymns, and ghosts rising from rivers shrieking out revenge. Such are said to have been the frightful fancies raised by distempered imaginations, and propagated and received as incontestible under a weak and superstitious horror, among an ignorant and superstitious people.

A violent and enthusiastic hatred of the Irish arose from these events. The English, who had escaped by being in places of security, forgot in their rage the humanity practised in numerous instances by the old Irish, who rescued the suffering protestants from destruction. Blinded by the fury of vengeance, their abhorrence became indiscriminate, and transported them into the same cruelty which had provoked this abhorrence. The Scottish soldiers particularly, who had reinforced the garrison of Carrickfergus, were possessed with an habitual hatred of popery, and inflamed to an implacable detestation of the Irish by multiplied accounts of their cruelties, horrible in themselves, and exaggerated not only by the sufferers, but by those who published and magnified their barbarities. On a fatal night they issued from Carrickfergus to an adjoining district, denominated Island Magee, where a

number of the poorer Irish resided, unoffending and untainted by the rebellion. And those barbarous and most iniquitous monsters, if we may believe one of their bloody leaders, assailed thirty innocent and unsuspecting families, whom they massacred with calm deliberate cruelty while in their beds. Such an unparalleled outrage upon innocence cast an indelible stain upon the authors of a deed, which no time can wash out.

In the commotions of the south, many of the Irish leaders were solicitous to preserve the persons and the property of the English from outrage. The barbarity of their followers could not, however, be effectually restrained in the fury of revenge, the violence of rapine, and the cruelty of bigotry. But to neither party were the virtues or the vices of humanity peculiar. Saint Leger was no less horrid in his fanatical fury, than the rude Irish in their brutal outrages. In the execution of martial law, he spared neither sex nor age: but his countrymen testified a generous indignation, and reproached his unmanly and brutal cruelty with horror. In the excesses of rapine, some of the higher condition amongst the rebels mixed with the insurgents: but Lord Mountgarret shot his friend for so base a deed. Some popish ecclesiastics preached their horrid doctrines of massacre and blood: but others,

with zeal and humanity, made every effort to moderate the excesses of war, and formed various plans of protection for the English; they concealed them from the fury of their enemies, even in their places of worship, and under their very altars.

CHAPTER XIV.

Conduct of Ormond—a Jewel voted to him: Arms from France for Rebellion; Declared lawful: Minister from the Pope, and Absolution to Rebels: Nuncio arrives: Seats in Parliament and Papal Jurisdiction demanded: English Catholics encourage the Irish: Glamorgan's Offer to make Peers for the Nuncio's Party: Results of Popish struggles, furious zeal to extirpate Catholics as a rebellious race: Nuncio's desire to destroy the King: Views of Rome more malignant: Apology that Irish Bishops took the Oath of Allegiance without scruple: Nuncio Sovereign Supreme and Infallible: Army claim Ireland.—No toleration for Protestants: horrid Principles of a Romish Jesuit: Nuncio's power declines, but kept up by Ecclesiastics looking for preferments.

Continuation of Charles, 1625 to 1649.

ORMOND now carried on the war against the rebels with moderation vigour and success. Lord Gormanstown remonstrated against his martial proceedings, and threatened that his wife and children should answer for his actions. “ My wife and children,” said Ormond, “ are in your power; should they receive any injury from men, I shall never revenge it on women and children. This would be not only base and unchristian, but infinitely beneath the value at which I rate my wife and children.” Whatever were the professions of the chief governors, Sir

John Borlase and Sir William Parsons, the only danger they really apprehended, was a too speedy suppression of rebellion. Extensive forfeitures were the chief objects of themselves and friends, with whom they kept up a regular correspondence among the leaders of the English Commons. Ormond, however, pursued his success. Having a body of 3000 foot, 500 horse and five field pieces, but harassed by fatigue much encumbered, and ill provided, he was encountered on his return to Dublin by several rebel leaders of Leinster, who commanded a body of 8000 foot and some troops of horse. He engaged and killed several hundreds, and gallantly put the remainder to flight. Such a total dispersion of their army ensued as gave considerable consequence to this victory obtained at Kiltrush. Not only high eacomiiums were received by Ormond, but by order of the House 500*l.* were expended upon a jewel, which was presented to him to be worn as a mark of distinction and in commemoration of his services.

The rebels, however, continued in detached parties to harass the loyal inhabitants of Leinster, ravage their possessions and besiege their castles. Lady Offaly was summoned by the insurgents to surrender her castle of Geasall, and her letter in reply is not unworthy of record.—“ I received,” said Lady Offaly, “ your letter,

wherein you threaten to sack this my castle by his majesty's authority. I am and ever have been a loyal subject, and a good neighbour among you, and therefore cannot but wonder at such an assault. I thank you for your offer of a convoy, wherein I hold little safety. And therefore my resolution is, that being free from offending his majesty, or doing wrong to any of you, I will live and die innocently; and will do my best to defend my own, leaving the issue to God. Though I have been, and still am desirous to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, yet being provoked, your threats shall no whit dismay me.

“LETTICE OFFALY.”

The rebels were reduced by repeated defeats and disappointments to a state of hopeless desperation, when Owen O'Neal arrived from Dunkirk with one hundred officers and a considerable supply of ~~sans~~ arms and ammunition. He was an officer of great skill, long experience, and high reputation, having served in the imperial and Spanish armies. He had defended Arras against the French with such consummate ability, that his surrender crowned him with as much honour, as victory his antagonist. As a soldier he possessed all the skill of his profession; was quick to discern, and diligent to improve every advantage offered by the enemy or gained by himself. But being more circumspect than enterprising, his

genius was peculiarly adapted to a war of defence and protection, and therefore he possessed the qualities most eminently useful in a system and service which he was now to undertake. As a man, the world had taught him knowledge ; and he had derived prudence from experience, sobriety from habit, caution from judgment.

His first act, as a general, was a public expression of his detestation of the barbarities committed by Sir Phelim O'Neal and his brutal followers. He ordered the houses of the most guilty to be burnt, declaring he would join the English if such wretches were suffered to escape without punishment ; and at the same time he dismissed the prisoners whom they had taken. To increase the confidence of the Irish, two vessels arrived at Wexford from Dunkirk, laden with arms and ammunition. After this, Colonel Preston arrived, a soldier of experience and reputation, in a ship of war attended by two frigates and six other vessels, laden with ordnance for battery, field pieces, and other warlike stores, five hundred officers, and a considerable number of engineers. Twelve other vessels fitted out at Nantes, St. Maloes, and Rochelle, soon arrived with artillery arms and ammunition, together with a considerable number of Irish officers and veteran soldiers discharged from the French service by Cardinal.

Richlieu; all amply provided, and confidently assured of further succours.

The popish prelate of Armagh now summoned his clergy to a synod; which declared the war of the Irish to be lawful and pious, and exhorted all persons to unite in this righteous cause. Plunder and murder were at the same time forbidden: but a general synod of all the Romish clergy of Ireland being thought necessary, it was convened and sat at Kilkenny. Here the famous *Confederacy* was formed, whose bond of union was solemnized by an oath of association, and a sentence of excommunication denounced against all those who should refuse to take it. They ordained provincial councils composed of clergy and laity; and a national council, to which the former should be subordinate. They decreed that embassies should be sent from this assembly to foreign potentates, and that the pope the emperor and King of France should be particularly solicited to assist their cause. The supreme council taking into its own hands the administration of public justice, and the command of the sword, appointed a guard of honour and security for itself. Having adjusted this system of government, it appointed its provincial generals, and dispatched ambassadors to foreign courts.

Lord Leicester, who had been a soldier and ambassador, was now Lieutenant of Ireland. He was not a practical, but rather a speculative man; and from his process in mathematical studies, was led to expect more certainty in the progress of deliberation and its results in human affairs, than the combinations of human counsel or the business of the world is capable of. Yet strange to say, nothing could be more uncertain and unresolved than his own nature. Hence he fell under great suspicion and reproaches. Some have said he was a man of honour and fidelity toward the king; others have averred that he was attached to the parliament. His conduct toward Ormond sanctions the latter. For, it induced Charles to render Ormond independent of the Lieutenant, as commander of the army in Ireland. The king also being aware that the insurrection in Ireland had been essentially useful to his enemies, by affording them pretences for raising men and money: and finding the professions of the insurgents at this moment to bend to peace: he sent a commission to the Marquis of Ormond and others, to treat with the principal recusants. The lords justices, who acted with the committee of parliament, were provoked at this event, and promoted a remonstrance against this commission. However five agents from the supreme council met the king's commissioners, after some address and

great efforts for this purpose by men of temper and moderation on both sides. Ormond, however, considered the propositions submitted to him by the confederate insurgents as inadmissible : but he condemned also the representations of the lords justices, on these propositions, as tending to countenance a scheme of extirpation. Parsons was consequently removed from the office of lord justice, and Borlase, who was in himself harmless, was continued with Sir Henry Fichburne as his new colleague.

Involved in all the miseries of a civil war, and influenced by the plea of necessity, Charles directed Ormond to treat for a temporary cessation of arms with the rebels ; until time might produce a treaty of final peace, upon more equitable terms than what his affairs could now expect. Ormond in due obedience, but with proud regard for the honour of his royal master, deemed it necessary that the first overtures for a cessation should be made by the rebels. He instructed his agents at the assembly of Kilkenny to proceed accordingly. The popish clergy, who always derived their extravagant hopes of power riches and splendour from the confusions of the kingdom, were averse from every measure tending toward the restoration of public peace. But the majority of the assembly, with more temper, and in conformity to their professions of

loyalty and the settlement of a distracted realm, determined on a cessation for twelve months. Ormond was now empowered by commission under the great seal, to treat with them. The rebel forces were at this period abundantly supplied, having secured the harvest and filled their magazines. The king's forces were grown mutinous through distress, and several garrisons were abandoned through want.

The assembly of Kilkenny were not insensible to the advantages of their cause. Peter Scarampi, a father of the congregation of the oratory, arrived as minister from the pope. He had brought supplies of money and ammunition for the rebels, letters from the holy See to the supreme council and Romish prelates, and what was more important than all, a bull, granting a general jubilee and plenary absolution to those, who had taken up arms for the catholic religion. The old Irish crowded round him with superstitious attachment. He impressed on them a horror of any treaty which did not expressly stipulate for the free, public, and splendid exercise of the Romish worship. Remonstrances, however, of an opposite nature, by the leaders of the confederates, proved successful, and the treaty of cessation was signed.

The English Parliament was incensed at this transaction, which deprived them of a popular

pretence to raise money for their own contest, and afforded to their adversary the means of assistance. They loudly ascribed the disorders of the two kingdoms to one cause, jesuitical practices and a horrid scheme to subvert the protestant religion. The barbarities of the rebels seem to have possessed the people of England with indiscriminate aversion toward the whole kingdom of Ireland, and inflamed their detestation of popery. For when a great majority of inhabitants, the relative proportion of whom being above fifteen Romans to one protestant,* were treated by a feeble government with moderation, the English indignantly made the realm to ring with the cry not only of scandal, but of menaces at the condescensions shewn to impious and barbarous traitors. Some ascribed the cessation to the queen; some considered it as a violation of the solemn protestations made by Charles against popery, and declared that after this fatal discovery of his sentiments, they could no longer support his cause, and they abandoned him totally.

Charles exercised great indulgence toward the

* According to the most credible accounts, the inhabitants of Ireland now amount to about four millions, of whom two and a half are catholics, and one and a half protestants. The relative proportion therefore is not two to one, but as five to three. This is a great change from the former proportion of about fifteen to one.

catholics in Ireland ; but he soon discovered the instability of their promises, in return for favours so odious both to his enemies and the general body of his subjects, and so repugnant to his own declarations. He engaged, by a private letter to Ormond, that if the Irish gave him the assistance which they had promised, and he should be restored to his rights, he would consent to a repeal of all the penal statutes, except those against *appeals to Rome*, and the *exercise of foreign jurisdiction within the realm*. To demonstrate their own power and consequence, and to recommend themselves to foreign courts, the confederates sent about 1,400 foot to the service of France, and other levies to Spain. But when Ormond applied for 2,000 men to be sent to Scotland; they refused by an explicit answer ; that no such assistance should be given to the king until a peace should demonstrate by its nature, that they had taken up arms for the sake of religion, and its establishment in full splendour.

The confederate Irish were filled with vast expectations by the arrival of Glamorgan in Ireland, a nobleman of great influence and power with the king, who was also connected with them by affinity and religion. He was of gentle and conciliating manners, with lively imagination and sanguine temper, but weak in judgment. He came authorised by the king, to arrange con-

ditions privately with the confederates, which could not be yielded by public intervention, or acknowledged in the king's present embarrassments. They were also elevated by the success of their embassy to the holy See. Innocent the Tenth received Belling, their minister, with marked respect, and sent in return Rinnuncini, Archbishop of Fermo, as nuncio to the confederates. The nuncio was eloquent in discourse and graceful in his address, regular and even austere in his life; but ambitious, fiery, bigoted, and vain. He was exalted by an extravagance of spiritual pride, and governed by a superstitious and fanatic prepossession, that he was the appointed instrument of Providence for the conversion of the western islands.

Among other instructions, he was directed to unite the Romish prelates in an unalterable declaration of war, until their religion should be finally established, and the government of the country restored in a catholic lord lieutenant. He was to prevail on Ormond to return to the bosom of the church; to visit the queen at Paris, and assure her that religion was the sole object of his mission.

The Earl of Clanricarde had assured Ormond, that if he would grant a repeal of the penal statutes, a final accommodation would ensue, and that the Irish would at once embark their lives

and fortunes in the royal cause. But the Irish clergy now sat in convocation, factious, proud, and selfish ; and the least exceptionable of their order were zealous to recommend themselves to the pope and his minister, by a solicitude for the supremacy of the popish see. They thundered in the ears of their followers that there should be no peace, which did not invest their prelates with full jurisdiction, together with the right of sitting in Parliament ; that they should retain for ever the churches, abbeys, monasteries and chapels now in their possession ; that they should have an equality in number and eminence of all civil and military offices ; that they should have schools and universities ; and that all the penal statutes against recusants and provisors should be utterly abolished.

Charles expressed his indignation at such demands, in favour of popery, as must destroy the protestant religion. He directed Ormond to procure a further cessation ; if not, to endeavour to divide their party, and leave all matters to the chance of war. Glamorgan, however, negotiated, and through extraordinary concessions obtained by treaty a stipulation for a levy of 10,000 men in aid of the king. It was necessary, notwithstanding, to renew the public treaty with Ormond. The civil matters were adjusted without difficulty ; but the propositions with

respect to religion were insidious and extravagant. They amounted to a legal establishment of the Romish worship and papal jurisdiction.

Ormond resisted such demands; but it was finally agreed to refer the propositions to the king; and peace was on the point of final settlement, when all was frustrated by the arrival of the pope's nuncio.

The clergy had represented to the pope the danger of a peace, which did not secure to their religion all the splendour of a public establishment, and all the advantages of papal jurisdiction. The English catholics, having been informed, that the queen had sent Sir Kenelm Digby to solicit subsidies at Rome, requested the nuncio, that these subsidies should be refused, until the Irish catholics should be gratified in their demands, with respect to religion; which would form a basis for the English catholics to build equal demands upon, and obtain equal indulgences. They proposed to unite with the Irish catholics, to facilitate and forward their purposes, and form an army with them for the king; but they urged the previous concession of all demands, and full security for their performance. The king, said they, "is not to be trusted; and there can be no reliance on his word, as appears from the case of the Earl of Strafford and the bishops whom he sacrificed, though

sworn to protect them." The vanity and superstition of the nuncio now flattered him that he was in negotiation for the extirpation of the Northern heresy ; the object of all his labours, and the final hope of the English catholics.

Under this impression he objected to the terms of both the private treaty of Glamorgan, and the public one by Ormond, as being insufficient and precarious. The council endeavoured to obviate these objections, and discussion succeeded to discussion, which only confirmed the nuncio in his opinion, and the confederates in their purposes of accommodation.

The nuncio, finding it impracticable to bring the council to his measures, determined to oppose theirs by every means. He summoned the Romish bishops to a private meeting. Eight attended and joined him in a protest against the peace, and in a resolution to oppose it. The nuncio then addressed himself to Glamorgan. He gravely assured him, that the king was deceived by heretics ; and that the entire safety of his crown depended, next under God, on the pope, and the union of his catholic subjects with those of other countries. And as it was of the last moment to his safety to grant the petitions of the Irish catholics, he urged that his lordship should use his extensive powers to serve the king and monarchy, and establish the orthodox faith.

The earl, whose temper and understanding were nearly on a level with those of the Italian nuncio, readily yielded to these instances. Bigotry and vanity induced him to sign an instrument, by way of appendage to his former treaty. He agreed that when ten thousand Irish should be sent into England, the king should engage himself never to employ any other than a catholic lord lieutenant of Ireland; to allow the catholic bishops to sit in Parliament; universities to be erected under their regulations; and the jurisdiction of the supreme council to subsist until these private articles were ratified. All these secret negotiations, however, were baffled by a peculiar incident. The popish archbishop of Tuam, leading an assault upon the town of Sligo, had forced his way; and was on the point of expelling the British garrison, when his forces were suddenly alarmed with the intelligence of the approach of a strong northern army. They retired, were attacked, defeated by Sir Charles Coote: and the archbishop fell in the action. Among his baggage was found an authentic copy of the private treaty concluded by Glamorgan with the confederates, in which was contained a recital of his commission, and his oath to the confederates. An acquisition so important was instantly transmitted to the English Parliament. The papers were printed and diffused in all directions, to the

dishonour of the king, the scandal of his protestant adherents, and the triumphant exultation of his enemies. Glamorgan was committed to custody, and examined before the council. He confessed the whole transaction, but said it was not obligatory on his majesty : yet without any blemish on his own honour and conscience. For, he had obtained a *defeazance* signed by those, whose names were subscribed to the treaty, declaring it should not be obligatory on his majesty, otherwise than he himself might please ; but he had pledged his word and honour, that his majesty should not be informed of the *defeazance*, until he had endeavoured to induce his majesty to execute the treaty. The lord lieutenant and council imputed his offence to injudicious zeal, and Glamorgan was sent to Kilkenny to obtain from the confederates three thousand pounds for the king's army, in which he succeeded. The king declared to the English Parliament, that Glamorgan had no commission to treat on any thing, without the privity of the lord lieutenant, " much less to form any capitulation concerning religion."

The pope's nuncio had laboured to baffle every accommodation, except on terms of extravagant advantage to the interests of the Romish church. The popish clergy were devoted to his nod, except some bishops, whom age had rendered mo-

derate, and some regulars whom their mission made independent of his authority. With such support, he was confident and presumptuous; manifesting an indifference to any interests of the king, a zeal for all those of papal authority, and engaged entirely in the establishment of the catholic worship in all its dignity and magnificence. Some of the confederates being disposed to peace, on terms of toleration, without the public establishment of their religion or papal jurisdiction, he produced, in counteraction of such purposes, the plan of a treaty said to be framed by his holiness the pope, and transmitted by his nephew, Cardinal Pampilio. Its provisions for the church were extraordinary. The nuncio was empowered to subjoin additional articles; he made it still more extraordinary; and the whole collection of absurdity and presumption was presented as a treaty framed at Rome; but which in all probability had no other origin than in his own imagination. He assembled his clergy, who readily signed a protestation in favour of this treaty. He ventured to assure that assembly, that the original of this treaty was daily expected from Rome by the hands of Sir Kenelm Digby, the queen's minister. Sir Kenelm was a man of extraordinary stature, whose person attracted the eyes of all, but which were soon fixed by his wonderful grace, and a glowing courtesy of man-

ners, with such a volubility of language as surprised and delighted the hearers. The mould of his figure, and the gravity of his movements, were all in accord with the tune of his voice. He had gained renown in arms, and possessed the rarest advantages which nature and art could give. Hence he felt a confidence and presence of mind, that buoyed him up against those prejudices which would have suppressed and sunk any other man, but never clouded his appearance, in the best places and best company, with the best estimation. When the nuncio ventured to promise the original of his treaty by the hands of Digby, an ecclesiastic, with a virulence intolerable to the nuncio, asserted that his tale of a Roman treaty was a slander on the queen, and an imposition on the Irish, devised purposely to ruin the king and prevent peace. Glamorgan endeavoured to moderate the violence of the nuncio, and even signed an instrument whereby he engaged in the king's name to ratify the Roman treaty on certain conditions. The nuncio yielded to such condescensions, but suspected his sincerity. Glamorgan, to remove such impressions, pledged himself by a voluntary oath to support the nuncio in his measures, against Ormond, his partisans, and all others. The suspicions of the nuncio were thus quieted; but the suspicions of Glamorgan awoke with apprehensions of the instabi-

lity of the nuncio, and his opposition to succours for the king. He repeated, therefore, by letters from Waterford, where he went to inspect the embarkation of troops, his zealous assurances of attachment, and his magnificent promises to the nuncio. He offered to use his power of conferring titles, and to create one earl, two viscounts, and three barons, at the nomination of the nuncio, so as to enable him to gratify his Irish friends, and to strengthen his party.

While the Earl of Glamorgan was preparing for an embarkation never to be effected, and indulged his imagination with splendid prospects never to be realized, the confederates were engaged in the final settlement of a treaty, to send succours to the king's forces; but which was protracted until he had not the appearance of an army left in England. Such was the result of the pride imprudence and bigotry of the Irish catholics, encouraged by the machinations of Rome against the supremacy of the king, and for the establishment of its own jurisdiction. Ormond now received intelligence, that Charles had resigned himself to the Scottish army; but a letter from the Prince of Wales assured him of his concurrence to the Irish treaty*. It was therefore

* One of the articles of this treaty may strike a reader with surprise and contempt, if not explained. It provides that the old acts of the Irish parliament shall be repealed, which pro-

signed, and ratified by proclamation of council. Such an event produced no settlement or compromise in the aspect of affairs but scattered in its progress the most prolific seeds of destruction. This peace of forty-six was utterly disclaimed by the power in England. The covenanters in Ulster despised the whole negotiation: and the parliamentarians of Munster opposed any peace whatever with the Irish insurgents. The reformers, in the fulness of their zeal, sought the extirpation of popery, and the rebellious race; while a powerful party of the catholics, with equal and absurd violence, aimed at the extirpation of the Englishmen and their religion. The nuncio was indefatigable in his opposition, throughout the whole negotiation, to any peace but one framed by the pope; to any civil treaty whatever, separate from the ecclesiastical: and to

hibited horses to be used in agriculture, with the ploughs attached to their tails, and the burning of corn, when reaped, in order to obtain the grain. These customs are stated in the following stanza:

“ In western isles renown'd for bogs,
 “ For tories, and for great wolf dogs,
 “ For ploughing hobbies by the tail,
 “ And threshing corn with fiery flail,” &c.

The acts to prohibit these barbarous customs rather encouraged and perpetuated them than otherwise, by the penalty becoming a source of regular revenue to the crown. They were therefore abolished.

any ecclesiastical one whatever, which should not fully gratify his most extravagant expectations of an immediate complete and splendid establishment of the Romish worship, and papal power.

This bustling prelate was a miserable politician. Whatever regard he expressed publicly for the king's interests, he privately declared by letter to Cardinal Pampilio, that the *destruction of the king would be advantageous to the Irish*, and the triumphs of the parliamentarians in England, most effectual to the establishment of popery in Ireland. Under the influence of such extraordinary absurdity, he secretly rejoiced in every misfortune of the royal party, and contended most strenuously against every measure in support of the king's tottering cause. Never did monarch suffer more from the mischievous exertion of papal ambition to establish the usurpation of Romish supremacy upon the ruins of the right of sovereigns. The nuncio harangued, remonstrated, protested against the treaty of Ormond. He preached the necessity of union among the confederates; regardless of the king's ministers, he exhorted them to look abroad for support, to seek the protection of some foreign power, and pointed out the pope as their natural and most assured protector.

Sensible of the utility of military power to sup-

port the clamours of himself and his clergy, he addressed himself to O'Neal, and his armed Craights. These were a race of barbarous rovers, without any settled residence, wandering with their cattle in search of subsistence, to the great annoyance of those districts which they visited. The nuncio assured their commander, that the supplies, which he had brought or expected, should be applied to the support of his army. He gave him a sum of money as an earnest of his future bounty, and thus prevailed on a bold adventurer to declare against the peace. The Irish of the province of Ulster, who derived no advantage but from public commotions, were with equal ease induced to assume the title of the *nuncio's soldiers*. When the peace was proclaimed at Limerick, some of the nuncio's clergy led on a tumultuous crowd, who wounded the mayor and some of the heralds mortally, and imprisoned them ten days; for which outrage they received the nuncio's thanks and benediction; he even displaced the magistrates, and conferred the government of the city on the man who conducted the tumult. Convening his clergy at Waterford, he pronounced all who adhered to the peace guilty of perjury, by violating the oath of association; and excommunicated the commissioners, and all persons instrumental to the treaty; he pronounced a solemn interdict on all places

where the peace had been admitted: and suspended all the clergy who preached in favour of it; and all confessors who absolved any adherents of the peace.

This man's zeal, how destructive soever, lost part of its force by the blindness of his fury; he deviated from the intentions of the holy See, which were more malignant than his measures. In a speech to the council of Kilkenny, he recommended fidelity first to God and religion, next to the king. Cardinal Pampilio severely reprimanded him for this, by a letter from Rome. "The holy See," says he "never would approve, by any positive act, the civil allegiance which catholic subjects pay to an hereditary prince." Again, the intemperance of his zeal against the peace, hurried him into another like offence. He was the first who signed a protestation of the clergy, in which they declared warmly for religion and for the king. Pampilio again reprimanded him; reminding him, that "it had been the uninterrupted practice of Rome, never to allow her ministers to make or consent to public edicts for the defence of the crown and person of an heretic prince." The nuncio apologized, by saying that ALL THE IRISH BISHOPS HAD, WITHOUT SCRUPLE, TAKEN THE OATH, which contained this exceptionable clause OF ALLEGIANCE to the king, and that it was so rooted in the minds of all the Irish,

even the clergy, that if he had opposed it in the least, he should have been suspected of having other views than those of mere nunciature, which had been already charged upon him, without any cause of suspicion.

Efforts were made to detach O'Neal from the nuncio, whose troops had carried victory and terror into various places ; but it was in vain. The Earl of Castlehaven was sent to the nuncio to endeavour to dissuade him and his clergy at Waterford, from their violent proceedings, and to reconcile them to the peace. But they were obstinate and incorrigible, and he was scandalized at the implacable virulence of the nuncio, who declared he would oppose the peace with inveteracy to the utmost, and uttered other expressions, said the earl, "relative to blood not becoming a churchman." He had joined the arms of Preston to those of O'Neal on his side. Dublin was menaced by him : and Ormond, with his army, was in danger of being cut off by them. The nuncio now triumphed ; the army of O'Neal was ready to execute his orders. Preston with his forces was devoted to his commands ; and soldiers and officers, gentry and commonalty, all crowded to the standards of this vain nuncio, breathing vengeance against the Ormandites, and clamouring for religion, the clergy and the pa-

pal minister. In a moment, all the power which the confederated catholics had so long supported; the authority which their assemblies had exercised; the dignity which their councils had attained, were dissolved and lost. A vain Italian prelate of fiery intemperance, had laid all prostrate; papal power was irresistible, and he was invested with the influence of infallible authority. The nuncio, surrounded by a few ecclesiastics, was now absolute lord of the kingdom. He made his entry into Kilkenny with all the pomp of royalty and victory: all affairs civil and ecclesiastical were resigned to his direction: his supremacy was complete. When innovation once begins, who can prescribe bounds to its progress? Intoxicated with power and flattery, he ordered the members of the supreme council and other promoters of the peace to be imprisoned: and General Preston executed his command. By a solemn decree, issued in his own name, and by his own authority, he appointed a new council consisting of four bishops and eight laymen. In this assembly he acted as president, modelled his armies, appointed his officers, and in the fulness of authority, determined and commanded according to the dictates of his sovereign pleasure. Thus was a Romish prelate absolute over a realm, where a king inherited lawful authority:

and which the viceregal government was invested with: the Parliament of England claimed: and the supreme council of confederated Irish had usurped. But the king, the viceroy, the parliament, the confederates, all sunk beneath the nuncio, and were superseded by the infallible influence of papal authority. Never certainly did the holy See appear more supreme in power, or an entire people in folly. No monument more characteristic of Papal and Bæotian policy could have been erected for the contempt and derision of posterity.

Of all the infatuated people who resigned their understanding and their interest to this prelate, the Earl of Glamorgan was the most obsequious. He had received a private and affectionate letter from the king; and Charles told him it was his intention to effect an escape, and cast himself into the arms of the nuncio. This letter was communicated to the nuncio, and he created Glamorgan general of Munster, in the room of Lord Muskerry, who was disgraced and imprisoned. The levity, vanity, and instability of Glamorgan, were now conspicuous and understood; but they were all redeemed by his abject submission to the pope and his nuncio. So confident was this shallow prelate of becoming master of the chief seat of government, that he promised to create Glamorgan lord lieutenant when Ormond should

be driven from Dublin. He actually wrote to Rome, to adjust the ceremonials of this event between the papal minister and the chief governor. Ormond expected and prepared against a siege, which was menaced by the most barbarous of the old Irish. And to animate the exertions of her countrymen against such murderers, the Marchioness of Ormond, with other ladies of quality, joined in the labour for defence, and carried buckets of earth to the fortifications. Ormond was deeply pierced with a sense of his desperate situation. He was utterly unprovided with sustenance for his army within the city, or his garrison without; he had mortgaged his estate for twenty-three thousand pounds, expended in the public service. Two thousand more received from his tenants at Kilkenny were quickly exhausted in purchasing subsistence for a few days. He could not maintain a siege; he could not treat with the Irish; and he could not rely on their adherence to treaty. The parliamentary fanatics he detested. Yet to this detested party he was forced to apply.

The nuncio was in full confidence of success. His great reliance was on O'Neal. He had suspicions of Preston, and required an oath to secure his fidelity and vigour in prosecuting the siege. This partiality, manifested by indiscretion, made the two generals rivals, and their respective

forces enemies. Such discontents enabled Digby and Clanricarde to treat with Preston, in order to detach him from the nuncio's party; and Clanricarde, profiting of these divisions, commenced a treaty with the nuncio and his council. No reasonable concessions, however, could satisfy the preposterous ambition of the nuncio; but in the midst of the debates, intelligence was brought that the forces of the English parliament had landed in Dublin to join Ormond. They started from council; O'Neal decamped with his men; and Ormond was released from difficulties. Preston became major-general under Clanricarde: But Ormond had no confidence in him, and yielded only to the importunity of Clanricarde when he employed him. Preston undertook to secure Waterford and Kilkenny; where, Ormond informed him, he should speedily follow him. Preston therefore began his march; but suddenly some agents from the nuncio appeared, and ordered him to stop. They denounced the sentence of excommunication against him and his followers if he disobeyed: and commanded him to disperse his forces. The contemptible bigot was terrified, and dispersed his forces.

Ormond was not surprised at this event, nor at the succeeding perfidy of such a man. But he bravely resolved to struggle with his difficulties, and to wait the result of a meeting con-

vened at Kilkenny. The tone of the nuncio, however, and his clergy at this meeting, was more extravagant than ever. They demanded the full establishment of popery, the entire possession of all churches and all benefices throughout the kingdom; the repeal of the common law, so far as it gave the crown any ecclesiastical power; the erection of popish universities; the appointment of provisions to all church dignities; and the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in its fullest extent. Thus the subversion of the protestant religion and the king's supremacy was determined by their articles; and by a formal resolution the late peace condemned. But a ridiculous inconsistency was inserted in their votes. They resolved that the commissioners had acted honestly in making, and the clergy in violating, the peace.

Here was a complete annihilation of all hopes from the Irish. Ormond was surrounded by a small party of gallant men. They were exasperated at the repeated perfidy of an odious race; he was provoked at the distresses to which they had been reduced in the royal service: and was unable any longer to supply the wants of a famished army. After long toil and faithful services for the interests of his sovereign, he found himself deceived, destitute, abandoned. Unequal to a longer support of his master's cause, or the protection of his loyal protestant subjects, his

only resource was desperate: he deposited the rights of the crown with the British parliament.

The policy of the fanatics in England was to force Charles into necessity; the hope of aid in this necessity drew him into concessions toward the catholics; and these concessions grew upon indulgence, until their unreasonableness accelerated his ruin.

The nuncio still influenced the council, and a spirit of violence and extravagance predominated. O'Neal, however, assumed a new tone; and refused to obey the nuncio, though he commanded the nuncio's army. He affected independence; his army became insolent; claimed the whole island as the property of the old Irish; and filled the confederates with dread and alarm. The English catholics and those of Leinster feared extirpation from those savages; and thus these military insurgents, who had given such shew of dignity and dangerous importance to the original conspirators, who had extorted from the king the most abject condescensions, who prescribed the law to his lieutenant, and made the nuncio absolute and supreme: now despised the nuncio's commands, over-awed the confederates, terrified the catholics, and menaced each other. Such is the progress of the sword and usurpation. Still, however, the body of insur-

gents was apparently so powerful, and so infatuated by the ambitious presumption of their clergy, that no sense of intestine or military disorder affected their extravagance. They had absolutely refused the least toleration of the established worship in any place subject to their power ; and in their expectations that the whole kingdom should be under their dominion, they disputed whether the king should be allowed *one* chapel in the *capital*.

It was maintained by a Romish jesuit, that the kings of England never had any right to Ireland : and if they had, it was forfeited by their becoming heretics, and neglecting the conditions of Pope Adrian's grant. He added, that the old Irish natives might recover, by force of arms, the lands taken from their ancestors by English usurpers ; that they should kill not only all protestants but Roman catholics of Ireland who supported the crown of England : and should choose an Irish native for their king, and throw off at once the yoke both of foreigners and heretics. The nuncio, in perfect conformity to part of this declaration, made every effort to detach Ireland from the English government ; and with this view never departed from the scheme of having a catholic lord lieutenant. Moderate men now wished for a cessation of hostilities ; and some conferences were held. The nuncio was highly

offended, and insisted that the whole conduct of peace and war should be submitted absolutely to the clergy. He caused a protest against those proceedings to be affixed on the doors of the cathedral of Kilkenny: but it was contemptuously torn down. He immediately thundered forth his excommunications; but by thus fulminating his spiritual terrors upon numerous trivial occasions, he rendered them contemptible and abortive. The power of the nuncio was now in its wane: yet he was surrounded by no inconsiderable party. The clergy, who expected preferment from his favour, adhered to his ruinous absurdity and extravagance. The laity, who looked for the recovery of their paternal lands by the expulsion of the English; and those who were overwhelmed by debts, with those who subsisted by public commotions, all declared for desperate measures, and crowded to the standard of O'Neal. Acting as if the nuncio, in his anger, had absolved him from his oath of obedience to the confederates, he solemnly declared war against his masters, the supreme council and their adherents. Clarnicarde, Preston, and others, joined their armies to oppose him, and sent a force to Kilkenny to support the authority of the council. The general assembly met at Kilkenny, and proclaimed O'Neal a traitor: he was attacked, and repulsed from the neighbourhood

of Kilkenny by Inchiquin and Preston. The assembly also appealed to Rome against the excommunications of the nuncio, and exhorted him to depart from a country so long harassed by his factious turbulence.

At the reiterated solicitations of Inchiquin, Ormond now arrived at Cork, and was received with the respect due to a chief governor. The object of his enterprise was to unite the protestant and popish loyalists, which seemed to be the sole means of averting the king's ruin. He notified to the assembly, that he came empowered to conclude a peace. They immediately appointed commissioners for this purpose, to the utter mortification of the nuncio and his adherents. In the agonies of expiring power, these Romish ecclesiastics exclaimed outrageously against the impiety of betraying the rights of the holy See and Romish church, by precipitating a pernicious treaty, without awaiting the return of their messenger from Rome, with vast sums of money and adequate means to support the catholic cause. The Irish agents arrived from Rome, laden with reliques and benedictions: but without supplics of any other kind.

CHAPTER XV.

Nuncio's departure: Cromwell made captain-general: blasphemous madness of men: Cromwell's victories: Charles's sufferings: fidelity of the catholics to the king: Dr. Henchman facilitates his escape: Blake: Navigation Act: progress of factions to single despotism: Barebone's parliament: no voter without estate of 200l. value: Richlieu and Mazarine: Blake's exploits and death: Cromwell's remark on the presbyterians: conspiracy and cause: Cromwell's dread of assassination: his distracted state: dies: his character.

1649 to 1660.

THE hopes of the nuncio now became desperate: for his disgrace was complete. He resolved therefore to retire from a country which he had so long distracted by his senseless ambition; and embarked privately. But before intelligence of the treaty concluded between Ormond and the catholics had reached England, Charles had received the fatal stroke. Rome now saw the result of its abandoned policy of divisions, in the confusion which overspread three kingdoms,

and the dissolution of all authority both civil and ecclesiastical.

The levellers throughout England insisted on equal distribution of property and power, and disclaimed all dependance and subordination. The millenarians or fifth monarchy men required the abolition of all government, and the prostration of all human powers to the dust, as precursory to the dominion of Christ, whose second coming on earth they suddenly expected. The antinomians insisted upon a suspension of all obligations of morality and natural laws, as the beggarly elements of justice and humanity were far inferior to an election by internal principles more perfect and divine. One party resolved that the magistrate should not support, by power or revenues, a hireling priesthood or ecclesiastical establishment. Another inveighed against the law and its professors, and insisted on the abolition of English jurisprudence so interwoven with monarchical government. Even those among the republicans who adopted not such extravagances were so intoxicated with their saintly character, that they held themselves to be peculiarly privileged above the influence of all professions, engagements, laws, and oaths.

The royalists, degraded and plundered, were inflamed against their ignoble adversaries. The presbyterians, duped by the treachery or deceived

by the cunning of their apostates, were rifled of the fruits of their too successful labours. Both parties from different motives cast their eyes upon the same object, the son of their unfortunate monarch. The king was now besieged by three parties of the Scottish nation, who hated each other; the rigid covenanters, patronized by Argyle; the moderate presbyterians, led by the Duke of Hamilton; and the royalists, headed by Montrose.

Argyle was a man supreme in cunning, and profound in policy; not attractive by address, but successful by pliancy. His wit was pregnant, and his humour gay; so that those who could not accede to or adopt all his counsels, were willing, however, to compound with him.

Hamilton was a man of unquestionable courage and exalted judgment, clear in his conceptions, and ready in his expressions. He had been drawn into some unwarrantable conduct, but not led by any inclination of his own; and he passionately embraced the opportunity of redeeming his errors.

Montrose possessed excellent parts, improved by excellent education. He despised Argyle, who, though he had good talents, wanted honesty and courage to be a good man. Montrose was fearless of danger: difficulty but endeared enterprize to him, and he embraced that most

ardently which seemed most desperate to other men. Whatever was elegant, noble, or sublime, touched his great soul. Believing there was something in his nature above that of other men, he displayed great generosity toward his supposed inferiors. But although his vanity was so great, his virtues were superior: they eclipsed his foibles by their splendor, which rendered him illustrious.

Charles having heard the overtures from the Scotch, declared his intentions of going to Ireland. The Scots expected that Fairfax would act against them; but, struck with remorse at the horrid extremities which had been sanctioned by his name, he resigned his commission, and Cromwell was declared captain-general. This was the first step towards sovereign power. The religious enthusiasm of men now became an horrid and blasphemous madness. They dared to utter toward the Supreme that if he would not save them from the English sectaries, he should no longer be their God: that to them it was little to sacrifice their lives and estates, but to him it was a great loss to suffer his elect to be destroyed.

Montrose having arrived in Scotland raised an army; but was defeated, taken, and executed. The king repaired to Scotland himself, where an army had been formed by Argyle: but per-

ceiving that the soldiers were pleased with the sight of their sovereign, the Scots removed him to a greater distance ; declaring, that the soldiers seemed too much inclined to put their confidence in the arm of flesh; whereas their hope and dependance ought to be in the prayers and piety of the kirk. They made Charles publish a declaration, acknowledging the sin of his father, by marriage with an idolatrous family, and his guilt of all the blood shed in the civil war. He was made to express a deep sense of his own pernicious education, and the prejudices which he had imbibed against the cause of God. Charles being now invited by the royalists to join them at Dundee, escaped in the night from the base rigours of Argyle and his army : but he was overtaken and brought back. Terrified at his joining the cavaliers, and the possibility of a civil war, they relaxed their insolent severity, and gave him part in the administration of affairs.

Cromwell had marched into Scotland and defeated the Scots at Dunbar with great slaughter. He next routed part of the royal army at Fife : and the king marched to Worcester, where Cromwell followed and totally defeated his forces. Two thousand perished by the sword ; and four times that number were taken prisoners, and sold as slaves to the American planters. Charles fled to Boscobel, in Shropshire, where he was

faithfully entertained by four brothers named Pendrill, with whom, disguised as a peasant, he cut faggots during four days. For better concealment he mounted upon an oak, and, hid among its leaves and branches, he saw and heard his pursuers, as they expressed their anxiety to seize him. Conducted in the dusk of the evening over hedges and ditches to the cottage of a catholic, he was faithfully received and lodged in a barn, where he slept soundly upon straw, after the fatigue of a pilgrimage which he had performed in boots. Here he remained content with the coarse fare of bread and butter milk, and sleeping upon straw two nights. On the third he changed apparel with his host, and exchanged his boots for an old pair of shoes: but these were so hard and so uneasy to his feet, that after he had travelled some miles he threw them away, and walked in his stockings, which were soon torn by the hedges over which he passed. His feet were so wounded with thorns and sharp stones, and he was so exhausted with fatigue and sufferings, that he cast himself repeatedly on the earth in despair, preferring rather to be taken by his enemies than undergo such torture. Animated, however, by the encouragement of his guide to persevere in his efforts for safety, he reached his place of destination before morning, and was again lodged in a barn upon straw, fed

with homely fare, and supplied with shoes and stockings. He was conducted through the habitations of poor Roman catholics who concealed him with great fidelity. And a Benedictine monk, named Huddleston, rendered him great attention and assistance, by providing him occasionally with a horse, and procuring him more decent apparel than the wretched garb which he wore. Huddleston brought Lord Wilmot to him, and they both agreed to put themselves in the hands of Mr. Lane in Stafford. Thither Charles proceeded on horseback, being unable to walk on his wounded feet, attended by his faithful Pendrills. In Mr. Lane's house he read the proclamation offering 1000*l.* for his head, and denouncing the penalty of high treason on those who should harbour or conceal Charles Stuart. Lane formed a plan that the king should ride before his daughter on a visit to a kinswoman of his, Mrs. Norton, in the neighbourhood of Bristol, where it was hoped he would find a ship to transport him to France. He obtained a pass for this purpose, and equipping the king with boots and proper clothes, mounted him on a horse before the lady, attended by a servant in livery, and accompanied by his son, who followed at a distance with spaniels and a hawk, under the pretence of taking his diversion. On the fourth day he arrived in safety with his conductress at

Mrs. Norton's habitation. During this journey, when she reached the inn at night, she represented the king to be a neighbour's son, who, at the desire of her father, rode before her that he might the sooner recover of a quartan ague with which he was afflicted ; on which account he was always provided with a comfortable bed-chamber, and she always carried his supper to him. As soon as he arrived at Mrs. Norton's, he saw Dr. Georges, one of his own chaplains, sitting at the door, regarding for his amusement some persons playing at bowls. Miss Lane begged a quiet chamber for the young man who rode before her, as he was ill of an ague. The butler being sent to him with some broth, no sooner beheld him than he threw himself on his knees, and exclaimed " I am rejoiced to see your Majesty." He had been falconer to Sir Thomas Jermyn, and was well acquainted with the king's person, who made him promise to keep the secret even from his master ; and he was true to his engagement. After supper he was visited by Dr. Georges, who now practised as a physician, and came to offer his assistance. The king retired to a dark place in the room ; the doctor felt his pulse, bid him be of good cheer as the fever had left him ; and withdrew.

Charles passing through the hands of many loyal catholics, was often concealed by them in

the *priest's hole*. Thus a place, in which they hid their persecuted priests, became the sheltering place of their distressed sovereign. Numerous instances evince how deep the impressions of loyalty toward their sovereign were in the minds of men. "Whatever happens," said one gentleman shortly before his death to his four sons, "do you faithfully honour and obey your prince, and adhere to the crown. I charge you, never to forsake the crown, though it should hang upon a bush." A vessel was obtained at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, to convey two persons to France. The king and Lord Wilmot rode to a small inn near the beach, but no vessel appeared. After having waited all night, they returned to Mr. Ellison's house, which they had left the preceding day. Their disappointment was occasioned by the fears of the shipmaster's wife, who, suspecting her husband had engaged in some dangerous design, declared she would inform the magistrate against him if he should attempt to depart from his house before morning. The king had a most providential escape by quitting the inn. It happened to be a solemn fast; and a fanatic weaver was preaching against Charles Stuart, in a chapel opposite to the house where he actually sat among other strangers. A farrier, who had been employed to fasten the shoes of the horses of some of the travellers, in hopes of finding more

employment, examined the shoes of the horse on which the king had rode from Mr. Lane's. He remarked to the innkeeper that one of the horses had come from the north, which he knew from the form of the shoes. He then went to the chapel, and communicating the circumstance to different persons, the preacher declared the rider could be no other than Charles Stuart. He hastened immediately with a constable to the house: but the strangers having departed, he hired horses and pursued them. Charles had gone to a place of great security in the neighbourhood of Salisbury. He passed through a regiment of horse, and met Desborough, the brother-in-law of Cromwell, walking down a hill with several officers. At length, through the means of Dr. Henchman, prebendary of Salisbury, a vessel was procured at Brighthelmstone, where the king and Lord Wilmot embarked for Normandy. Amidst a variety of dangers and distress, during forty-one days, he experienced the unshaken fidelity of forty different persons to whom the preservation of his life was entrusted.

The intencion of some leaders in Parliament seemed to be at this moment to admit of no established church, but to leave men to embrace whatever sect, and to support whatever clergy were most agreeable to them. In one province

this independent model was begun. Almost all the clergy of Wales being ejected as malignants, four or five itinerant preachers were settled with small salaries in each of the counties. These were supplied with horses at the public expence, and carried, as they expressed themselves, the glad tidings of the gospel. They were all of them men of the lowest rank and education, who had deserted the mechanical trades, in order to follow the new profession: and in this particular, as well as in their wandering life, they pretended to be more truly apostolical.

The confusion into which all things had been thrown, gave opportunity to talents to break through obscurity in all directions. Blake, a man of great courage, was made an admiral; and though he had hitherto been employed in the land service, into which also he had not entered until past fifty years of age, he soon carried the naval glory of the nation to a height, before unattained, or scarcely thought of in former periods. Upon his resolute and illustrious achievements the unrivalled fame of the English navy first arose. His victories over the Dutch threw such a lustre on the maritime greatness of Britain as excited that emulation of his successors, which distinguishes the naval glory of England beyond all example. At this moment the famous navigation act took place, which prohibited all

nations from importing into England in their bottoms any commodity which was not the produce of their own country. The result of this wise and politic measure was the immense growth of our mercantile, and consequently our warlike navy, which act mutually as cause and effect. The republicans in parliament now extolled the navy in opposition to the army, and manifested their jealousy of the power and ambition of Cromwell. He resolved to dissolve the parliament. He went to the House and loaded the members with reproaches for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public. Then stamping with his foot, which was a signal for the soldiers to enter,—“ For shame,” said he to the parliament, “ get you gone ; give place to honest men : to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament : I tell you, you are no longer a parliament. The Lord has done with you : he has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work.” Sir Harry Vane exclaiming against this proceeding, he cried with a loud voice, “ O ! Sir Harry Vane ! Sir Harry Vane ! the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane !” Taking hold of Martin by the cloak—“ Thou art a whoremaster,” said he. To another, “ Thou art an adulterer.” To a third, “ Thou art a drunkard and glutton. And thou art an extor-

tioner," to a fourth. He commanded a soldier to seize the mace. "What shall we do with this bauble? Here, take it away. It is you," said he, addressing himself to the House, "that have forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." His soldiers cleared the hall, and going out last himself, he ordered the doors to be locked.

Thus did he annihilate an assembly, which had filled all Europe with wonder at its actions, and astonishment at its crimes. Each party successively saw the injuries which they had suffered, revenged on their enemies. The king had stretched prerogative too far. The presbyterians resisted its progress, and excited by cant and hypocrisy the populace first to tumults, then to war against king, church, peers, and royalists. No sooner had they reached the pinnacle of grandeur than the independents, under the appearance of still greater sanctity, instigated the army against them, and reduced them to subjection. The independents, amidst their empty dreams of liberty or rather of dominion, were oppressed by the rebellion of their own servants, and found themselves at once exposed to the insults of power, and the hatred of the people. And it was now manifest by recent, as well as by ancient example, that *illegal violence, whatever object it*

may pursue, must inevitably end in the arbitrary and despotic government of a single person.

This extraordinary man, from a life of gaming, drinking, and debauchery, suddenly started into all the zeal and rigour of the puritanical saints. His dissolute dissipation had obliged him to become a farmer by profession at St. Ives'. But urged by his wants and devotion, he made a party with his kinsman, Hambden, who was pressed by puritanism alone, to transport himself into New England; and by an order of council they were both obliged to remain in England. He was no less than forty-three years of age when he first embraced the military profession; and by force of genius soon obtained that excellency which distinguished him. The indignation of the people was not high against the authority now usurped by him. Congratulations, the first of the kind, poured in from the fleet, the army, and the saints. The royalists, though they could not love the man who had imbrued his hands in their sovereign's blood, expected more lenity from him than from the imperious republicans, who had hitherto ruled. The presbyterians were gratified to see those men, by whom they had been outwitted and expelled, now outwitted and expelled in their turn by their own servant. They applauded him for this last act of violence upon the

parliament. The republicans being dethroned by Cromwell were the party whose resentment he had now most occasion to apprehend. They contained, besides the independents and millenarians already mentioned, a third set of men, the deists. These persons had no object but political liberty, they denied the truth of revelation, and insinuated that all the various sects so hostile to each other, were founded alike in folly and error. Among these were Harrington and Sidney.

Cromwell thought it requisite to establish something like a commonwealth, and therefore summoned 120 persons from different places in England, six from Ireland, and five from Scotland, to whom he committed all legislative authority. This parliament proceeded to abolish the clerical function, as savouring of popery; to put an end to tithes, as a relict of Judaism. Learning and universities were reputed heathenish and unnecessary: the common law was denominated the badge of Norman slavery: and they menaced lawyers with a total abrogation of their profession. Some proceedings were even commenced for the abolition of the Court of Chancery; the Mosaic law was fixed upon as the sole future system of English jurisprudence.

Public derision was the result of such absurdities, and this parliament was denominated Barebone's Parliament, after one of the active fanatics

in the house, named Praise-God Barebones, a leather-seller. The Dutch ambassadors wished to enter into negotiation with this parliament, but though they were presbyterians, they were scarcely admitted to negotiate with saints, whose superior sanctity induced them rather to extirpate such worldly-minded men. The ambassadors finding themselves thus proscribed, not as enemies of England, but of Christ, were in astonishment, and doubted which was most to be admired, the implacable spirit or egregious folly of these pretended saints.

Cromwell grew ashamed of his legislature, His creatures among them met early therefore by concert, and restored into his hands the supreme authority by a formal instrument or assignment. About twenty of them however remained, and began to draw up protests against the reign of the saints terminating by so untimely an end; when Colonel White entered with a party of soldiers. He asked them what they did there? "We are seeking the Lord," said they. "Then you may go elsewhere," replied he: "For to my certain knowledge, he has not been here these several years."

The military being now in appearance and reality the prevailing power, a council of peers, headed by his obsequious but most ambitious creature Lambert, declared Cromwell protector

He resolved to call a new parliament, which was but a new artifice of this grand deceiver, by the appearance of liberty and popular election to lay asleep this deluded nation, that he might rivet their chains more securely upon them. He deprived of the right of election all the small boroughs, as places most exposed to corruption. The lower populace too, so easily influenced and deceived, were excluded from the elections: no person could vote unless possessed of an estate of 200*l.* value. The counties returned 270 members, London and the considerable corporations 130 members, Ireland and Scotland 30 each.

All reasonable men soon perceived that the very mask of liberty was thrown aside. The protector divided England into twelve jurisdictions, under the command of twelve major-generals; who were empowered to tax and imprison any person, with all the spirit of eastern tyranny. Thus not only the supreme magistrate ruled with the iron rod of illegal force and usurpation; but he parcelled out the people into so many subdivisions of slavery, and delegated to his inferior ministers the same unlimited authority, which he had so violently assumed.

Various and complicated were the transactions of the parliament and protector with France. The emissaries of Richlieu fed with abundant fuel the flame of rebellion in Scotland. But

Richlieu died, and soon after him Lewis the Thirteenth, leaving his son, an infant of four years old, and his widow, Anne of Austria, regent. Mazarine succeeded Richlieu, and supplying the conflagration in England with combustibles, pursued the same plan, though of an opposite disposition to Richlieu. Mazarine was artful and violent, subtile and patient in his policy; of a timid nature, but false and intriguing. He was desirous rather to prevail by dexterity than violence; and placed his honor more in the success of his measures, than in the splendour and magnanimity of the means. Henrietta and her son Charles, during these commotions remained mostly at Paris, and received but little civility and less support from the French court. The banished queen had a moderate pension assigned to her, but it was ill paid; and her credit ran so low, that one morning when Cardinal De Retz waited on her, she informed him, that her daughter, the Princess Henrietta, was obliged to lie abed, for want of a fire to warm her. To such a condition was reduced in the midst of Paris, under the eye of the court of France, a queen of England, and a daughter of Henry the Fourth of France.

The protector had now made peace with Holland; but his policy, either warped by his temper, restless and avid of glory, or desirous to direct public attention to foreign objects, began to

deliberate whither he should turn his victorious arms. He sent Blake into the Mediterranean. No English fleet, except during the crusades, had ever before sailed in those seas. The Roman pontiff trembled. His weakness, his pride, his policy, all provoked attacks, and he dreaded invasion from a power which professed the most inveterate enmity against him. Blake punished Leghorn for misconduct, humbled Algiers, tore in pieces the castles of the Dey of Tunis, and burned twenty ships in his harbour. The last and greatest action of this illustrious man was the destruction of the Spanish fleet at Santa Cruz, in 1656 : where his attempt struck the Spaniards with amaze, and his success left them in astonishment at the happy temerity of the great and audacious victor. He returned homeward, but died within sight of land, crowned with laurels. He was a man liberal and generous to his friends, but dreadful to his enemies ; ambitious solely of true glory, he was but little stained with the errors and violences of his times ; and totally disapproved of the usurpation of Cromwell. He received a pompous funeral at the public charge ; but the tears of his country were the most honorable panegyric on his memory.

From the time of the Reformation, the great importance of religion appeared in the civil governments throughout Europe. But in England

and peculiarly at this period, it may be considered as the great spring of men's actions and decisions. Cromwell, though transported by fanaticism, resolved to maintain a national church; yet determined to admit neither episcopacy nor presbytery. He established a number of commissioners, under the appellation of *Tryers*, partly laymen, partly ecclesiastics, some presbyterians, some independents. They presented to all livings formerly in the gift of the crown. They admitted persons to holy orders; but regardless of the great and beneficial union between learning and theology, they contemned all progress in Greek or Roman erudition; all proficiency in divinity or science. The chief object of their scrutiny regarded their advances in grace, and the fixing of the critical moment of their conversion.

Cromwell talked spiritually to the saints, with whom he was familiar and easy. He sighed, he wept, he canted, he prayed. He even vied with them in an emulation of ghostly gifts. He granted an unbounded liberty of conscience to all but prelatists and papists, and was often heard to say, with respect to the domineering spirit of the presbyterians, "I am the only man who has known how to subdue that insolent sect, which can suffer none but itself."

A conspiracy of the millenarians in the army

struck Cromwell with great apprehensions. The discarded officers of this party were stimulated by revenge, ambition and conscience to some desperate project. The levellers and agitators had been encouraged by Cromwell, to join in political deliberations ; and had been honoured with apparent friendship, while he was engaged in his daring enterprises against the king and Parliament. In order to familiarize himself more with the agitators, who were commonly corporals or serjeants, it was an usual practice of his to take them to bed with him, and there after prayers and exhortations to discuss their projects and principles, political as well as religious. Having assumed the dignity of protector, he excluded them from all his councils, and had no inclination to indulge them in their wonted familiarities. Enraged at this alteration, some of them employed that restless industry against him, formerly exerted in his favour. Cromwell became apprehensive of these men and the army ; he likewise dreaded assassination. From public distempers he had no haven of domestic peace to fly to ; his family were all divided in sentiment, but united against his measures ; composure of mind was for ever fled. Treacherous friends, or enraged enemies disturbed him in business and haunted him in repose. With a piercing and anxious eye he surveyed every face, and watched every

hand in dread of a poniard. He moved no where without guards, he clothed himself in concealed armour, he carried sword pistols and falchion for his defence; he returned from no place by direct ways; he changed his chambers nightly, every chamber had back doors, and no door without centinels. Society terrified him, solitude alarmed and astonished him.

Under such sufferings of the mind, his body was borne down, and his health declined; a slow fever changed into an ague. In a few days Cromwell was no more. As the ides of March were equally fortunate and fatal to Julius Cæsar, another invader of the rights of his country, so was the third of September to Oliver Cromwell; on that day he was born; on that day he fought the three great battles of Marston Moor, Worcester, and Dunbar; and on that day he died.

Cromwell was a man of unbounded ambition, and impenetrable dissimulation, which threw a mystery over his designs, that contributed not a little to his marvellous success. The main spring of his renown was an intrepid resolution, which moved him to vast enterprises; in the conducting of which, his peculiar dexterity lay in discovering the characters, and practising on the weakness of mankind. With these qualities he easily directed the disturbances of the nation, to form a breach between the civil and military powers;

and from that moment, in every state, a supreme and absolute authority vests in the general. With a weapon so forcible as an army, the hand which wields it, may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any ascendant in human society.

Thus a person of private birth and education, no fortune, no eminent qualities of body, nor shining talents of mind, which have often raised men to the highest stations, had courage to attempt, and abilities to execute so vast a design, as the subversion of one of the most ancient and best established monarchies in the world. He had the power and boldness to put his prince to an open and infamous death; to banish a numerous and strongly allied family; and to cover all these temerities under a seeming obedience to a Parliament, in whose service he pretended to be retained. He trampled upon that Parliament in their turn, and scornfully expelled them as soon as they gave him ground of dissatisfaction. He erected in their place the dominion of the saints, and gave reality to the most visionary ideas, which the heated imagination of any fanatic was ever able to entertain. He suppressed again that monster in its infancy, and openly set himself above all things that ever were called sovereign in England. He overcame first all his enemies by arms, next all his friends by artifice. He served

all parties patiently for a while, and commanded them all victoriously at last. He called together parliaments with his pen, he scattered them again with his breath. He reduced to subjection a war-like and discontented nation by a mutinous army ; and commanded a mutinous army by seditious and factious officers. He was humbly and daily petitioned, that he would be pleased, at the rate of millions annually, to become a master of those, who had hired him before to be their servant. He had the estates and lives of three nations as much at his disposal, as was once the little inheritance of his father : and with one word, bequeathed all this splendour and honour to his posterity. He died possessed of peace at home and triumph abroad : and was buried among kings with more than regal solemnity. But lastly : he was removed as a scandal and abomination, from the shrine of Christianity and sepulchres of kings ; his body being unplumbed, was dragged through the streets to the place of public execution, where murderers and malefactors paid just atonement for their crimes, and having continued hanging an entire day, was buried under the gallows at Tyburn.

CHAPTER XVI.

Fanaticism urged on by France ; verified by Cromwell ; Rump Parliament cashier Lambert and Clarke ; Algernon Sidney ; Charles applies to Mazarine ; Monk's Conduct ; Charles arrives at Dover ; dreadful Effect of the Policy of Rome ; State of Ireland ; heroic Conduct of a Popish Prelate ; the Throne offered to Ormond by the Catholics ; Pope invested with Supremacy, and Duke of Lorraine Protector of Ireland ; Popish Priests assume Sovereign Authority ; Romish Connexion more injurious than their doctrinal Principles to the Catholics.

Charles II. 1649 to 1660.

THAT the fanatics were animated to the perpetration of their horrid crimes by jesuits and emissaries from the holy see, who mingled themselves in various shapes with the different congregations of dissenters in Cromwell's army, is beyond all doubt. Beside the testimony of the most able and respectable men of those times, it is established by the acknowledgment of one of the covenanted assertors of unlimited rights and liberty,

William Prynne in his "good old cause." Oliver Cromwell also, in his printed speech to his pretended parliament at Westminster, the 4th of September, 1654, says, "He knew very well that emissaries of the jesuits never came in those swarms, as they have done since these things were on foot; and that divers gentlemen can bear witness with him, that they had a *consistory* and *council* abroad, which rules all the affairs of the things in England, and had fixed in England, in the limits of most cathedrals (of which he was able to produce the *particular* INSTRUMENT) an episcopal power, with archdeacons and other persons to *pervert*, seduce, and deceive the people."

The son of Cromwell was declared protector, but murmurs were thrown out against some promotion which he made. Would you have me, said he, prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick Ingoldsby, continued he, who can neither pray nor preach, yet will I trust him before any of you all. This imprudence gave high offence to the pretended saints. The other qualities of the protector were correspondent to those sentiments. He was of a gentle, humane, and generous disposition; but cabals took place: the Parliament was dissolved, and the protector signed his demission in form.

The royalists now formed a conspiracy; but the long parliament being restored, which was

derided under the denomination of the *rump* as being the most ignoble part, and sitting members of the Parliament, took immediate steps to suppress this dangerous measure. A body of troops instigated by Lambert, drew up a petition, the import of which was, that Fleetwood should be made commander in chief, Lambert major-general of the horse, and Monk of the foot. The Parliament alarmed immediately cashiered Lambert, Clarke, and others; and voted that they would have no more general officers. But votes were feeble weapons in opposition to the swords of the officers, who dismissed the Parliament. They now found themselves again possessed of supreme power; and elected a committee of twenty-three persons, invested with sovereign authority, under the denomination of a committee of safety.

At this time a wise resolution was adopted in conjunction with Holland, to mediate by force an accommodation between the northern crowns. Algernon Sydney was sent as ambassador, with Admiral Montagu, who commanded a squadron for the purpose. Sydney found the Swedish monarch employed in the siege of Copenhagen, the capital of his enemy; and was highly gratified to check, with a Roman arrogance, the progress of royal victories, and display in so signal a manner, the superiority of freedom above tyranny.

With the highest indignation, the ambitious prince was obliged to submit to the imperious mediation of the two commonwealths. "It is cruel," said he, "that laws should be prescribed to me by parricides and pedlars." When the conferences at the Pyrenees took place between Don Lewis de Haro and Cardinal Mazarine, who displayed a pomp on the occasion fit only to be recorded in tales of romance, Charles resolved to try the resource of foreign aid for his restoration. He conceived, that France could not be pleased with England, which had taken Dunkirk, and Spain must be irritated with the loss: that the excessive ambition of Mazarine would be inclined to shine in additional glory, by forwarding the restoration of an exiled monarch, when the disposition in England seemed to point towards success. Don Lewis received him with generous respect, but Mazarine refused him access. The king even offered to marry the cardinal's niece: but he obtained only empty compliments. How much was the British sovereign humbled by pope and cardinal. His condition was thought desperate.

Honest George Monk, however, for the soldiery with a mixture of familiarity and affection called him so, was reserved to restore the monarch, and finish the bloody dissensions of three kingdoms. Monk was the younger son of an ancient

family now fallen to decay; who betook himself early to the profession of arms. His moderation had exposed him to suspicion, and suspension from command; but his character of truth and sincerity saved him from disgrace. He was taken prisoner in battle by Fairfax, and sent to the tower: but in all his distresses he refused offers from the Parliament. Cromwell, aware of his merit, solicited him to serve against the Irish. As they were considered rebels by king and parliament, and his broken fortunes wanted repair, he accepted command which he conceived could not blot the purest principles of honor. But once engaged with the Parliament, he was obliged to obey orders, and found himself forced to fight in Ireland against the Marquis of Ormond, and in Scotland against the king himself. Upon the reduction of this last kingdom, he was left there with the supreme command.

His temper was naturally reserved: but the circumstances of the moment exacted dissimulation. Sir John Granville, who was in the king's service, and a relative of Monk's, sent his brother the Rev. Dr. Monk, to him with a letter from the king. When he arrived he found that the general would probably be engaged for several hours in a council of officers. In the mean time he was received by the general's chaplain, Mr. Price, a man of probity, and a partizan of the king's. The

doctor frankly communicated to him the object of his journey, and engaged him to second his endeavours to win over his brother to the king's views. At last the general arrived; the brothers embraced, and the business was soon opened. Monk interrupted him, and asked if he had ever before mentioned the subject to any other person? "To nobody," replied his brother, "but to Price, whom I knew to be entirely in your confidence." The general altering his countenance, turned the discourse; and would enter into no further conference with him, but sent him away as speedily as possible. He would not trust his own brother the moment he knew that he had disclosed the secret, though to a man whom he himself would have trusted.

Monk marched to London, and took up his quarters in Westminster. Having been commanded to execute an order of great violence by the Parliament, he hastened to obey it, to the great consternation of all men. Regardless of the entreaties of his friends, the remonstrances of his officers, and the cries of the people, he entered the city, seized as many as he could of the persons proscribed by the Parliament, whom he sent to the tower, and with all the circumstances of contempt, he broke the gates and portcullisses of the city. The orders being thus executed, he reflected, that this was not cautious ambiguity, but

a decided and open party with the parliament, which exposed the nation and himself to their continued tyranny. He resolved instantly to manifest to the world, that he would no longer be the minister of violence and usurpation. He wrote a letter, to the House; reproached them for their cabals, as well as for the encouragement of a fanatical petition by Praise-God Barebones; and he required them to fix a time for their own dissolution, and the assembling of a new Parliament. He then marched into the city, with his army, and desired Allen, the mayor, to summon a common council at Guildhall; he there made many apologies for the indignity which two days before he had been obliged to put upon them: and desired they might mutually plight their faith for a strict union between city and army, in every enterprise for the happiness and settlement of the nation.

The joy and exultation which burst forth on this occasion, soon communicated itself throughout the city; the hope of peace, concord, liberty, justice, animated each heart, and beamed in every eye; all was a tumult of joy, and the sunshine of the breast, now dispelled the deepest darkness in which the nation had ever been involved. The royalists, the presbyterians, forgot their animosities in common exultation and transport. They pledged themselves to terminate their calamitous

divisions, and unite for ever against the ambition of false and factious tyrants. The air resounded with the outrageous festivity of popular acclamations: the streets were in a blaze of illumination, triumph and jollity presided in all directions, and all shapes. Pieces of flesh cut into the form of rumps, when rumps could no longer be found, were burned in every bonfire in every street, as a ridiculous representation of the punishment of the parliament by symbols of derision.

Though in agonies of despair, the parliament made still one effort for their dominion. They sent a committee with offers to the general: he refused to hear them except in the presence of some of the secluded members. Guilt and fanaticism proposed to invest him with *supremacy*: he would not hearken to such wild extravagances. The secluded members were restored, and then the long parliament was dissolved.

When the new parliament met, the memory of great dangers incurred during preceding usurpations, and observation of the extreme caution of Monk, kept every one in awe, and none dared, for some days to make the least mention of the king. The spirit of the members indulged itself in invectives against the memory of Cromwell, and execrations against the murderer of their sovereign. At last, Monk having sufficiently searched their dispositions, directed the president

of the council to inform them, that one Sir John Granville, a servant of the king, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter for the commons. The loudest acclamations were excited by this intelligence. Granville was called in; the letter eagerly read; without one moment's delay, without one contrary vote, a committee was appointed to prepare an answer; and to spread the satisfaction throughout the kingdom, the letter with the king's declaration, was ordered to be published. The Commons voted 500*l.* to purchase a jewel for Granville, which he should be requested to wear.

The respect of foreign powers soon followed the submission of the king's subjects. Spain France the States General pressed him with zealous invitations to embark in some of their maritime towns. The king accepted of the offer of Holland. The people of the republic bore him a cordial affection. As he passed from Breda to the Hague, he was attended with numerous crowds and was received with the loudest acclamations; as if themselves, not their rivals in power and commerce, were now restored to peace and security.

When the king disembarked at Dover, he was met by Monk, whom he cordially embraced. And no subject ever deserved better of king

and country. In the little space of four months, without bloodshed, by cautious policy and deliberate wisdom, he restored to settlement and security three kingdoms, which had been subverted and torn by convulsions during years. And with a manly decision, and pure honour, having declined the most flattering offers from the king and every party in the realm, he voluntarily justly and loyally restored his much injured master to the vacant throne of his fathers.

There is perhaps, no instance on record of so sudden a change of manners, as that which was produced in the English nation by the progress of divisions contrived by the wicked policy of the holy See. It is highly necessary to look back upon this scene ; the fire of separation, schism and sedition kindled up by jesuits in masquerade had destroyed tranquillity concord submission and sobriety : and substituted faction fanaticism rebellion and almost frenzy. The gloomy enthusiasm of the parliamentary party forms one of the most curious spectacles of human nature, highly instructive as well as interesting to a philosophical mind. An opposition to this rigid fanaticism made a turn for pleasure, be regarded as a test and pledge of attachment to the church and monarchy. " Your friends, the cavaliers" said a parliamentarian to a royalist " are dissolute

and debauched." "True," replied the royalist, "they have the infirmities of men. But your friends, the roundheads, have the vices of devils, tyranny rebellion and spiritual pride." The royalist, even when ruined by confiscations, endeavoured to support and display this characteristic mark of opposition to the fanatics. "As much as hope is superior to fear," said a poor and pleasant cavalier, "so much is our situation preferable to that of our enemies; we laugh while they tremble."

The religion of quakers was a Romish work, long on the anvil of sects and seditions. It was first craftily propagated among the enthusiastic vulgar in Lancashire, by the means of one Fox of Drayton. He was the son of a weaver, and apprentice of a shoemaker, who clothing himself in a leathern doublet, a dress of conspicuous singularity and convenient cheapness, with a bible under his arm, conceived he was a prophet: he sought the woods, and lived in hollow trees. But the fumes of self applause were evanescent, and he could not hope for any other in such solitude. Led on by fanatical pride, while the spirit of enthusiasm exalted him in his own imagination, he sought proselytes, and soon became popular by his extravagance. The enthusiasm of his sect, like all violent passions, so agitated and overpowered the weakness of the nerves

as to throw the preachers into convulsions: and hence they received the denomination of quakers. From the leathern doublet of Fox, peculiarity in dress became a distinguishing circumstance of this sect; but this peculiarity proceeded further, and all dress was rejected. A female quaker came naked into the church, where the protector sat; being moved by the spirit as she said, to appear as a *sign* to the people. Many of them conceived that clothes should be rejected as superfluities. Some of them also thought food in some degree superfluous, and that they could fast like Christ; one of them died in the experiment; another fancied he was Christ; and entered into Bristol mounted on a horse, from the difficulty perhaps of finding an ass in that place. His disciples spread their garments before him, and cried "Hosanna to the highest; holy holy is the Lord God of Sabbaoth." He was whipped, pilloried, burnt in the face, bored through the tongue with a hot iron: yet all this horrid and unwarrantable persecution, this unfortunate and infatuated man bore with enthusiasm and patience. Torture only inflamed and invigorated the delusions of his passions; but when a common and easy mode of reform was adopted, by employing him in daily labour, giving him spare diet, and debarring him from all communication with his disciples, male and female, his illusions

soon dissipated. After some time he came out an ordinary man, and returned to his mechanical occupation. No fanatics ever carried the hatred of forms orders rules and institutions further than the sect propagated by this man. Baptism and the Lord's Supper, believed by every other sect to be vital principles of Christianity, were disdainfully rejected by the quakers. The sabbath they profaned. The holiness of churches they derided, and would give to those sacred edifices no other appellation than that of shops or steeple houses. No priests were admitted into their sect. Immediate illumination conferred a character much superior to the sacerdotal. In their place of worship, whoever was first inspired rose up and delivered the extemporary effusions of the spirit. Women were admitted to teach the brethren, and convey the dictates of inspiration. Sometimes many preachers were moved to speak at once; sometimes a total silence prevailed in their congregations.

Gaiety and wit were now prescribed by cant and hypocrisy. The arts cultivated by Charles were banished, and human learning despised. Cromwell, however, though himself a barbarian, was not insensible to literary merit. Usher, notwithstanding he was a bishop, received a pension from him. Milton was in his service, and Waller was favoured by him. But the influence and

prevalence of democratical principles engaged the country gentlemen to bind their sons apprentices to merchants : and commerce has ever since been more honourable in England than in any other European kingdom.

The religious distractions in Ireland, to which it is necessary to revert, during the period previous to the Restoration, were more visibly kept up by the holy See, and had a no less pernicious influence on civil affairs than in England. After the pope's nuncio retired from Ireland, which he had so long disturbed, he continued to influence the Irish clergy by his dangerous correspondence. When Ormond proposed to attack the fort of Passage, if his forces were permitted to take their quarters in huts, under the walls of Waterford, where they should not be burdensome to the city ; this proposal was rejected. And so insolent were the burghers in obedience to the clergy, and so infected by the malicious suggestions of the papal faction, that it was agitated in their council, to seize the person of the lord lieutenant and destroy his adherents. But the proposal was rejected, though not reprehended. Insolence and bigotry prevailed universally, fomented by the most turbulent and refractory of the ecclesiastics. The consequence of those ministers of the pope revived always with public misfortunes ; yet with craft and dissimulation

they affected publicly a solicitude to allay those disorders which they had privately excited. About twenty of those bishops assembled themselves at Clonmacnoise, to deliberate on the state of the nation. The whole Irish party anxiously looked for an important protest by this self appointed council of state, against the government of his majesty's lord lieutenant. Some of the clergy most devoted to the nuncio and his precepts, did not scruple to insinuate, that if their countrymen must submit to an heretical administration, they might as well be ruled by Cromwell as by Ormond. Happily for the catholics there were men among them of moderation and sense; Mac Mahon, bishop of Clogher, and the Romish bishop of Ross. The latter, who had been active in raising and distinguished in animating the troops who opposed Cromwell at Clonmel, was taken prisoner. A man so conspicuous in his exertions could expect no mercy. Lord Broughill however promised to spare his life, on condition that he should use his spiritual authority with the garrison of an adjacent fort and prevail on them to surrender. For this purpose he was conducted to the fort. But the gallant captive, unshaken by the fear of death, exhorted the garrison to maintain their post resolutely against the enemies of their country: then valiantly resigned himself to his enemies for execu-

tion. In the conduct of this illustrious Irish catholic, not surpassed by the exalted greatness of the Roman Regulus, they could discover nothing but insolence and obstinacy, for he was a papist and a prelate.

Ormond was mortified, that policy imposed upon him the hard obligation of keeping terms with many of the leading ecclesiastics. Their ignorance and presumption dishonoured themselves, their illiberal artifices and duplicity disgraced their profession, and they proved to be the most despicable order of men who ever acquired any influence in any country. In their private conference with Ormond, they declared, that all the jealousies of the people arose from their suspicions of Inchiquin and his puritanical forces, and even demanded that all these English troops should be removed from the kingdom, as the effectual way for allaying the general discontent. While to Inchiquin, they professed at the same time, the most unbounded attachment. He, they said, was of a noble Irish family, and therefore was peculiarly dear to the Irish. Him they would readily obey, should he instead of Ormond, be invested with the government. The enemy would then be strongly opposed, and the country soon recovered. Such double insinuations were communicated by these noblemen to each other, and served to convince them that the

catholic clergy only wished to get rid of both, and make themselves absolute masters of the kingdom.

Ormond, in disgust, determined to quit the kingdom, and leave such men to their own treachery and the punishment of the fanatics. Being intreated however, by the magistrates of Limerick, to come and put their garrison in a state of defence against the republican army, he suspended his purpose of embarking. But when he advanced toward the walls of Limerick, intelligence was sent to him, that a seditious friar, named Wolfe, had gained the keys by force or connivance, and mounted guard on the gates to oppose his entrance, while other lawless incendiaries rifled the magazines. The bishops pretended to condemn these outrages, but refused any spiritual proceeding against the friar; they on the contrary, demanded that O'Brien one of the leaders of insurrection, should not only be pardoned but employed.

Ormond perceived clearly that the clergy purposed to erect an authority independent of the king. They had already petitioned several catholic powers for protection. He had reasonable grounds to suspect them of treachery toward his person, and resolved to abandon them to their own vices and the inevitable results. No sooner were his intentions of quitting the kingdom

known, than the papal faction redoubled their clamours against him. They had formerly proposed to place him on the throne of Ireland, if he would unite with the nuncio and embrace their religion.

He rejected with loyal disdain such insidious and base overtures. They now imputed his conduct to a secret agreement with the parliamentarians; and therefore informed him in an insolent epistle, signed by the popish arch-bishops of Dublin and Tuam, that the prelates would assemble themselves to devise measures for the defence of their religion and the security of the nation.

Had common sense or common moderation prevailed among the catholics, such treacherous presumption must have drawn down punishment upon its authors. But the extreme ignorance and bigotry of that period stamped such reverence and authority on the popish priesthood, that the dictates of the meanest of this order were paramount to all power civil and military. The pope indeed was looked up to, and spoken of as a god, whose peculiar attribute being infallibility, these divines were regarded as the instruments of his operations. Their influence frequently was almost supernatural. When a regiment was dispatched on service, a seditious friar seizing the colours pronounced eternal damnation

on those who should presume to march. The whole body, in a moment, cast down their arms and dispersed.

The prelates and clergy published a declaration "against the *continuance* of his *majesty's* authority in the Marquis of Ormond, for the misgovernment of the subjects," and a solemn sentence of excommunication was fulminated against all those who should pay him subsidy contribution or obedience. The forces of the Parliament now alarmed the Irish with the loss of the whole western province. Clanricarde marched to oppose the republicans, but the sentence of excommunication was read at the head of his troops, and all military obedience ceased. The nobility and some of the clergy soon repenting of their violence implored expostulated conjured the prelates, at such a juncture, to support the government and not abandon their country to an enemy, who would extirpate them. But no entreaty, no danger, no sense of duty, nor the most obvious suggestions of policy could induce the prelates to revoke the sentence of excommunication. With an infatuated ambition and haughty reluctance, they consented only to suspend it, during the relief of Athlone. But in their treacherous folly they proceeded to levy forces by their own authority. And they menaced with the full weight of divine wrath all

those who, as they were pleased to say, through contempt of their censures and those of the nuncio, had brought down the present calamities on the nation.

Ormond, justly incensed by conduct which became daily more treacherous and lawless, prepared for his departure. Men not totally infatuated by religious bigotry were alarmed at his purpose, and shuddered at the horrible results of anarchy. They implored him at least to delegate his authority to some one faithful to the king. He appointed the Marquis of Clanricarde his lord deputy, and retired accompanied by Lord Inchiquin. The protestant royalists immediately dispersed in various directions, many of them departed to foreign countries.

The catholics had now a chief governor of their own religion: but he had scarcely accepted his office, when some agents arrived from the parliamentarians for the purpose of negotiation. The Romish clergy supported the propositions; and the popish Bishop of Ferns, a distinguished partizan of the nuncio, and a virulent enemy of the royal authority, clamoured violently for a treaty. Clanricarde and the nobility reprobated with indignation such treachery to the king and his interests. It is now evident, said they, that the catholic clergy are not transported to these excesses by zeal for religion, or by hatred of Or-

mond, but by a determined purpose to subvert the royal authority: it is the king and his government which are the objects of their aversion. But at every hazard whatever, we will defend the king and his rights. Such bold language over-awed the papal faction. They suddenly concurred to oppose any treaty with the enemy. But they privately whispered their disregard, as they expressed it, of the "idol of Dagon, foolish loyalty." They resorted therefore to their secret consultations, in order to establish papal power, and their own sovereign authority in Ireland; and resolved on the intervention of some foreign prince for this purpose. The Bishop of Ferns, who was the most active partisan of the pope, was sent by them to Brussels, to the Duke of Lorraine, to solicit his protection of the Irish nation, and the catholic religion. The duke had proposed to the king in his necessities to lend him 24,000*l.* on a mortgage of Duncannon fort. Ormond was directed to attend to the proposal; but it fell to the ground. The Duke of York sent Lord Taaffe afterwards to Brussels to renew the subject. The origin of this proposal was a design to obtain the favour of the pope on a particular point. The Duke of Lorraine, in order to remove all dispute about his title to his dominions, married his cousin-german, Nicole, the daughter and heiress of the late Duke of Lorraine.

Captivated afterwards by the charms of Beatrix, widow of the Count of Cantecroix, he married her, though Nicole his lawful duchess was living. He was anxious to induce the court of Rome to invalidate his first marriage, and to legitimate his children by his second. His solicitations, however, had hitherto proved vain. He conceived, therefore, that by embracing the catholic cause with zeal, and by displaying an attachment to the holy See in forwarding the great work of its supremacy and jurisdiction over Ireland, his merits would appear so important and irresistible to the sovereign pontiff, that he must at length yield to his prayer. Lord Taafe, who was a prompt undertaker, flattered his fond partiality for the children of Beatrix, by proposing a match between her infant daughter and the Duke of York. The fire of ambition was lighted up in Lorraine by the prospect of such an alliance; and fanned through the progress of negotiation, it dazzled his imagination with a view of the sovereignty of Ireland. Whatever was his design or his delirium, he immediately gave 5000*l.* to Taafe to purchase arms and ammunition. Taafe was astonished at such munificence, but the duke assured him it was only an earnest of his future favour. The Abbé of St. Catherine was dispatched by the duke to Ireland, while the Bishop of Ferns was in his way to

Brussels, sent by the disaffected clergy to solicit his protection.

No one could be more acceptable to the catholic clergy and their creatures than the envoy of Lorraine. His credentials were addressed to the estates of the kingdom, but when he understood Clanricarde was invested with the authority of chief governor, he immediately applied to him. A committee of nobility, bishops, and gentry was appointed by the marquis to receive the Abbé's proposals, and report them with their opinion and advice. His proposals were, that the Duke of Lorraine and his heirs should be accepted as protectors of Ireland, and should enjoy all the power and appendages of royalty, with a saving to his Majesty's rights, until all disbursements were repaid. The committee had thought proper to model themselves by excluding loyal, and admitting disloyal men. Clanricarde resented this proceeding, as well as the propositions offered, which were so derogatory to the honour and authority of the king. He even refused to admit the Abbé to an audience of leave. Such a deportment, at once dignified and resentful, so intimidated the Abbé, that he consented to advance 20,000*l.* on the security of Limerick and Galway; and to refer all articles relative to the protectorship to be adjusted by a treaty at Brussels.

Sir Nicholas Plunket and Geoffry Brown were commissioned, in conjunction with Lord Taafe, to treat with the duke at Brussels. On their arrival, they were informed that Lord Taafe had gone to Paris to receive instructions from the queen and lord lieutenant. The turbulent prelate of Ferns had presented himself to the duke and was graciously received. He was accompanied by other disaffected ecclesiastics, who joined him in confidently assuring the duke, that they were able to invest him with the whole power of the kingdom. The bishop inveighed against the agents of the lord deputy, reprobated their opposition to the nuncio, and their appeal against his excommunication. In a strain of hypocrisy he declared "that his excommunication was confirmed in Heaven; and its opposers, however exalted in the eye of man, were forsaken of God, and delivered to Satan. He exhorted them in all sincerity and evangelical charity to adjust such terms with the Duke of Lorraine as would be profitable to their nation, and acceptable to Heaven. He desired them to prostrate themselves in the name of all the people, before his holiness the pope, and to supplicate his apostolic benediction, that the spirit of fortitude, virtue, grace, and success might return to them. God, he said, would never prosper any treaty directed by the deputy, who was excommunicated; and the duke,

could never consent, when rightly informed, to negotiate with agents deriving their authority from a withered hand."

This insidious and hypocritical cant had its effect; Plunket and Brown disclaimed the lord deputy's commission. They pleaded another and more unlimited authority; and in the name of the people of Ireland, they signed a treaty whereby the duke was invested with the entire sovereignty of the kingdom, under the title of Protector Royal. Plunket's bigotry suffered him to be persuaded by the Bishop of Ferns to sign a petition to the pope, by which, also in the name of the people of Ireland, he professed entire submission to the holy See. Thus the pope was invested with supremacy, and the duke with the royal protectorship of Ireland. The prelate made him also implore absolution from the nuncio's censures: and the work of papal power was complete. But Brown refused with spirit his subscription to such matters, while the signature of Taafe, who was at Paris, was annexed without his privity. The Romish clergy in Ireland entertained their imaginations with the magnificence of a triumphant church, and a splendid hierarchy, protected by a catholic prince, under the power and supremacy of the sovereign pontiff. But whatever were the designs of the Duke of Lorraine, he found that all his hopes built

upon this treaty with the Irish soon vanished. In expectation, however, of success under their protector royal, the Irish clergy were transported to extravagance. Their synods were convened: the Duke of Lorraine was declared Protector of Ireland; and excommunication was denounced against those who should presume to dispute this nomination. They took an oath of secrecy; and resolved that the prelates of each province should choose two persons to compose a new supreme council, with full powers to transact all civil and military affairs, by direction and with consent of the clergy. This ridiculous usurpation of the whole power and authority of the kingdom, they called a revival of the confederacy. But such golden dreams of power and grandeur soon ended in a dreadful sense of danger and calamity.

Ireton having received reinforcements from England, resolved on a vigorous campaign, and had invested Limerick. He raised by subtle insinuations such divisions within the walls, that the citizens proposed to surrender. The bishops and clergy well knew that Ireton would except many persons from the benefit of all articles of capitulation, and dreaded that they would be the first victims of his cruelty. In a moment of common sense, previous to their present danger, they promised submission to the lord deputy; but in a return of infatuation, when he offered to shut

himself up in Limerick, and share their fortune, he was rejected with the same insolence that had excluded Ormond. Traitors to themselves as well as to others, the town was betrayed by one of the besieged named Fennel, who, turning their own canon against them, sent commissioners to Ireton. This monster, now master of the city, executed the severest vengeance on those who were the distinguished partizans of papal power, and the obstinate opposers of English government. Wolfe, the friar who had seditiously excluded Ormond from Limerick, now received the just reward of his crime. Fennel too, the traitor on this occasion, was delivered up to justice for previous crimes. Browne, who had signed away the lawful rights of his king and country to a pope and a petty Duke of Lorraine, was taken on his return from Brussels, and atoned for his crimes by execution. "He pleaded," says Ludlow, "that it was not just to exclude him from mercy, because he had been engaged in the same cause which they pretended to fight for—the liberty and religion of his country." The deputy replied, "that Ireland being a conquered country, the English nation might with justice assert their right and conquest; that the people of Ireland had been treated by the late government far beyond their merits, or the rules of reason; notwithstanding which they had barbarously

murdered all the English who fell into their hands; robbed them of their property which they had gained by their industry; and taken away their lands which they had purchased with their money: That, with respect to the point of religion, there was a wide difference also between us; we *only contending to preserve our natural rights therein, without imposing our opinions upon other men*; whereas they would not be contented, unless they might have power to *compel all others to submit to their imposition on pain of death.*" Leland observes upon this, the men of *tolerant principles*, it seems, thought this a full refutation of the prisoner's plea.

In their success the cruelty of the parliamentarians loaded the Irish with misery: but in this extremity the infatuated pride and turbulence of the papal party did not abate. They continued their seditious practices, abused loyalty as a delusion, and maligned Clanricarde as the enemy of his country. This steady and loyal catholic still endeavoured to favour his royal master's enterprises; and keeping up an appearance of hostility, for the purpose of occupying and diverting his enemies, he took the castles of Donnegal and Ballyshannon. But the current of misfortunes ran so high, that he obeyed the king's instructions, and accepted conditions from the republicans, in whose quarters he resided unmolested for some time. At

length he retired from a country lost to his king by the bigotry of the people, and the frantic pride of their priests. These ecclesiastics, intoxicated by an imaginary consequence, led men blindly into most senseless factions : and incorrigibly perverse, they contended against the interests of the general body of the catholics, with a view to their own, particular advantages, and the purposes of the pope. They thwarted every measure, in order to keep up and recommend themselves to an ambitious, but futile supremacy. They grasped at a shadow of protection abroad, and let go the substance at home.

The catholics of Ireland being impressed with an opinion that the power of the pope was their best security, suffered themselves to be seduced, under this bias, into measures which common sense must have otherwise condemned. But papal influence having duped them into a system, by which they lost the confidence of their own state, it kept in perpetual movement its insidious intrigues by the casual boons and indefinite hopes of ecclesiastical promotion. Hence arose these ceaseless and pernicious efforts to establish papal jurisdiction. Common experience was lost upon a people during ages, and all the obvious principles of common policy ; which teach men, that obedience to foreign jurisdiction, and resistance against established authority, by the subjects of

any state, must force the government upon measures of necessary security, which are justified by the principles of self-preservation. Whereas, without rebellious resistance against the constitutional laws of the state, such statutes must be condemned as the cruel engines of detestable persecution. Besides, the protection of Rome, though aided by the power of the emperor, and the arms and treasure of Spain, with the machinations and hostility of France, proved uniformly to be but a shadow of death to the real interests of the catholics of Ireland. Nor is it within the calculation of general experience, that any foreign power, protection, or jurisdiction, can be of equivalent value to the protection of a parent state; which the loyal and civil virtues of subjects must ever secure, and the interests of sovereigns and nations cannot deny. This may appear more evidently by the following considerations and examples. Were the jurisdiction of Rome now established in its fullest extent, could it obtain any new, or secure an old civil advantage for the catholics? Most certainly not. Then where is its utility, when no benefit can be derived from it by the general body of the catholics? It would produce infinite public mischief, and rouse the odium and resentment of about fourteen millions of people in these realms against a number of about two millions and a

half. Happily, however, there is no danger of a shadow of legitimacy being extended to the pope's jurisdiction in these countries. And instead of advantage, it would certainly produce the reverse to the catholics, supposing even that the power of the pope were not, as it actually is, in expiring agonies. For, such foreign jurisdiction has uniformly proved, and must eternally prove, an insurmountable barrier to these chimerical benefits in the precise proportion of its extent. The reasons are coexistent with all the sound principles of policy. But besides these incontrovertible reasons against such chimerical expectations from this usurpation, it is proved by the force of truth and example in the conduct of the usurpers themselves throughout the preceding pages. When the power and jurisdiction of Rome were absolute and supreme in Ireland; when the pope's nuncio exercised sovereign authority; what advantages did the catholic body derive? None: but completely the reverse. The whole council of its nuncio, its clergy, and its assemblies, exhibited a miserable tissue of exclusive ambition and avarice for the sole benefit of the holy See. The real advantages of the Irish catholics, and the favourable opportunities for a settlement of reasonable measures between the state and them, were despised, opposed, and rejected, amidst the most extravagant plans of Romish ambition

and avarice. And thus the ruin of our monarch and monarchy was accelerated : and Ireland was deluged with blood. The catholics were injured in the opinions of the world, and in the estimation of the state, so deeply, that the impression continued throughout succeeding times to deprive them of the dearest rights of subjects.

But it is the duty of truth and justice to repeat what has been already mentioned in the preceding pages ; that either through want of knowledge, or defect of discrimination, odium and imputation have been cast generally upon the catholics, which should in candour and equity have been rolled upon the ambition and avarice of papal power. The holy See made some of this body the tools of its temporal views under the delusion of personal interest, and spiritual agency in the cause of Heaven. *Romish connexion* has done more injury to the *civil interests* of the catholics of these realms, than all their *doctrinal principles* could ever have occasioned.

APPENDIX.

CHAP. XVII.

Pope Pius the VI. sends his solemn benediction in a Brief for a Publication setting forth the weakness and wickedness of the usurpation of Supremacy and Temporal Authority over Sovereigns ; its subversion ; Supremacy of Kings and Authority of Bishops free from Papal power ; the Bond of Social Obligation ; Papal Supremacy not a Principle of Catholic Religion ; its Abolition the basis of Conciliation.

SOME important information, which has been the result of research after this work was committed to the press, and could not therefore be introduced in its proper place, shall be here submitted to the particular attention of the reader. It comes with authority of great weight : And bearing directly upon the point of papal usurpation, and royal supremacy, demonstrates the consistency of the latter with catholic principles, in a manner so forcible, that it might fix at once its legitimacy in any catholic mind, how rigid soever, had it not been already established

upon a basis too broad to be shaken : namely, the fundamental principles of Christianity, and the laws of nature and of nations.

The authority now to be brought forward is no less than that of the Abbé Roy, prothonotary to the pope ; and the authority of the pope himself, Pius VI.

A history of the Cardinals, dedicated to the King of France, was published by the Abbé Roy, who was not only prothonotary to the sovereign pontiff, but privy counsellor to the Prince Bishop of Liege. It contains a statement of facts demonstrating the usurpation of supremacy by the popes ; upon the subversion of which the Gallican church was raised. The weakness and wickedness of that usurpation, and the justice and necessity of its subversion, are set forth in glowing circumstances by the Abbé. Pope Pius VI. by a brief which is prefixed to this work, expresses his great pleasure to the Abbé on his publishing it, embraces him with paternal charity, and hoping it will prove an honour to himself and a glory to the church, affectionately bestows upon him, in this formal instrument, his apostolical benediction as the pledge of his kindness. To such approbation on the part of his holiness and such facts on the part of his apostolical officer, no comment need be added ; a short extract from the work itself will furnish most satis-

factory evidence of its nature, and of its unanswerable authority upon this subject.

“Rome has been the sport of times and events, and has passed through all the periods of greatness and decline. Like to the flux and reflux of the ocean, it has sometimes transgressed its bounds, sometimes retired within its limits. But aspiring to the dominion of the universe, it became its own destroyer, and exhibits the greatest example of the ravages of fate.”

“From the accumulated ruins of different governments, to which profane Rome had been subject, arose a power of peace and salvation; but human weakness soon mixed with spiritual government, and the man forgot that he was a minister of God. He wished to act as man; the patrimony of St. Peter soon augmented by accumulated treasures and immense donations; and the chiefs of the church joined temporal sovereignty to spiritual authority.”

“Loaded with riches, covered with honors, and proud of their possessions, some papal sovereigns dared perhaps to persuade themselves, that they could raise up ancient Rome and rule after its example over the universe. They laid their rash hands upon the crowns of other sovereigns.”

“Gregory VII. renewing the pretensions of some of his predecessors, dared to maintain that the holy See had temporal authority over kings, that they were his vassals and tributaries, that he

could dispose of their crowns according to his option, and release their subjects from their oaths of fidelity."

"He wrote to the emperor, Henry IV., I shall die or I will take your life and empire."

"The rulers and magistrates of Sardinia having treated the rights which he wished to usurp over them and their country, as chimerical, he menaced them with war aided by the Normans and Lombards, and to involve their country in blood and fire.

"Instructions, the most revolting, were given by him to the legates whom he sent into Spain; "you will declare there," said he, "that I should prefer Spain to be occupied by the Saracens, rather than by Christians, who refuse to do me homage."

"Alexander VI. by a bull bearing date the 4th May, 1592, gave the West-Indies to Ferdinand King of Arragon; and the East Indies to the Prince of Portugal."

"Julius II. declared by his excommunication of Louis XII., the throne of France to be vacant, and gave it to the first who could possess himself of it."

"Sixtus Quintus and Gregory XIV. made all their efforts to strip the House of Bourbon of its inheritance, and to fix the crown of France in the House of Lorraine."

“ The popes were not satisfied to behold sovereigns on their knees, like children, imploring the assistance of their spiritual father ; they would be also their temporal despots, and humble them to the precarious and submissive condition of tributaries, lieutenants, and subjects.”

“ Pontifical authority passed as infallible, and sacerdotal power had usurped civil legislation. All the members of this church, encouraged by the ambition of their chiefs, claimed, each in his sphere, a portion of *supreme power* ; bishops as proud of their riches as of their dignity, held the first places among princes, presided over assemblies of the nation, judged kings and people ; and while with one hand they humbly balanced the incense pot of the Levites, with the other they brandished the glistening sword of the warrior.”

“ Gregory VII. pretended that it belonged to the pope alone to wear imperial ornaments.”

“ During the jubilee of 1200, Boniface VIII. made numerous cavalcades in Rome, with a sword by his side.”

“ Julius II. with a cuirasse on his back, marched at the head of a squadron of troops that he kept in pay.”

“ There are some bishops, who officiate pontifically with the badges of a warrior deposited near the lamb without spot. The Bishop of Ca-

hors has always the gloves and gauntlets on the altar."

"The treasurer of the cathedral of Nevers has the right to assist booted, spurred, and his sword by his side."

"Ecclesiastical tyranny had arrived to such a point that Pope John VIII. even when a fugitive, holding a council at Troyes, dared to publish the following canon, more insolent than unusual at that time, but a most surprising testimony of the weakness of the authority of kings. *The powers of this world must treat bishops hereafter with the greatest respect, and consequently they will not have the PRESUMPTION to SIT before them unless THEY COMMAND IT.* They had forgotten what their master said, *Render unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's.* But Boniface VIII. maintained that there was *no other Cæsar, nor king of the Romans, but the sovereign pontiff.* At length, however, the Cæsars *reclaimed what was their due;* and hence these continual conflicts of authority and jurisdiction, which raised up both the throne and the altar: hence those frightful disorders, which infested and stained with blood many ages of the church."

"But ecclesiastical authority, proves how true it is, that the highest point of haughty grandeur is often the nearest approach to humiliation."

After stating these and other facts, which caused the supremacy of Rome to sink into humiliation, and the Gallican church to arise, the Abbé proceeds to investigate a question of great importance to the French cardinals; and the principle laid down by him, is immediately applicable to the Irish catholic clergy, but of much more force than in the French case, on account of the great and obvious difference of the circumstances.

“ Ecclesiastical persons, *although subject to a power independent of the king, in whose state they have been born or naturalized, continue notwithstanding to be the subjects of their king. They belonged to him before they belonged to the church: and the RELIGIOUS ENGAGEMENT which they contract is NOT VALID, but in so much as it neither AFFECTS nor INJURES this first and NATURAL DEPENDANCE.* Such is the concordat that reason and the spirit of order have dictated to the two powers,” (France and Rome; alluding to the abolition of the papal supremacy in France by the establishment of the Gallican church) “ whose connection is now founded upon that of civil society with religion. By which a *sovereign can, when necessary, reclaim the services of his ecclesiastical subjects: and those ecclesiastics, by obedience to their sovereign, fulfil the law of God.*”

“ He who serves his king and country well, must merit praise: and the church, so much interested in the peace and happiness of states, far from disapproving such conduct in ecclesiastics, will herself applaud the choice of such persons.”

Can the Romish bishops of these realms, in direct contradiction to such authority, deny their lawful king to be supreme? Can they maintain that, the first great bond of human obligation to social authority is not attachment or obedience? Will they, instead of supporting the independence, as it is their bounden duty, resist the power of the executive sovereign, who represents the majesty of the nation, and is invested with its august and supreme authority? But it is hardly possible that such misconceptions will not vanish before the light of truth, which guides men to conviction. And it is trusted that a wise, just, and benevolent spirit of conciliation will induce the catholic ecclesiastics to come forward generously and with joy to the assistance of the state. They owe an account of their talents to their king and country, as well as to the religion of which they are ministers.* But

* “ L’Ecclesiastique doit compte de ses talens, autant a son Prince et à la Patrie, qu’ à la Religion dont il est Ministre.”—*Abbé Roy.*

the rights and interests of their king and country as well as of their religion, all unite on this occasion. For not only the supremacy of all sovereigns, but the authority of every catholic bishop, is established, *free and uncontrolled by the pope*, upon the fundamental principles of christianity, orthodox councils, and primitive fathers. The supremacy of British kings is further established upon the great basis of our venerable laws before and since Christianity. The exercise of supremacy by our Saxon, Norman, and Plantagenet sovereigns and their successors, is established by authentic records. The express abolition of papal encroachments and usurpation is established by our statutes, and the enactment, that to *deny the king's supremacy is treason*, is at once a corroborative proof of the legitimacy of the right of supremacy, and a too true though constructive evidence of its necessity.

By the great principles of the laws of nature and of nations, there can be but one supreme power : and that one being the king over all his subjects, the whole must contain its parts, and consequently ecclesiastical subjects are included. No assumption of any profession or subsequent duty can invalidate or destroy the first great bond of social obligation, and personal relation as subject. And over all ecclesiastical functions thus assumed in these realms the king, as supreme,

has legitimate authority: and being the lawful head, has full power to direct and control.

If it be lawful, therefore, and it is indisputably so, that the king should have supreme authority over the protestant church in his realms, with respect to the principles of which church there is no cause for dread on the part of the crown, nor just warrant for apprehension; how much more reasonable and necessary is it for the king to have supremacy over the popish church in his dominions, on the part of which the examples of ruinous and unnatural hostility form the blackest stains upon our annals, during centuries.?

It appears that, both before and since the epoch of the Reformation, the king's supremacy has been acknowledged by the heads of the catholic church in these realms. And men have only to open their eyes, and the truth must rush in upon their understanding to convince them further, by the long existing precedent of the Gallican church in France, which has been uniformly and uninterruptedly recognized during a succession of popes. No proof can be stronger than this fact, and none more satisfactory, to establish not only the truth and validity of this principle of the king's supremacy, but likewise the recognition of it on the part of the popes. Surely then, a like recognition is admissible on the part of the catholic prelates in these realms. And besides, when a

King of France, by uniform and uninterrupted example, down through past to present times, has rejected the supremacy of the pope, both being catholics; should not a protestant king, *a fortiori*, reject the supremacy of the pope, who is the enemy of his religion? And since the popes have so long renounced such pretended claims to supremacy, how can catholic bishops at this day maintain that the papal supremacy is a principle of their religion? Principles are fixed and immutable, for they are essential truths; and truth is eternal. But the supremacy of the pope is neither eternal, nor fixed, nor immutable; therefore it is not a truth, whether we search for it in reason or religion, in precept or in practice. But the danger of an usurpation so chimerical, and an absurdity so extravagant, as an *imperium in imperio*, has appeared obviously in the preceding pages, by a mass of testimony sufficient to excite wonder, astonishment and melancholy.

The pope's supremacy has been demonstrated to be an usurpation, not only over these realms, but all realms: over every king, and over every catholic bishop who has felt its exercise. But the strongest instruments of even catholic authority have laid the axe to the very root of papal supremacy; while that of the king is upheld by the great principles of the primitive church, by our laws and constitution, and by catholic prece-

depts in our own and other nations. It is established in truth and justice: and it is of vital necessity.

If seven hundred years of uniform and lamentable proofs can demonstrate the necessity of any measure, this question of the pope's supremacy will be put to final rest. So long has christianity, which is a mild and endearing bond of benignity, been debased, by the incorrigible and perverse ambition of popes, into the desolating instrument of religious and civil discord. between fellow-countrymen and fellow Christians. The great authority of facts, founded upon the uniform evidence of centuries, must make an impression on the hearts and minds of men, like the sage admonitions of ages and of nations. They have traced for us with all the clearness and force of truth, these uniform troubles to their causes; and in these uniform causes, they have discovered to us the obvious means of terminating such horrid and deplorable effects. These means are, a total abolition of the supremacy of the pope, called for by the imperious voice of justice and policy, as a measure of important and vital necessity; and as the wise and solid basis of conciliation between protestants and catholics.

APPENDIX.

*The following circumstances are recorded by Whitlocke,
&c. &c.*

IN the year 63, during the reign of Arviragus, than whom none was more valiant in war, none more meek in peace, the gospel was first preached in Britain by Joseph of Arimathea, and eleven men of the disciples of Philip.

William, Duke of Normandy, drew most of the great princes and nobles of France to join with him in the invasion of England, besides Germans and Flemings, and the Pope's blessing on a banner, with one of *St. Peter's hairs* in it. William promised if he got England, to hold it of the apostolic See.

When William Rufus was hunting, a messenger brought him word that his City and Castle of *Mans* would be taken by the enemy if not relieved in a few days. He asked which way *Mans* lay, and turning his horse that way, rode straight to Dartmouth. His servants told him *he must stay for provisions and men*. He answered, *Those that love me will follow me*, and so rode on. At Dartmouth, when he would have gone on

board a ship, the master dissuaded him, because of the ill weather ; he would go on, saying, *You never heard of a king that was drowned.* He came in time to relieve *Mans*, and took prisoner the Count *de la Flesche*, who besieged it ; and the Count vapouring said, *that if he had been at liberty, he would have left the king but little land.* The king hearing of this, set the Count at liberty, gave him a good horse, and bade him do his worst : which act so overcame the Count, that he made peace with him.

He feasted his nobility in his new Hall at *Westminster*, wherewith he found fault for being too little, and fitter for a chamber than a hall for a king.

Henry I. granted that a clergyman should not be called before a temporal judge but for matters of the trust, or his lay fee.

In the reign of Stephen, the Empress Maude promised the Pope's legate that all bishoprics and abbies should be at his disposal, and the legate and clergy therefore elected her queen. Such were the troubles, that with the permission of Stephen, 1117 castles were built for defence.

Henry II.—When Becket was told that the king had a sword sharper than his cross ; he replied, “ The king's sword wounds carnally, but mine strikes spiritually, and sends the soul to hell.

The Archbishop of Sens writes to the Pope to raise up ecclesiastical power for revenge of Becket's assassination at the altar, and says, “ He was appointed over nations and kingdoms, to *bind their kings in fetters, and their nobles in manacles of iron*: that *all power in HEAVEN and EARTH* was given to his apostleship.

Richard the 1st, to raise money for the holy wars,

sold the crown lands, and among them the manor of Sudborough, to the Bishop of Durham, jesting, that of an old Bishop he had made a new Earl, who had, by that purchase, the palatinate.

John directed the Bishop of Norwich to be elected Archbishop of Canterbury by the monks, which the Pope controverted. He wrote to the Pope that England yielded more profit to Rome than all the kingdoms else on this side the Alps: that he would stand to the liberty of his crown to death, and threatened to stop the passage to Rome.

Henry III. caused the Pope's exactions in England to be notified at the Council of Lyons; this so vexed his Holiness, that he said, "It is fit we make an end with the Emperor, that we may crush these petty kings, for the dragon once destroyed, these lesser snakes will be soon trodden under foot."

The king to supply his wants sells his plate, and jewels of the crown: and being told the city of London had bought them; he said, it was an inexhaustible gulph, and if *Octavius's* treasure were to be sold, they would surely buy it.

Edward I. called a parliament at Salisbury, of his nobles, without admission of any clergyman; and requires some of his lords to go to his wars in *Gascoigne*, his brother being dead there. They excused themselves. The king in anger threatened "that if they did not go, he would give their lands to others." Whereupon Bohun, High Constable, and Bejod, Marshal of England, declared that if the king went in person, they would attend him, else not. The king being much offended, the Earl Marshal said, "He would go with the king, and march in the vanguard, as by right he

ought to do." The king replied, "He should go with any other, though the king went not in person." The earl said, "He would not." The king swore by an oath, "Sir Earl, you shall either go or hang." "And I swear," said the Earl, "by the same oath, I will neither go nor hang." And so without leave he went away.

Edward II.—The queen makes a proclamation that nothing should be taken from any subject without paying ready money, under penalty for taking to the value of 3d. to lose a finger, 6d. the hand, and 12d. the head; and that whosoever should bring to the queen the head of young Spencer, should have 2000l. And thus she makes head against her own head, and conducts an innocent son against his father Edward III.

The French king had prepared a navy of 200 sail: Edward encountered them with an equal number, and utterly defeated them. He took and sunk all their ships, and slew 30,000 men. Many of the French leaped into the sea: whereupon the French king's jester (set on to give him notice of this disaster) oftentimes said before the king, "Cowardly *Englishmen!* Dastardly *Englishmen!*" The king asked him *Why?* The jester replied, "They durst not leap out of their ships into the sea, as our brave Frenchmen did:" by which the king got intimation of this overthrow.

Henry VII.—The Pope sent a hallowed sword, and cap of maintenance to the king: which was received with great solemnity and glory.

In 1563, Elizabeth proposed to Mary Queen of Scots to marry Robert Dudley, and she should be declared heir of the crown of England, if Elizabeth died without issue. The Scots disclaimed the match, and told Mary,

that in England what one parliament enacted, another parliament repealed, therefore she was not to trust to them. She had in the mean time much trouble in Scotland, between papists and protestants. She sat in person to hear causes, and adultery was made death, and other good laws were enacted by her.

1571. A prodigious earthquake in Herefordshire, a hill and rock removed with much noise, and carried with it trees, and sheep folds, and flocks of sheep.

Dr. Story was indicted for consulting with a conjurer how to raise rebellion in Ireland. He pleaded that he was the King of Spain's subject. Yet because no man can renounce the country where he was born, nor abjure his prince of his own pleasure, he was condemned and executed as a traitor.

When the Queen's Counsel required the Lord Steward to pronounce the sentence against the Duke of Norfolk, which he did with tears in his eyes, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; to which the duke said with great courage, "Sentence is pronounced against me as a traitor, I trust in God, and the queen, and I hope that when I am excluded your company, I shall enjoy better in Heaven: I will prepare myself to undergo death: this one thing I request, that the queen will shew herself merciful to my children and servants, and see my debts paid."

The Pope earnestly entreated Henry VIII. to enter into the Holy League against the French. He consented, but first interposed as an umpire. His mediation was rejected. Moved by this, and by a desire to regain the ancient rights of England, Henry sent his herald Clarendieux into France, roughly demanding the duchies of Normandy, Guicenne, Main, and Anjou,

and with them the crown of France. He then sent certain nobles before him, and afterwards followed himself, to Terouanne, where he raised his royal standard of the red Dragon, and invested the town with a siege. Hither the Emperor Maximilian repaired; and to the great honour of Henry, entered into his pay, bearing the cross of St. George, with a rose, the king's badge, as his faithful soldier.

Louis advanced to Amiens with his army, and determined to throw relief into Terouanne. Fontrailles appeared at the head of eight hundred horsemen, each of whom carried a sack of gunpowder behind him, and two quarters of bacon. With this force he made a sudden and unexpected irruption into the English camp, and surmounting all resistance, advanced to the fosse of the town, when each horseman threw down his burthen. They immediately returned in a gallop, and were so fortunate as to break again through the English, and to sustain little or no loss in this dangerous attempt. But the English had, soon after, full revenge for this insult. Henry having received intelligence of the approach of the French cavalry, who had advanced to protect this incursion of Fontrailles, ordered some troops to pass the Lis, in order to oppose them. The cavalry of France consisted chiefly of gentlemen, who had behaved with great valour in many desperate actions in Italy; yet being over-awed by the appearance and conduct of the English, they took to flight, lost six of their standards, and many of their officers of distinction. The Duke of Longueville, who commanded the French, was made prisoner by Sir John Clarke, upon whom the king conferred the arms of Longueville, to be worn as an honourable addition to

his own, and as a monument and reward of the victory of Spurs, 1513.* This action is sometimes called the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought, on the 16th of August, but more commonly the battle of Spurs, because the French, on that day, made more use of their spurs than of their swords or military weapons.† Chevalier Bayard, however, after having performed prodigies of valour in the contest, finding he could not escape, chanced to cast his eyes on an English officer, who had retired to repose himself after the fatigue of the day. “Yield,” said Bayard, “or you die!” The other imagining that Bayard was supported by a body of soldiers, asked the name of his captor. “I am the Chevalier Bayard,” said he, “and now, in my turn, I surrender myself prisoner to you.” Soon after, Bayard proposed to leave the English camp, and return to his friends; but his captor opposed this, unless he would pay a ransom. “And where,” said Bayard, “is the ransom which, on your side, you owe to me?” This odd dispute was brought before Henry VIII. who in person commanded the English army, and he adjudged that no ransom should be paid by either party, (*Vie de Bayard*). The French engaged in this disgraceful combat were all cavalry, and the best warriors in the nation: the Duke de Longueville, the Chevalier Bayard, Fayette, &c. &c.—(*Herbert.*)

After so considerable an advantage, the king, who was at the head of a complete army of 50,000 men, might have extended his conquest to the gates of Paris.

* Camden's Remains, and Records of the College of Arms, marked Phil. No. 32-15.

† Hume.

Never was the French nation in greater danger, or in less condition* to defend itself against the powerful armies that assailed or threatened it on every side. Many of the inhabitants of Paris, who believed themselves exposed to the rapacity and violence of an approaching enemy, began to dislodge, without knowing what place could afford them greater security and protection.

James I.—Whitlocke says, that the king's revenues not having been sufficient to supply the profuseness of his favourite, Somerset, in order to raise money for his expences, a new order of baronets, in number 200, was made: next in degree to barons, who must pay 1000*l.* each for their honour. The money was pretended for the maintenance of Tories in Ireland, and therefore, a bloody hand, or a gauntlet and hand, gules, as a testimony of their gallant fighting to blood, was to be borne by them as their distinction. But hardly any of this money arrived in Ireland.

The Lord Spencer speaking in the House of Lords for the subject's rights, was interrupted by the Earl of Arundel with this scorn: "My Lord, when these doings were doing, your ancestors were keeping sheep:" Spencer replied, "when my ancestors were keeping sheep, your ancestors were plotting treason."

In his anger against Mr. Gib of the bedchamber, to whom he thought he had delivered some papers about the Spanish treaty, which he missed, and Gib denied the having of them, the king kicked him: and afterwards finding his papers, and his error, he knelt to Gib, and would not rise till he had pardoned him.

* Hume.

According to Sir Philip Warwick, the affairs of Charles I. declined shortly after the battle of Newbury. In which fell "that brave young Earl of Carnarvon, who had he lived, most probably would have been as great an example of virtue, as ever he had been before of extravagancy." And here too was extinguished that fine flame, that made splendid the excellent soul of the Lord Faulkland, then Secretary of State, whose courage carried him too far in this engagement.

Here likewise fell that most courageous and loyal young Lord, the Earl of Sunderland, whose family of Spencers was ever sound in its root, and numerous branches.

Shortly after, young Sir Henry Vane, and Stephen Marshall, the great archiepiscopal presbyter, here got into Scotland, when the king's miscarrying at Gloucester, and the Duke of Newcastle, at Halk, with some other advantageous propositions, like Jonathan's tasting a little honey upon the point of his wand, opened the Scots' eyes, and renewed their fainting resolutions: and they found and said, "It was as reasonable for them to assist the two Houses of Parliament in England against the king, as it was for Queen Elizabeth to assist the Lords of the congregation in Scotland, against the Queen of Scots.

The Scots march into England to assist the Parliament, who strengthening Essex and Waller, sent them out with two considerable armies to besiege the king, if he should stay at Oxford, or to fight him in case they should drive him into the field, Prince Rupert then being absent. But the king taking a resolution not to be besieged, and amusing Waller by a strong party of horse under the command of the Earl of Cleaveland,

a nobleman of daring courage, full of industry and activity, as well as firm loyalty, and usually successful in what he attempted: he so bravely bearded Waller, that the king in the mean time, who had carried this design with all secrecy, with a well selected body of horse and foot, marched out of Oxford towards Worcester: when the Earl of Cleveland at a certain rendezvous joined him; and Essex and Waller finding themselves deceived, and believing, that the king would march to join with Prince Rupert; and having no good intelligence between themselves, they resolved, that Essex should march into the west, and Waller follow the king.

Waller was a man of more courage, and reckoned a good soldier, than of good fortune: for the year before he received a considerable loss at Landsdown fight, by the Lord Hopton, not far from Bath: though in that fight fell that excellent person, Sir Bevil Green-vill, a man of great integrity, courage, and interest in his country. But a small accident did much mischief that day to the Lord Hopton's party: for the greatest part of his ammunition took fire, and he himself was much singed and defaced by it: and as for want of powder he was forced to march unto Devizes: which Waller coming to understand, he took courage again, and came to besiege Hopton there: and had not the king soon sent the Lord Wilmot, and Carnarvon, to release him, he had not been in a posture to defend himself. But here the king's forces at Roundway-Down, bravely charging him, gave him an entire defeat.

He had not much better luck this year in the pursuit of the king: for the king understanding, that Essex was

marched into the west, suddenly turns back upon him, and at Cropredy bridge (which Waller would have forced) the king defeated him. How it came about, most men seem ignorant; but the Lord Wilmot, then General of the horse, was that day twice taken prisoner; and Sir William Boteler, a gentleman of extraordinary zeal to his Majesty's service; and Sir William Clarke, his countryman, of the same affections, by extraordinary service, that day signalized their deaths.

The king marched into Cornwall, and the conclusion of the war must have been as glorious to their master as it was fatal, had not the Earl of Newcastle affected independency, and Wilmot borne too much kindness to Essex, or Goring turned wantonness into riot, and riotish madness. The king's army was ruined in the north, but the prince marched to the relief of Newark. Had all garrisons been managed as this was, by that excellent person, Mr. Sutton, afterwards Lord Lexington, the war on his Majesty's part had been more successful.

York was besieged, but prince Rupert appeared and raised the siege; but a mortal wound was given to the king's affairs. This proceeded from the unfortunate pen of Lord Digby, who indeed was a well accomplished gentleman, and of great parts, natural and acquired; and now Secretary of State, he was as gallant with his sword, as eminent with his tongue or pen: but had likewise so much of a romantic spirit, that as the Lord Bacon says, "there are some things, which have more wonder in them than worth." At the battle of Marston moor, 3d July, 1644, Goring routed Fairfax, but the prince's horse failing in their accustomed valour, Cromwell, who had experience of what import a good

reserve was in the day of battle, came and turned the scale; and though the Marquis of Newcastle's foot stood like a wall, yet he mowed them down like a meadow. So as Prince Rupert was forced to march off toward Chester, with the debris of the army, about 6000 horse; and the Marquis of Newcastle, with the Lord Falconbridge, and Sir Hugh Chomley, and many more took shipping at Scarborough, and some transported to Hamburgh, York, Sunderland: And the king was again worsted at Newbury, after which followed in 1645, a project which cut the grass from under the feet of the Presbyterians: the self-denying ordinance, for discarding all members of either house from all gainful, civil, and military employments: for saints must not be self seekers, or men of this world.

The issue of the battle of Naseby was, that Prince Rupert routed Fairfax's left wing, commanded by Ireton; but Cromwell falling upon Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who commanded the left wing, carried the day, and made a very great slaughter. And after this day, we may say the king's whole party fell into convulsion fits, or made strong motions, which were but indications of a dying body.

The king, like a hunted partridge, fled from one garrison to another, until he came to Newark; and with much difficulty and danger proceeded afterwards to Oxford. Mr. Montreville, the French envoy at our court averred, that if the king would put himself into the hands of the Scots, he should be there safe, in person, honour, and conscience: I know it, as having been designed to be one that should attend his Majesty thither. He goes to the Scots, and they sell their king. He is carried to Holmby-house, then

removed from place to place, and at last brought to Hampton Court. From this he privately withdrew, attended by Ashburnham, Sir John Berkley, and Mr. William Legg. The next we heard of them was, that he was at Carisbrook Castle, at the Isle of Wight. If it be lawful to conjecture, the choosing this place did not arise from a belief of either the king or Ashburnham in the Governor, but from the failing of some vessel then expected. When I mentioned to the king that the world had an ill opinion of my friend Ashburnham's guiding him thither, I remember he freely replied, "I do no way believe he was unfaithful to me; but I think he wanted courage at that time, who I never knew wanted it before." Many now use their heads, how they might employ their hands in delivering their imprisoned prince. Several counties by petitions, subscribed by multitudes, own the king even in this calamity: his cause made them commiserate his person, and his person made them willing to adventure themselves for his cause. The London apprentices have a rash transport of zeal, and meet in great numbers, and their word is, *For God and King Charles*: but unarmed, and undisciplined, were soon dispersed. The Scots enter England and were defeated near Preston. Now when the king had no earthly hope, the parliament vouchsafed to admit him to a treaty: and sent twelve commissioners to him to the Isle of Wight.* The king's lords and gentlemen only stood about his chair, but were not to speak a word in his assistance: whilst he singly disputed with all the twelve commis-

* Sir Philip Warwick was one of the commissioners, and therefore had personal knowledge of the facts which he relates here.

sioners upon the several heads of their propositions. But if at any time the king found himself in need to ask a question, or that any of his lords thought fit to advise him in his ear to hesitate before he answered, he himself would retire into his own chamber: or one of us penmen, who stood at his chair, prayed him from the lords to do so: but more liberty than this his attendants were not allowed. And I remember one day he over-did himself: and it was upon the great article, Whether he or the parliament began the war, and in effect at whose door the blood should lie? The king would have extinguished the whole discourse by acts of oblivion to both sides, or by taking an equal share. But where most guilt was, there was most difficulty to satisfy: and by no means they would wave the explanation of this article. The king retiring into his chamber, I took the confidence to step to my Lord Northumberland, and say to him—"My good lord, remember how gracious this good prince has been to you, and do you compassionate his distresses, and the strait he is now in?"

Reply.—"Sir, in this it is impossible for me to do any thing; for the king in this point is safe as king; but we cannot be so."

Two replies which the king made to two gentlemen that day, were observable: the one to a gentleman who is now a lord, who pressed somewhat upon him hardly. "A good nature, Sir," says he, "would not offer this you say; nor is it true logic."

And then he made another kind of ingenious reply to Mr. Buckley, who was a gentleman of that island, and now a commissioner; when he prayed the king to make right use of this treaty, having promised him

that if a treaty could be procured for him, the malice of the devil should not be able to break it. "Consider," says he, "Mr. Buckley, if you call this a treaty, whether it be not like the fray in the comedy; where the man comes out, and says, there has been a fray and no fray; and being asked how that could be? why, (says he) there have been three blows given, and I had them all. Look, therefore, whether this be not a parallel case. Observe whether I have not granted absolutely most of your propositions, and with great moderation limited only some few of them; nay, consider, whether you have made me any one concession, and whether, at this present moment, you have not confessed to me, that though upon any proposition you were all concurrently satisfied, yet till you had remitted them up to your superiors, you had not authority to concur with me in any one thing.

Through the whole treaty, managing all thus singly himself, he shewed that he was very conversant in divinity, law, and good reason: insomuch as one day, whilst I turned the king's chair, when he was about to rise, the Earl of Salisbury came suddenly upon me, and called me by my name, and said, "The king is wonderfully improved."

Reply.—"No, my Lord, he was always so; but your lordship too late discerned it."

Some few things he said, which shewed these eminent Christian virtues in him, which were rarely to be found among any sort of men: for about the latter end of the treaty, finding it was like to be ineffectual "I wish," says he, "I had consulted nobody but my own self; for then, where in honour or conscience I could not have complied, I could have early been positive: for

with Job I would willingly have chosen misery rather than sin."

I never saw him shed tears but once, and he turned his head presently away; for he was then dictating to me somewhat in a window, and he was loth to be discerned; and the lords and gentlemen were then in the room, though his back was towards them, but I can safely take my oath, they were the biggest drops that ever I saw fall from an eye: but he recollected himself, and soon stifled them. When he was pressed by the parliament ministers to give way for a small catechism for children, "I will not," says he, "take upon me to determine all these texts you quote are rightly applied, and have their true sense given them; and I assure you, gentlemen, I would licence a catechism at a venture sooner for men, than I would for children; because they can judge for themselves: and I make a great conscience to permit, that children should be corrupted in their first principles."

I remember one evening (when I waited on the king, with the notes that passed that day, and then sometimes he would ease himself by some discourse on the by), his Majesty told me, "That he should be like a captain that had defended a place well, and his superiors not being able to relieve him, he had leave to surrender it; but (replied he) though they cannot relieve me in the time I demand it, let them relieve me when they can: else I will hold it out, till I make some stone in this building my tombstone. And so will I do, (says he) by the church of England."

Another time, talking of the unreasonableness of the propositions made to him about the civil government, he said,

“ Well (says he), they will ask so much, and use it so ill, that the people of England will be one day glad to relodge the power they had taken from the crown, where it is due; and I have offended against them more in the things I have granted them, than in any thing I ever designed against them.

Whilst he was in this durance, Mr. Herbert said, he was wont to write on the back of some papers, these, or some other verses of this nature:—

Fallitur egregiò, quisquis sub Principe credit
 Servitium; nunquam libertas gratior extat,
 Quam sub Rege pio.

Rebus in adversis facile est contemnere vitam;
 Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest.

Observing him to drink two parts water and one sack, I presumed to ask how he came to leave French wine? He told me—“ They afforded him not good, and then he thought this the better brewage. Nay (says he), whilst I have been here among them, I have wanted linen; which, though I took no notice of, I never complained of.”

Another time he looking out of his presence-chamber window at Newport, I being in the room, he beckoned me and shewed me in the street an old little crumpling man, and asked whether I knew him? “ No Sir, (said I, I never saw him before.” “ I shew him you, (says he) because that was the best companion I had for three months together, in Carisbrook castle, where he made my fires.”

Methinks, because it shews his disesteem of a common court vice, it is not unworthy the relating of him; that one evening his dog scraping at the door, he commanded

me to let in Gipsej; whereupon I took the boldness to say, "Sir, I perceive you love a greyhound better than you do a spaniel." "Yes (says he), for they equally love their masters, and yet do not flatter them so much."

These, and some other passages which I came to understand by the Bishop of London, Dr. Juxon, his confessor at his death, which I shall mention when I come to that part of his end, make me conclude, with my Lord Bacon, that he was a prince of those eminent virtues, which usually gain not kings renown: "*For, (says he) there are few that can judge of or discern the highest sort of virtues: and therefore princes are commonly famous by the middle sort of virtues: the highest being unintelligible unto the multitude.*"

I shall conclude his story in the Isle of Wight with a reply to an advertisement I gave him about the time of the treaty ending. I prayed his leave, that I might utter my thoughts concerning his present condition in relation to his station in that place, and I told him "I understood the governor usually prided himself in saying, that the person of the king was put into his hands by the parliament, and that he would obey no directions concerning the same, but from the parliament. Now, Sir, he is like to desire your leave to go up to them; but if you do, you know how Major Rolph and other ill spirits of the army hang about this place, and what danger it may bring you; your Majesty therefore were best consider."

The King replied.—"I thank you for your care; but the Governor is grown such a rogue, we cannot be in worse hands."—By a traitorous and tumultuous body, the king is doomed for trial; before a pretended

high court of justice : they break his great seal, and make one of their own, impressing upon it the cross for England, and the harp for Ireland, on the one side : and the House of Commons, as the true sovereign of this nation, on the other : and these words about it : *The First Year of Freedom, &c.* 1648. Injustice must necessarily sit on the bench when justice is dragged to the bar. Solicitor Cook accused him of having tyrannically endeavoured to overthrow the rights and liberties of the people, and to defend his traitorous practices, maliciously levied war.

The supremacy, when once wrested from the king by both houses, was soon after wrested from both houses by a faction. The laws shrunk into the arbitrary ordinances of lords and commons : and afterwards into the tyrannical orders of a remaining faction in one house : but again into the will of a despot, the stamp of whose foot exceeded all authority of law, and parliament disappeared in substance and shadow. When the commons found that the lords had rejected the ordinance for trying the king, they passed a vote that their committees should sit, act, and execute, without the lords. And the following statement is made by Walker, in his History of Independency, (Part II. p. 56.)

Die Jovis, 4 Jan. 1648. The commons passed these three votes.

1. *That the people, (that is their own faction, according to their said principle) are under God, the original of all just power.*

2. *That the commons of England, in parliament assembled, being chosen by, and representing the people, have the supreme power of this nation.*

3. *That whatsoever is enacted or declared for law by*

the house of commons assembled in parliament, hath the force of law: and all the people of this nation are concluded thereby, although the consent or concurrence of the king or house of peers be not had thereunto. This chain-shot sweeps away king, lords, laws, liberty, property, and fundamental government of this nation at once: and despoils all that is, or can be near or dear unto us *scrimo pectoris*, in the bosoms and consciences of fifty or sixty factious covetous saints, the dregs and lees of the house of commons, sitting and acting under the power of an army: and yet the house of commons never had *any power of judicature, nor can legally administer an oath*. They voted themselves, however, to be a high court of justice for the trial of their lawful sovereign.

On the ninth day of January, Dandie, serjeant at arms to the commissioners for trial of his majesty, rode into Westminster-hall, with the mace belonging to the house of commons upon his shoulder, and ~~some officers~~ attending him, all bare, and six trumpeters on horseback before him, guards of foot and horse attending, in both the palace yards, the six trumpeters sounded on horseback in the middle of the hall, and the drums beat in the palace yards, after which a proclamation was read aloud by Mr. King, one of the messengers of the said high court of justice to this purpose:—I give notice, that *the commissioners are to sit to-morrow, and that all those who had any thing to say against Charles Stuart, king of England, might be heard*. The like was done in Cheapside, and at the Old Exchange.—(*Walk. Hist. Part II. p. 69.*)

This day the remainder of the house voted their great seal to be broken, in order to the making of a

new one, justly putting the same affront upon their own seal, that they had formerly put upon the king's. Upon these occasions, Mr. Prynne published his Memento to the unparliamentary junto. He told them, that being forcibly secluded from the house by the officers of the army's violence, whereby he could not speak his mind to them *freely in*, or as the house of commons, yet he would write his to them as private persons only under a force, consulting in the house without their fellow members' advice or concurrence, about speedy deposing and executing CHARLES their lawful sovereign, to please the generals, officers, and counsel of the army (who have usurped to themselves the supreme authority both of king and parliament), or rather the Jesuits and Popish priests among them.—(*Mr. Prynne's Memento.*)

1. By the common law, the statute 25 of Edward III. and all other acts concerning treason, *It is high treason for any man by overt act to compass the death of the king, or his eldest son, though never executed: and so adjudged by parliament in the Earl of Arundel's case.* 21 Ric. II. Plac. Coronæ, n. 4, 6, 7.

2. In the oath of allegiance (which every man takes before he sits in parliament) you acknowledge him to be lawful and rightful king of this realm; and that the Pope neither of himself, nor by any authority of the See of Rome, or by any other means, with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the king, &c.

3. Yourselves amongst other members, in above one hundred remonstrances, declarations, petitions, ordinances, &c. in the name of the parliament have professed, *you never intended the least hurt, injury, or violence to the king's person, crown, dignity, or posterity;*

but intended to him and his posterity more honour, happiness, glory, and greatness than ever any of his predecessors enjoyed: that you would make good to the uttermost with your lives and fortunes the faith and allegiance you have always borne him. That all contributions and loans should be employed only to maintain the Protestant religion, the king's authority, person, royal dignity, laws of the land, peace of the kingdom, and privileges of parliament. That the forces raised by the parliament were for defence of the king's person, and of both houses. That the parliament will ever have a care to prevent any danger to his person. That they are resolved to expose their lives and fortunes for maintenance of the king's person, honour, and estate, and the power and privileges of parliament, when the king taxed the houses for insinuating, That if they should make the highest precedents of other parliaments their pattern (that is, depose the king) there would be no cause to complain of them: Both Houses, by two declarations protested against it, saying, That such things never entered, nor shall enter into their loyal hearts.

4. By the protestation, *they declare in the presence of God to defend the king's person and estate, and that their armies under Essex and Fairfax were raised for that purpose inter alia.*

5. By the National Covenant, *They vowed to defend the king's person and authority, in preservation of true religion and liberties of the kingdom; and that they will all the days of their lives continue in this covenant against all opposition.*

6. You monopolize the supreme power into your own hands, robbing both kings, lords, and the rest of your fellow-members thereof, who, you are content, should

be violently shut out by your army, who have levied war against the parliament to dissolve it : till the removal of which force, and restoring your members with freedom and safety, you ought not to sit or act : in your army's own doctrine in their Remonstrance, Aug. 18, 1647, and by the declaration and ordinances of both Houses, (Aug. 20, 1647, Sec. 21. R. 2. c. 12. 1. H. 4. c. 3. 31. H. 6. c. 1. 39. H. 6. c. 1.)—See the Memorable Record, (6. E. 3. Parl. apud Ebor. n. 1. 2 dorso claudo, 6. E. 3. m. 4. 6. E. apud Westm. Parl. 2. n. 1. 13. E. 3. Parl. 2. n. 4.)—and many more rolls, *where parliaments, when any considerable number of members of either House were absent, refused to sit, though under no force, till the House were full.*

7. You have neither law nor precedent for what you do. Edward II. and Richard II. were forced by Mortimer and Henry IV. to resign their crown in a formal way—one to his son, the other to his conquering successor, neither of them to the parliament, *as unfit to reign, without any formal trial.*

TRIAL OF HIS MAJESTY KING CHARLES I.

(*Extracted from Walker.*)

Saturday, Jan. 20, 1648.

The new thing called the High Court of Justice sate : Bradshaw being President.

Bradshaw, President, said to the king.—Charles Stuart King of England ; the Commons of England assembled in parliament, being sensible of the great calamities brought upon this nation, and of the innocent blood shed (which are referred to you as the

author of it,) according to that duty which they owe to God, the nation, and themselves; and according to that power and fundamental trust reposed in them by the people, have constituted this high court of justice, before which you are now brought, and you are to hear your charge, upon which the court will proceed.

Solicitor Cook.—My Lord, in behalf of the commons of England, and of all the people thereof, I do accuse Charles Stuart here present of high treason and misdemeanors, and I do in the name of the commons of England, desire the charge may be read unto him.

The King.—Hold a little.

President.—Sir, the court commands the charge to be read; afterwards you may be heard.

The charge was read.

That he the said Charles Stuart hath maintained and carried on war against the parliament and good people of this nation, &c. &c. &c. And for further prosecutions of his said evil designs, he the said Charles Stuart, doth still continue his commissions to the said prince, and other rebels and revolvers, both English and foreigners; and to the Earl of Ormond; and to the Irish rebels and revolvers, associated with them; from whom further invasions upon this land are threatened, upon the procurement, and on the behalf of the said Charles Stuart.

All which wicked designs, wars and evil practices of him, the said Charles Stuart, have been and are carried on, for the advancing and upholding of the personal interest of will and power, and pretended prerogative to himself and his family, against the public interest,

common right, liberty, justice, and peace of the people of this nation, by and for whom he was entrusted, as aforesaid.

By all which it appeareth, that he the said Charles Stuart hath been, and is the occasioner, author and contriver of the said unnatural, cruel and bloody wars, and therein guilty of all the treasons, murders, rapines, burnings, spoils, desolations, damage and mischief to this nation, acted or committed in the said wars, or occasioned thereby.

And the said John Cook, by protestation, doth, for the said treasons and crimes, on the behalf of the said people of England, impeach the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth of England: and pray, that the said Charles Stuart, King of England, may be put to answer all and every the premises, that such proceedings, examinations, trials, sentence, and judgment may be thereupon had, as shall be agreeable to justice.

The king smiled often during the reading of the charge, especially at these words, tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy of the commonwealth.

President.—Sir, you have now heard your charge, and you find that in the close of it, it is prayed to the court, in behalf of the Commons of England, that you answer to your charge, which the court expects.

King.—I would know by what power I am called hither? I was not long ago in the Isle of Wight, how I came there is a longer story, than I think fit at this time for me to speak: but there I entered into a treaty with both houses of parliament, with as much faith as is possible to be had of any people in the world. I

treated there with a number of honourable lords and gentlemen, and treated honestly and uprightly, I cannot say but that they did very nobly with me: we were upon a conclusion of the treaty. Now I would know by what lawful authority (there are many unlawful authorities, thieves and robbers on the high-way) I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place? (and I know not what) and when I know by what lawful authority, I shall answer. Remember I am your King, your lawful King, and what sins you bring upon your own heads, and the judgment of God upon this land, think well upon it, think well upon it, I say, before you go on from one sin to a greater, therefore let me know by what lawful authority I am seated here? and I shall not be unwilling to answer. In the mean time I shall not betray my trust: I have a trust committed to me by God, by old and lawful descent, I will not betray it to answer to a new unlawful authority.

Bradshaw, President.—If you had been pleased to have observed what was hinted to you by the Court at your first coming hither, you would have known by what authority: which authority requires you in the name of the people of England, of whom you are elected King, to answer them.

King.—I deny that.

Bradshaw.—If you acknowledge not the authority of the Court, they must proceed.

King.—I do tell them so, England was never an elective kingdom, but an hereditary kingdom, for near these thousand years: therefore let me know by what lawful authority I am called hither? I do stand more for the liberty of my people than any here that come

to be my pretended judges : and therefore let me know by what lawful authority and I will answer ; otherwise I will not answer.

Bradshaw.—Sir, how really you have managed your trust is known : your way of answer is to interrogate the court, which beseems not you in this condition, you have been told of it twice or thrice.

King.—Here is Lieutenant Colonel Cobbet, ask him if he did not bring me from the Isle of Wight by force ? I do not come here as submitting to the court, I will stand as much for the privilege of the House of Commons rightly understood, as any man here whatsoever, I see no House of Lords here that may constitute a parliament, and the king too should have been. Is this the bringing the king to his Parliament ? Is this the bringing an end to the treaty on the public faith ? Let me see a lawful authority warranted by the word of God, the Scriptures, or by the Constitutions of the kingdom. I will not betray my trust, nor the liberties of the people ; I am sworn to keep the peace by that duty I owe to God, and my country : and I will do it to the last breath in my body. As it is a sin to withstand lawful authority, so it is to submit to a tyrannical, or any otherwise unlawful authority.

Bradshaw.—The Court expects your final answer, and will adjourn till Monday next ; we are satisfied with our authority that are your judges, and it is upon God's authority and the kingdom's ; and that peace you speak of will be kept in doing justice, and that is our present work.

Monday, January 22, the King was brought back again to his trial. Solicitor Cook.—May it please your lordship, I did at the last Court, in behalf of the

Commons of England, exhibit and give in to this Court a charge of high treason, and other high crimes against the prisoner at the bar : whereof I do accuse him in the name of the people of England, and the charge was read unto him, and his answer required : my lord he was not then pleased to give an answer, but instead of answering did dispute the authority of this High Court ; my humble motion to this High Court in behalf of the kingdom of England, is, that the prisoner may be directed to make a positive answer, either by way of confession or negation : which, if he shall refuse to do, that the matter of charge may be taken *pro confesso*, and the Court may proceed according to justice.

Bradshaw.—Sir, you may remember at the last Court you were told the occasion of your being brought hither, and you heard a charge read against you, &c. You hear likewise what was prayed on behalf of the people, that you should give an answer to that charge : you were then pleased to make some scruples concerning the authority of this Court, and knew not by what authority you were brought hither : you did divers times propound your questions, and were as often answered, that it was by authority of the Commons of England, assembled in parliament, that think fit to call you to account for those high and capital misdemeanors, where-with you were then charged. Since that the Court hath taken into consideration what you then said, they are fully satisfied with their own authority, and they hold it fit you should stand satisfied therewith too : and they do require that you do give a positive and particular answer to this charge exhibited against you ; they expect you should either confess or deny. If you do deny, it is offered in the behalf of the kingdom to

be made good against you, their authority they do avow to the whole world, that the whole kingdom are to rest satisfied therein, and you are to rest satisfied in it, and therefore you are to give a positive answer.

King.—When I was here last, it is true, I made that question ; and truly if it were only my own particular case, I would have satisfied myself with the protestation I made here the last time, against the legality of this court, and that a king cannot be tried by any superior jurisdiction upon earth : but it is not my case alone, it is the freedom and the liberties of the people of England, and (do you pretend what you will) I stand more for their liberties ; for if *power, without laws, may make laws*, nay, *alter* the fundamental laws of the kingdom, I do not know what subject he is in England, that can be sure of his life, or any thing that he calls his own. Therefore when I came hither, I did expect particular reasons to know by what law, what authority, you proceed against me here ? and therefore I am a little to seek what to say to you in this particular, because the affirmative is to be proved, the negative often is very hard to do. I shall tell you my reasons as short as I can. All proceedings against any man whatsoever—

Bradshaw.—Sir, I must interrupt you ; what you do is not agreeable to the proceedings of any court of justice : You are about to enter into argument and dispute concerning the authority of this court, before whom you appear as a prisoner, and are charged as a high delinquent ; you may not dispute the authority of this court, nor will any court give way unto it, you are to submit to it, &c.

King.—Under favour ; I do plead for the liberty of the people of England more than you do ; and these

fore, if I should impose a belief upon any man without reasons given, it were unreasonable.—

Bradshaw.—Sir, I must interrupt you ; you may not be permitted ; you speak of law and reason, and there is both against you. Sir, *the vote of the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, is the reason of the kingdom, and they are those that have given you that law, according to which you should have ruled and reigned ;* Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you stand in contempt of the court, and your contempt will be recorded accordingly.

King.—I do not know how a king can be a delinquent, but by all laws that ever I heard, *all men may put in demurrers against any proceeding* as illegal : and I do demand that, if you deny that, you deny reason.

Bradshaw.—Sir, neither you, nor any man, are permitted to dispute that point ; you are concluded ; you may not demur to the jurisdiction of the court, if you do, I must let you know, that they overrule your demurrer, they sit here by the authority of the Commons of England ; and all your predecessors, and you, are responsible to them.

King.—I deny that, shew me one precedent.

Bradshaw.—Sir, you ought not to interrupt while the court is speaking to you : this point is not to be debated by you, if you offer it by way of demurrer, to the jurisdiction of the court, they have considered their jurisdiction, they do affirm their own jurisdiction.

King.—I say, sir, by your favour, that the Commons of England were *never a court of judicature* : I would know how they came to be so.

Bradshaw.—Sir, you are not permitted to go on in that speech, and these discourses.

Then the clerk of the court read as follows :

Charles Stuart, king of England, you have been accused in the behalf of the people of England, of high treason, and other high crimes, the court hath determined that you ought to answer the same.

King.—I will answer the same so soon as I know by what authority you do this.

Bradshaw.—If this be all that you will say, then gentlemen, you that brought the prisoner hither, take charge of him back again.

King.—I do require that I may give my reasons why I did not answer, and give me time for that.

Bradshaw.—Sir, it is not for prisoners to require.

King.—Prisoner ! Sir, I am not an ordinary prisoner.

Bradshaw.—The court have affirmed their jurisdiction ; if you will not answer, we shall give order to record your default.

King.—You never heard my reasons yet.

Bradshaw.—Sir, your reasons are not to be heard against the highest jurisdiction.

King.—Shew me that jurisdiction where reason is not to be heard ?

Bradshaw.—Sir, we shew it you here, the Commons of England, and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleasures of the court, and it may be their final determination.

King.—Shew me where ever the House of Commons was a court of judicature of that kind.

Bradshaw.—Serjeant, take away the prisoner.

King.—Well, sir, remember that the king is not suffered to give in his reasons, for the liberty and freedom of all his subjects.

Bradshaw.—Sir, you are not to have liberty to use

this language, how great a friend you have been to the laws and liberties of the people, let all England and the whole world judge.

King.—Sir, under favour, it was the liberty, freedom, and laws of the subject that ever I took—defended myself with arms, I never took up arms against the people, but for the laws.

Bradshaw.—The command of the court must be obeyed, no answer will be given to the charge.

So the king was guarded to Sir Robert Cotton's, and the court adjourned to the painted-chamber.

Tuesday January 23. The court sat again, 78 commissioners present.

The king brought into the court, sits down.

Solicitor Cook.—May it please your lordship my Lord President, this is now the third time that by the great grace and favour of the court the prisoner hath been brought to the bar, before any issue joined in this case. My lord, I did at the first court exhibit a charge against him, containing the highest treason that ever was wrought on the theatre of England, that a king of England, trusted to keep the law, that had taken an oath so to do, that had tribute payed him for that end, should be guilty of a wicked design to subvert and destroy our laws, and introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government in defiance of the Parliament and their authority; set up his standard for war, against his Parliament and people: and I did humbly pray in behalf of the people of England, that he may speedily be required to make an answer to the charge; but, my lord, instead of making any answer, he did then dispute the authority of this high court. your lordship was pleased to give him a

Further day to put in his answer, which day being yesterday; I did humbly move that he might be required to give a direct and positive answer, either by denying or confessing of it; but, my lord, he was then pleased to demur to the jurisdiction of the court, which the court did then over-rule, and command him to give a direct and positive answer: my lord, besides this great delay of justice, I shall now humbly move your lordship for speedy judgment against him: I might press your lordship upon the whole, that according to the known rules of the laws of the land; that if a prisoner shall stand contumacious in contempt, and shall not put in an issuable plea, guilty or not guilty of the charge given against him, whereby he may come to a fair trial, that by an implicit confession it may be taken, *pro confesso*; as it hath been done to those who have deserved more favour, than the prisoner at the bar hath done. But besides, my lord, I shall humbly press your lordship upon the whole fact, that the House of Commons, the supreme authority and jurisdiction of the kingdom, they have declared, that it is notorious that the matter of the charge is true; as it is in truth my lord, as clear as crystal, and as the sun that shines at noon-day, which if your lordship and the court be not satisfied in, I have notwithstanding on the people's behalf, several witnesses to produce; and therefore I do humbly pray, (and yet I do confess, it is not so much I, as the innocent blood that hath been shed; the cry whereof is very great, for justice and judgment) and therefore I do humbly pray, that speedy judgment be pronounced against the prisoner at the bar.

Bradshaw.—Sir, you have heard what is moved by

the counsel on behalf of the kingdom against you ; you were told over and over again, that it was not for you, nor any other man to dispute the jurisdiction of the supreme and highest authority of England, from which there is no appeal, and touching which there must be no dispute ; you did persist in such carriage as you have no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any authority in them, nor the high court that constituted this high court of justice : Sir, I must let you know from the court that they are very sensible of those delays of yours, and that ought not (being thus authorized by the supreme court of England) be thus trifled withal, and that they might in justice, and according to the rules of justice, take advantage of these delays, and proceed to pronounce judgment against you, yet nevertheless they are pleased to give direction, and on their behalf I do require you, that you make a positive answer unto this charge that is against you in plain terms (for justice knows no respect of persons), you are to give your positive and final answer in plain English, whether you be guilty or not guilty of these treasons laid to your charge.

King.—When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the liberties of the people of England, I was interrupted ; I desire to know yet, whether I may speak freely, or not ?

Bradshaw.—Sir, you have had the resolution of the court upon the like question the last day, and you were told, that having such a charge of so high a nature against you, your work was that you ought to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, and to answer to your charge ; when you have once answered, you shall

be heard at large, make the best defence you can : but, Sir, I must let you know from the court, (as their commands) that you are not to be permitted to issue out into any other discourses till such time as you have given a positive answer concerning the matter charged upon you.

King.—For the charge I value it not a rush, it is the liberty of the people of England that I stand for ; for me to acknowledge a new court that I never heard of before, I that am your king, that should be an example to all the people of England, to uphold justice, to maintain the old laws, *indeed, I do not know how to do it* : you spoke well, the first day that I came here, (on Saturday) of the obligations that I had laid upon me by God, to the maintenance of the liberties of my people, the same obligation you speak of, I do acknowledge to God, that I owe to him, and to my people, to defend as much as in me lies, the ancient laws of the kingdom ; therefore until that I may know, that this is not against the fundamental laws of the kingdom, I can put in no particular answer ; if you will give me time, I will shew you my reasons, and this—— here being interrupted, the king said again, by your favour, you ought not to interrupt me, how I came here I know not ; there is no law for it to make your king your prisoner ; I was in a treaty upon the public faith of the kingdom, that was the known—two houses of Parliament, that was the representative of the kingdom, and when I had almost made an end of the treaty, then I was hurried away and brought hither, and therefore——*

* Whether these breaches and interruptions were made by Bradshaw, or whether they are omissions

Bradshaw.—Sir, you must know the pleasure of the court.

King.—By your favour, sir——

Bradshaw.—Nay, sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into those discourses : you appear as a delinquent, you have not acknowledged the authority of the court, the court craves it not of you, but once more they command you to give your positive answer. Clerk do your duty.

King.—Duty sir——

The Clerk reads,

Charles Stuart, King of England, you are accused in behalf of the Commons of England of divers high crimes and treasons, which charge hath been read unto you, the court now requires you to give your positive and final answer, by way of confession or denial of the charge.

King.—Sir, I say again to you, so that I may give satisfaction to the people of England, of the clearness of my proceedings, not by way of answer, not in this way, but to satisfy them, that I have done nothing against that trust that hath been committed to me, I would do it ; but to acknowledge a new court against their privileges, to alter the fundamental laws of the kingdom, sir, you must excuse me.

Bradshaw.—Sir, this is the third time that you have publicly disavowed this court and put an affront upon

and expunctions of some material parts of the king's speech, which this licensed penman durst not set down, I know not ; I hear much of the king's argument is omitted, and much depraved, none but licensed men being suffered to take notes.

It: how far you have preserved the privileges of the people, your actions have spoken; but truly, sir, men's intentions ought to be known by their actions, you have written your meaning in bloody characters throughout the whole kingdom, but sir, you understand the pleasure of the court; Clerk record the default; and gentlemen, you that took charge of the prisoner, take him back again. So the king went forth with his guards; and the court adjourned to the painted-chamber; the crier, as at other times, crying, God bless the kingdom of England.

Saturday, 27th January, 1648. The court sat again in Westminster Hall, the president was in his scarlet robes, after him sixty-seven commissioners answered to their names; the king came in, in his wonted posture with his hat on, a company of soldiers and schismatics placed about the court to cry for *justice, judgment, and execution*, the people not daring to cry God bless him, for fear of being again beaten by the soldiers.

Bradshaw.—Gentlemen, it is well known to all, or most of you here present, that the prisoner at the bar hath been several times convented, and brought before this court, to make answer to a charge of high treason, and other high crimes exhibited against him, in the name of the people of England: to which charge being required to answer, he hath been so far from obeying the commands of the court, by submitting to their justice, as he began to take upon him reasoning and debate unto the authority of the court, and to the highest court that appointed them to try and to judge him, but being overruled in that, and required to make his answer, he still continued contumacious, and refused to submit to answer. Hereupon the court

(that they may not be wanting to themselves, nor the trust reposed in them, nor that any man's wilfulness prevent justice) they have considered of the charge, of the contumacy, and of that confession which in law doth arise on that contumacy; they have likewise considered the notoriety of the facts charged upon this prisoner; and upon the whole matter, they are resolved, and have agreed upon a sentence to be pronounced against this prisoner, but in respect he doth desire to be heard before the sentence be read and pronounced, the court hath resolved to hear him, yet sir, thus much I must tell you beforehand, (which you have been minded of at other courts) that if that which you have to say, be to offer any debate concerning the jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it; you have offered it formerly, and you have struck at the root, that is, the power and supreme authority of the Commons of England, which this court will not admit a debate of: and which indeed is an irrational thing in them to do, being a court that act upon authority derived from them. But sir, if you have any thing to say in defence of yourself concerning the matter charged, the court hath given me in commands to hear you.

King.—Since I see that you will not hear any thing of debate concerning that which I confess I thought most material, for the peace of the kingdom, and for the liberty of the subject, I shall wave it; but only I must tell you, that this many a day all things have been taken away from me, but that, that I call dearer to me than my life, which is my conscience and mine honour: and if I had a respect of my life, more than the peace of the kingdom, and the liberty of the subject, cer-

tainly I should have made a particular defence for my life, for by that at leastwise, I might have delayed an ugly sentence, which I believe will pass upon me ; therefore certainly sir, as a man that hath some understanding, some knowledge of the world (if that my true zeal to my country had not overborne the care that I have for my own preservation) I should have gone another way to work than that I have done: now, sir, I conceive, that an hasty sentence once passed may sooner be repented of than recalled, and truly, the self-same desire that I have for the peace of the kingdom, and the liberty of the subject, more than my own particular ends, makes me now at last desire, that I having something to say that concerns both, I desire, before sentence be given, that I may be heard in the painted-chamber before the Lords and Commons, this delay cannot be prejudicial to you, whatsoever I say ; if that I say be not reason, those that hear me must be judges, I cannot be judge of that that I have : if it be reason, and really for the welfare of the kingdom, and the liberty of the subject, I am sure it is very well worth the hearing, therefore I do conjure you, as you love that which you pretend (I hope it is real) the liberty of the subject, and peace of the kingdom, that you will grant me this hearing before any sentence passed ; but if I cannot get this liberty, I do protest that your fair shews of liberty and peace are pure shews, and that you will not hear your king.

The president said, this was a declining the jurisdiction, of the court, and delay : yet the court withdrew for half an hour, advised upon it, and sat again.

Bradshaw said to the king, that the court had considered what he had moved, and of their own authority ; the return from the court is this, that they have been

too much delayed by you already, and they are judges appointed by the highest authority, and judges are no more to delay, than they are to deny justice, and notwithstanding what you have offered, they are resolved to proceed to sentence, and to judgment, that is their unanimous resolution.

The king pressed again and again, that he might be heard by the Lords and Commons in the painted-chamber, with great earnestness, and was as often denied by Bradshaw, at last the king desired that this motion of his might be entered.

Bradshaw began in a long speech to declare the grounds of the sentence, much aggravating the king's offences, and misapplying both law and history to his present purpose: when Bradshaw had done speaking, the clerk read the sentence drawn up in parchment to this effect.

That whereas the Commons of England in Parliament had appointed them an high court of justice for the trial of Charles Stuart, King of England, before whom he had been three times convented; and at the first time a charge of high treason and other high crimes and misdemeanors was read in behalf of the kingdom of England, &c. Which charge being read unto him as aforesaid, he the said Charles Stuart was required to give his answer; but he refused so to do: and so expressed the several passages at his tryall in refusing to answer. For all which treasons and crimes this court doth adjudge, that he the said Charles Stuart as tyrant, traytor, murtherer, and a public enemy, shall be put to death, by severing of his head from his body.

After the sentence read, the president said, this sentence now read, and published, it is the act, sentence,

judgment, and resolution of the whole court; here the whole court stood up, as assenting to what the president said.

King.—Will you hear me a word sir?

Bradshaw.—Sir, you are not to be heard after the sentence.

King.—No sir?

Bradshaw.—No sir, by your favour sir! Guard withdraw your prisoner.

King.—I am not suffered to speak: expect what justice other people have.

An honest soldier said to the king on his passage to his trial, "God bless you, Sir," and his captain cased him. The king told the captain, "the punishment exceeds the offence." The king's deportment was majestic and steady on his trial; * and though his tongue usually hesitated, yet it was very free at this time, for he was never discomposed in mind. And yet as he confessed himself to the bishop of London, one action shocked him very much: for whilst he was leaning in the court upon his staff, which had an head of gold, the head broke off on a sudden: he took it up, but seemed unconcerned, yet told the bishop of London: "it really made a great impression upon him, and to this hour, says he, I know not possibly how it should come."

It was an accident, says Warwick, I confess, I myself have often thought on, and cannot imagine how it came about; unless Hugh Peters (who was truly and really his goaler, for at St. James's no body went to him, but by Peters' leave,) had artificially tampered upon his staff, but such conjectures are of no use.

* Warwick.

Though he was brought to St. James's by Saturday noon, and though the bishop of London was in town, and by their own directions and upon his desire, called thither to attend him in order to the preparation for his death; yet they admitted him not, until Sunday evening, though they murdered him on Tuesday. The bishop himself told me the manner of his reception. As soon as he came in, the king very openfacedly and cheerfully received him, the bishop began to make some condolment.

“Leave off this,” says he, “my Lord, we have not time for it. Let us think of our great work, and prepare to meet that great God, to whom ere long I am to give an account of myself: and I hope I shall do it with peace, and that you will assist me therein. We will not talk of these rogues (for that was his term) in whose hands I am, they thirst after my blood, and they will have it, and God's will be done. I thank God, I heartily forgive them, and I will talk of them no more.

And so for two or three hours the bishop and he conferred together; and though they shut the door, a soldier would open it once in half a quarter of an hour, and see whether the king was there, and so shut it again: and the next day, which was Monday, they spent much of their time in like manner, and then they parted late that night, the murder being to be committed the next day. I have this comfort, that of himself, without any occasion to move him into the discourse,

“My Lord,” says he, “I must remember one” (meaning Sir Philip Warwick) “that hath had relation to you and myself: tell Charles, he hath been an useful and honest man unto me.”

He required Mr. Herbert, a gentleman who was appointed to attend him, and who had been very civil to him, and whom he recommended likewise to the present king, to call him at four of the clock in the morning; and Mr. Herbert slept little himself, lying by him on a pallet bed; but observed through the whole night, that the king slept very soundly, and at his hour awaked of himself and drew his curtain. He soon got up, was about an hour at his private devotions, and then called to be dressed: and Mr. Herbert, who was wont to comb his head, combed it that morning with less care than usual.

“Prethee, though it be not long to stand on my shoulders, take the same pains with it, you were wont to do: I am to be a bridegroom to day, and must be trim.”

Afterwards the bishop came in to him, and they were together, until Hacker led him through the park to Whitehall, and one of the commanders, by the way, thinking to disturb him, asked him, whether he were not consenting to his father's death. “Friend,” says he, “if I had no other sin, (I speak it with reverence to God's Majesty) I assure thee I would never ask him pardon.”

When he was come to Whitehall, they conveyed him into a room, which is that they now call the green-chamber, betwixt the king's closet and his bed-chamber, as I think. Here they permitted him and the bishop to be alone for some time, and the bishop had prepared all things in order to his receiving the Sacrament; and whilst he was at his private devotions, Ney and some other boldfaced ministers knocked at the door, and the bishop going to open it, they told him, they

came to offer their service to pray with the king, he told them the king was at his own private devotions ; however he would acquaint him. But the king resolving not to send out to them, they after some time had the modesty to knock again ; the bishop suspecting who they were, told the king it would be necessary to give them some answer : the king replied, " then," says he, " thank them from me for the tender of themselves ; but tell them plainly. that they, that have so often and so causelessly prayed against me, shall never pray with me in this agony. They may, if they please, (and I'll thank them for it) pray for me." When he had received the Eucharist, he rose up from his knees with a cheerful and steady countenance. " Now," says he, " let the rogues come, I have heartily forgiven them, and am prepared for all I am to undergo."

It was a very cold day, and they at Whitehall had prepared two or three dishes of meat for him to dine upon ; but he refused to eat any thing, and the bishop told me he had resolved to touch nothing after the sacrament ; but the bishop expostulated with him, and let him know, how long he had fasted, how sharp the weather was, and how some fit of fainting might take him upon the scaffold, which he knew he would be troubled at, for the interpretation his murderers would put upon it, which prevailed on him to eat half a manchet of bread, and drink a glass of wine, and thus prepared when he was called, he marched to the scaffold with unconcernedness ; and as Dr. Farrar, a physician, who was on the scaffold told me, he was majestic and steady. In a speech to the people, he told them : " that they mistook the nature of government ; for *people are free under a government, not by being*

sharers in it, but by the due administration of the law of it."

After having prayed with the bishop and by himself, he took notice of some engines his murderers had made, that in case he would not willingly submit, they might by violence have pulled him down, at which he smiled, as if he had been contented, that they had shewed the world the barbarity of their natures, and he the equanimity of his own.

The king finding that the chapter of the day happened to be that of the Passion of our Saviour, wherein it is mentioned, *they led him away for envy and crucified their King*, which he thought had been the bishop's choice; but when he found it was the course of the Rubrick, he put off his hat and said to the bishop, "I bless God it has thus fallen out." At last he laid down his head, and Dr. Farrar told me when he laid his neck upon the block, he standing at some distance from him in a right line, perceived his eye as quick and lively as ever he had seen it. He stretched out his hands, as the sign, and the executioner letting fall the hatchet severed his head from his body.

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