THE CLARKE PAPERS.
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SELECTIONS FROM THE PAPERS OF WILLIAM CLARKE,

Secretary to the Council of the Army, 1647-1649, and to General Monk and the Commanders of the Army in Scotland, 1651-1660.

EDITED BY C. H. FIRTH.

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PREFACE.

The papers contained in this, like those in the previous volume, are derived from the Clarke manuscripts in Worcester College Library, and are mainly from the volumes numbered xvi., lii., lxv., and cxiv. But single documents have also been taken from other volumes in the same collection. Moreover, while these selections were being printed, my attention was called to the fact that a certain number of Clarke's MSS. were in the possession of Mr. F. Leybourne Popham, of Littlecote, Wilts, and were being examined for the Royal Commission on Historical MSS. By the kind permission of the Commissioners, and of the owner, I was allowed to copy several papers for publication in this volume. The thanks of the Camden Society are also due to Mr. J. J. Cartwright, for his good offices in the matter, and for the liberality with which he facilitated the consultation of the MSS., and the copying of the selected papers.

Mr. Popham's papers are specially valuable as supplementing the meagre account of William Clarke's own life given in the preface to volume one. A letter from Robert Spavin, one of Rushworth's assistants during part of 1648 and 1649, and secretary to Cromwell, fixes the date of Clarke's marriage. Spavin, who had accompanied Cromwell's forces into Scotland, wrote to Clarke on November 2, 1648, to congratulate him and wish him joy. "Deare friend and Mr. Bridegroome, I am glad you have a little breathing time after your solemnityes to visit your poor friends with a line. . . . But sure
if you had noe better choyse than we had in Scotland you would not be soe lustry.” Cromwell had halted in his march southwards to summon Pontefract Castle, and Spavin proceeds to give some account of the siege. “Pomfret put a stop to us, being by the howse’s order and the Committee of Yorkshire’s desire to take the care of the seidge, which will take us three weekes time to settle, and then I hope we shall draw towards you and leave Col. Bright to command.” In conclusion he turns to consider the position of politics, is glad to hear that the southern army is beginning to act, and hopes soon to see an end of “that old jog-trot form of government of King, Lords and Commons.” “Noe matter,” he continues, “how or by whome, sure I am it cannot be worse if honest men have the managing of it, and noe matter whether they be greate or noe. . . . The Lord is about a greate worke, such as will stumble many meane principled men, and such as I think but few greate ones shall be honoured withall.” Spavin himself was not honoured with any share in the management of the said great work, for having been caught forging Cromwell’s hand and seal to passes and protections, he lost his post, and was sentenced by a council of war “to ride on horseback from Whitehall to Westminster, and thence through the City, with an inscription on his back and on his breast, written in capital letters, to signify his crime.”

This occurred in June, 1649, when Cromwell was about to leave for Ireland. Clarke did not accompany him thither, but remained at the headquarters in England. In two letters addressed to him about this time he is described as “one of the secretaries to his excellency the Lord Fairfax,” and as “secretary unto the Council of War.” In the following year he took part in the invasion of Scotland, and the officers of the invading army recommended him for the post of secretary to the Committee of the Army, no small

*Cromwelliana, p. 61*
proof of his popularity and his usefulness. (October 19, 1650.) The application was unsuccessful, and on August 19, 1651, Clarke requested Lenthall to appoint him keeper of the Scottish records, which had been captured in Stirling Castle, but the Parliament preferred to have them all removed to England. Clarke's official gains were sufficient to warrant his buying from the State part of St. John's Wood, when the crown-lands were sold. However, as the purchase involved him in a lawsuit which lasted for some years, it can hardly have been profitable. In his petition to the Commissioners of the Great Seal on this subject, he complains that "one Mr. John Collins" had unjustly laid claim to the land in question. This John Collins was Clarke's uncle, and was the author of a curious narrative of the Restoration which is amongst Mr. Popham’s papers. Those MSS. contain also the following letter from Margaret, daughter of John Collins, to her cousin Clarke, written early in 1661, congratulating him on his recent knighthood.

"Honored Cozen,

"Give me leave (though late) to congratulate your attainment of that well deserved honour conferred upon you, as likewise that which you more esteem, the hopes God hath been pleased to give yourself and Lady, of being once again blessed with a child, which I hope you will believe we do heartily rejoice with you in. Although our present disturbance hinders us from tendering our respects in that grateful manner which your own and deare Ladys merit justly challenge from us, who very unhappily came to be concerned in this last troublesom busines, in which although we are the greatest sufferers, yet I hope God and the world will acquit us from being any way way the procurers of this or other troubles of this kind, which may happen to us. And since it hath pleased God to strip us of that deare and carefull freind my mother, and leave us in a condition not soe well provided for as shee endeavoured and desired weee should, wee must now make it our request to you, Sir, that you would please to importune my father to settle somthing upon my sister and selfe, that soe wee might not bee left destitute how ever things goe with us, and

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b Cary, Memorials of the Civil War, ii., 332.
c See p. 227. Other documents concerning the disputed property are amongst the MSS. at Worcester College."
that the trust of it may bee reposed in your hands, in whom wee doe put the greatest confidence of any freind living, and wee doe hope that if wee could gett this done wee should see farre followe my mother's pattern of good huswifery and thrift as that wee should not bee burthensome or chargeable to any of our freinds. And thus Sir, havinge acquainted you with our desires, and presenting our most humble service to your selfe and Lady, beseeching God to send her a happy delivery, and make her once againe the glad mother of a much promisinge sonn, I rest

"Sir,
"Your most affectionate and obliged kinswoman
and humble servant,
"MARGARET COLLINS.

"Stanmore,
March 22,
1660.

"Addressed to Sir William Clarke 'att his house in the Pell Mell neer St. Jameses'.

"Endorsed 'Conz. Mgr. Colins, Lre of Congratulation.'"

What the origin of the relationship between the Clarke and Collins families was I have not succeeded in discovering, and Clarke's parentage and early history still remain obscure. Two letters from his brother-in-law Kympton Hilliard, also derived from Mr. Popham's MSS., are printed in this volume (pp. 225, 226). Other relatives mentioned incidentally in the same MSS. are two cousins of Clarke's, James Staresmore and Captain Thomas Sherman, and "brother William Carey," a goldsmith in London.

The papers contained in this volume are more miscellaneous in their nature than those printed in the first volume, and cover a larger period of time. From 1651 to 1660, Clarke was employed in Scotland, and nearly all his collections during that period relate solely to the government of Scotland or to questions of army administration. As a selection from the papers relating to Scotland is shortly to be published by the Scottish Historical Society, I have thought it best to exclude any dealing with that subject. But I hope to put together at some future date a small volume of papers concerning the Restoration and the revolutions of 1659.
PREFACE.

At the beginning of 1648 there were signs all over England of the approach of a second civil war. Hardly had the Army and Parliament come to an agreement to settle the kingdom without the King, when the Royalists began to take up arms to restore him. The movement began in Wales, in February, 1648. Col. Poyer and afterwards Col. Laugherne declared for the King, but their forces were routed at St. Fagans on May 8 by Col. Horton. A newsletter describes the effects of this victory on the temper of the London Presbyterians (p. 6). In the north of England the preparations of the Scots to send an army across the border roused the cavaliers of Yorkshire and Cumberland to action. Berwick and Carlisle were seized by them at the end of April, and on June 1 they surprised Pontefract (pp. 1, 8, 20, 25; Appendix, p. 251). In London a serious riot took place on April 9; seditious placards against the Parliament were posted about the City, and plans were laid for a general rising (pp. 2, 5, 11). On May 16 the tumultuous presentation of a petition from the county of Surrey led to a fight at the very doors of the House of Commons, and a week later the Kentish-men seized the county magazines and declared for King Charles (pp. 13-17, 22). Fairfax defeated them at Maidstone on June 1, but the Earl of Norwich with a portion of the Royalist army crossed the Thames, and joined the Royalists of Essex. Three letters from Col. Whalley to Lord Fairfax illustrate the history of their march from Stratford to Colchester, and their pursuit by Fairfax’s cavalry* (pp. 24, 26, 27). In Colchester, Norwich and his followers held out for eleven weeks, hoping vainly to be relieved by the advance of Hamilton and the Scots, and believing that their stubborn defence would give opportunity for the rest of the kingdom to act. An intercepted letter from Lord Capel to Sir Marmaduke Langdale explains the position of the besieged, and shows their willingness to sacrifice themselves for

* One of these letters I afterwards found to be printed in the Fairfax Correspondence, iv., 35.
the King’s cause (p. 28). But Cromwell routed Hamilton at Preston on August 17, and ten days later hunger forced the defenders of Colchester to surrender. The town was given up on August 28, and on the afternoon of the same day Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle were executed by order of Fairfax’s Council of War. Clarke’s account of the death of Lucas and Lisle, printed on pp. 31-39, adds many details of great interest to the accounts published at the time. Then, as now, many people regarded their execution as a cold-blooded and treacherous murder; but though the equity of their sentence may be disputed, there can be no doubt that the execution was not a breach of the terms of the capitulation. The reasons which justified that sentence in the eyes of the men responsible for it are clearly stated by Ireton in his discussion of the question with Sir Charles Lucas (pp 35, 37).

The Earl of Norwich and the rest of the Royalist prisoners who surrendered at Colchester were assured by Fairfax of quarter for their lives, and at their trials in February, 1649, the plea was put forward that this promise exempted them from any future proceedings in a civil court. This plea seems to have been first suggested by the Earl of Norwich, in a letter which he addressed to Speaker Lenthall on October 3, 1648, on learning that the House of Commons had passed an ordinance attainting him of high treason. On October 6 the House read Goring’s letter, and ordered that a letter should be written to Lord Fairfax “to desire his explanation of that clause of his letter of 29 September, 1648, that concerns the quarter given to the Lord Goring and the Lord Capel, and leaving them to the further justice and mercy of the Parliament.” The answer of Lord Fairfax is well summarised in Rush-

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a I understand that Mr. J. H. Round has recently treated the subject in a paper read to the Royal Historical Society, but as it is not yet published I can scarcely discuss his arguments.
b Commons' Journals, vi., 45; Cary, Memorials of the Civil War, ii., 26.
worth, but as the letter itself has never been printed, and because its precise phraseology is of some importance, it is now inserted here.

"Mr. Speaker,

"Though I cannot easily understand what it is in that letter of mine you recite that should so much need a serious explanation (as to the point in question), yet supposing the scruple to bee, whether my assuring of quarter to the Lord Goring and the rest did intend or does imply to secure them from further question as to life before your owne or other civill judgement for the warre leaved by them, in obedience to your commands I returne this answer.

"That the quarter assured to his Lordshippe and others of that condition was nott by capitulation or agreement (as by the articles and explanation annex't may appeare), and therefore could ground [noe] more claime then common quarter to any enemy taken in a feild engagement or other action.

"Now for the sense and extent of common quarter given I have alwayes understood itt to bee an assuring of life against the immediate execution of the military swordes from any further execution therby without judicall triall, but whether it imply to protect or exempt them from any judicall triall or proceeding to life, either by the civill sword of that authority against which (being subjects) they rebell, or by the martiaall power (as to persons and causes subject to its cognizance), having never soe understood itt nor knowne itt to bee soe I leave itt to your determination.

"And the same power of giving quarter every soouldier also hath in his proper action, which is daily used by them (if they see cause) to all sorts of the enemy, and then (unless where particular command is beforehand to the contrary) alwayes allowed, whatever the parties prove, because nott understood to amount to further exemption then as aforesaid, and whether now itt should bee taken otherwise, and that the soouldier granting quarter shall bee a full pardon (as to life), lett nott my sense, but the generall sense and practise in all warres and of both parties in this warre give the determination; but if itt were soe then nott only noe Rebell (by that civill Judicature to which hee stood a subject), but alsoe noe revoiter or deserter of his colours and trust (running to the enemy), nor any spie or the like (by the martiaall power), after once taken uppon quarter should bee brought to a judicall triall or execution for their revolt or treachery; and therefore Sir I doe not urge these thinges out of any particular animosity to the Lord Goring, for were hee even an innocent person, or one for whom I would begge your pardon, yett I should nott by my opinion or silence bee guilty of stayning your judicall proceeding uppon such a ground the admission whereof would at once condemne soe much the just and

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* Bushworth, vol., 1285, 1303.

4 The letter is amongst Clarke's MSS. (vol. cxiv., f. 89); but was not noticed till it was too late to insert it in its proper place in the body of the volume.
necessary practices of the Parliament and other states, and alsoe preclude or prejude
your future proceedinges in publique justice against any person for rebellion, revolts,
or treachery in warre, who after utmost extremity against you could finde but any
soildier of yours to give him quarter.

"St. Albans 13 October
1648."

T. F.

The questions discussed in this letter were again argued in
February, 1649, at the trials of Hamilton, Capel, Holland, and
Norwich by the High Court of Justice. A volume amongst
Clarke’s MSS. (numbered Worcester MS. lxx.) gives a much com-
pleter account of these trials than any yet published, and the
evidence then given by some of the witnesses against the Earl of
Norwich deals with several of the points raised in the cases of
Lucas and Lisle. But the account is too long to print in
extenso, or even in an abridged form, in this volume, and it was
thought better to leave it to be treated as a whole at some future
time than to extract a few fragmentary passages from it. A
debate in the Council of Officers on the case of Hamilton and
others will be found on pp. 194-198.

Fairfax’s capture of Colchester and Cromwell’s defeat of the
Scots set the army at liberty once more to intervene in politics.
While the northern army under Cromwell was assisting to establish
the supremacy of Argyle’s party in Scotland (pp. 42-49), the
southern army prepared to prevent the negotiations at Newport from
ending in a treaty which would restore Charles to his throne. In
October the soldiers began to present petitions demanding justice
against all offenders without respect of persons, and on November 7
a Council of Officers met at St. Albans to formulate the desires of
the army. On November 16 the “Remonstrance of the Army”
was agreed to by the Council, and four days later it was presented
to the House of Commons (p. 54). As to the history of the Remon-
strance these papers supply no new information, but they do throw
a great deal of light on the development of the design for the
seizure of the king, and on the history of his removal from Carisbrooke
to Hurst Castle (pp. 54, 55, 57, 59, 63, 65, 67). Charles was transferred to Hurst Castle on December 1, and Fairfax's troops occupied London on the following day. A newsletter, possibly written by Clarke himself, supplies an account of the occupation of London and of the forcible purgation of the House of Commons, which is supplemented by a letter from one of the excluded members to his constituents (pp. 67, 136). The Council of the Army next passed a vote to send for the King to Windsor Castle, "in order to the bringing of him speedily to justice" (December 15). The precautions to be adopted to prevent his escape, and the manner in which he was to be treated during his detention at Windsor, were minutely prescribed to the officers employed, and the instructions of the Council on these heads were further explained by private letters from Cromwell and Ireton (pp. 132, 133, 140-147). Concerning the King's trial Clarke's papers are silent. There are, however, certain orders issued to the troops quartered in London, forbidding either officers or soldiers to come to Westminster Hall, except such as were on duty there, and commanding the cavalry regiments to be ready for action both night and day until the trial ended (p. 186).

Whilst the King's trial was going on, and for some weeks before it began, the Council of Officers had been busily discussing the constitution of the future republic. The plan of defining by an "Agreement of the People" the rights which the people reserved to themselves, and the powers which they delegated to their representatives, originally put forward by the Levellers in the autumn of 1647, was revived again a year later. After a certain number of conferences between representatives of the Levellers, the army, and the leaders of the Independent party in and out of Parliament, it was agreed that a joint committee should be appointed to prepare a revised "Agreement of the People" (Nov. 29). The Levellers believed that the decision of this committee was to be final, and that the document drawn up by it was to be at once offered to
the nation for acceptance. When they discovered that it was to be submitted to the Council of Officers for discussion, and found that the Council insisted on altering and amending it in several important points, they regarded the army leaders as false to their pledges. They were still more disgusted when the Council, instead of circulating the "Agreement" for signature amongst the people, and compelling the Parliament to adopt it, simply presented it to the House with a request that they would take it into consideration and adopt so much of it as they thought proper. Lilburne had taken the alarm even before the Agreement was revised by the Council of Officers, and he published on December 15 the draft of that document upon which the joint committee had agreed, under the title of "Foundations of Freedom." He was anxious to enlist popular support in its favour, and prefixed to it the following appeal to his readers:

"Dear Countryman,

This Agreement having had its conception for a common good, as being that which contains those Foundations of Freedom, and Rules of Government, adjudged necessary to be established in this Nation for the future, by which all sorts of men are to be bound, I adjudged it a just and reasonable thing to publish it to the view of the Nation, to the end that all men might have an opportunity to consider the Equity thereof, and offer their Reasons against anything therein contained, before it is concluded; that being agreeable to that Principle which we profess, viz., to do unto you, as we would all men should do unto us, not doubting but that the Justice of it will be maintained and cleared, mangre the opposition of the stoutest Calumniator, especially in those clear points in the Reserve so much already controverted, viz., touching the Magistrates power to compel or restrain in matters of Religion, and the exercise of an arbitrary power in the Representative to punish men for state offences, against which no Law hath provided; which two things especially are so clear to my understanding that I dare with confidence aver,

* Gardiner, Great Civil War, iv., 239, 262. A history of the origin of this second Agreement, and of the negotiations and debates concerning it, is given by Lilburne in his "Legal Fundamental Liberties of the People of England," 4to, 1649. His narrative is so necessary to the understanding of the debates that I have inserted it in the Appendix (pp. 254-266).
PREFACE.

That no man can demand the exercise of such a power, but he that intends to be a Tyrant, nor no man part with them, but he that resolves to be a slave. And so at present I rest,

"Thy true-hearted
"Countryman.

"Friday, Decemb.
15, 1648."

The debates of the Council, as recorded by Clarke, deal mainly with the first of the two points mentioned by Lilburne. On December 14, 1648, the portion of the Agreement which prohibited the magistrate from imposing any restrictions on the free exercise of religion, was discussed by the officers, assisted by representatives of the Levellers and by a number of Independent divines (pp. 73-132). These assistants, however, were allowed no vote in the final decision on the controverted clause (p. 139). The clause was referred to a committee, and it was decided by the Council on December 21, that in the general article reserving certain questions from the control of Parliament the original reservation concerning religion should not be included (p. 140). Instead of this it was resolved to insert a special article, the ninth in the Agreement when completed, to define the powers granted to the Government in religious matters, and the limits of religious freedom. Early in January this article seems to have been finally agreed upon and passed (pp. 171-174).

Lilburne and his partizans, angered by the refusal of the Council to adopt their scheme in its entirety, presented to Fairfax on December 28, 1648, a protest against the proceedings of the officers, printed under the title of "A Plea for Common Right and Freedom." They began by setting forth the satisfaction with which they had seen the adoption of their proposal for a new "Agreement of the People," and the hopes with which they had hailed the first steps taken to carry out the plan. Then they complained bitterly of the obstructions which had arisen "since the same hath been tendered to the consideration of your Council."
"The long time spent already therein, and the tedious disputes and contests held thereupon, and that in things so essential to our freedom, as without which we account the Agreement of no value: for what freedom is there to conscientious people where the magistrate shall be intrusted with a restrictive power in matters of religion? Or to judge and punish in cases where no law hath been before provided? Which are the points which yet remain in suspense, and about which most of the time hath been spent." They lamented that too many in the Council had supported the granting those unreasonable powers to the magistrate, that those who spoke for them had been countenanced, and those who spoke against them discountenanced; and that finally even the Presbyterian clergy "interests directly opposed to freedom of conscience in points of God's worship," had been consulted, and attempts made to satisfy their objections. In conclusion they demanded as a necessary preliminary to the production of "a full and ample Agreement for the people," the re-organisation of the Council, and laid down the principles upon which that body ought to be constituted and its debates conducted.

"1. To agree what certain number of officers, and no less shall make a Council, which we humbly conceive ought not to be lesse than the major part of the Commission Officers at the head Quarters and adjacent thereunto, not excluding of others.

"2. That all persons in Council may sit in a distinct orderly way, so as they may be observed by the President when they are inclinable to speak.

"3. That you will agree how many times any person may speak to a Question.

"4. That you will free your Determinations from all pretences of a Negative Voice, and from all countenances and check by any Superior Officer. And being so regulated, 1. That you will consider and resolve, what is the most proper way for the advance of Officers, so as to preserve them entire to the interest of the People, and from a servile condition or necessary dependence upon the favour or will of any; and seriously to consider whether your Articles of Martial Law (as now they are) are not of too Tyrannous a nature, for an army of Freeborn Englishmen, and to reduce the same to reason and an equal constitution.
PREFACE.

"2. To take special care of the principles of any Officer to be admitted, that they be not tainted with those of Arbytrary power or of persecution for matters of Religion.

"3. That there be no disbanding of any sort of men, but by consent of the General Council; nor admission or listing of any for Horse or Foot, but according to provision made by the said Council, it being reported that very many of late are listed of bad and doubtful condition; by all which means, if conscionably observed, (and we trust you will not be the lesse sencible because we advise) the growth of any corrupt interest will be effectually prevented. And if it shall seem good or any way useful unto you, we shall chuse and appoint four of our Friends always to attend and assist though not to Vote with you."

Fairfax naturally refused to listen to these demands. He was neither inclined to limit the power of the general officers over their subordinates, nor to take any steps which would have revived, under any form, the representative council of agitators and officers which had given him so much trouble in 1647. It is evident from reading the debates that Lilburne's third proposal was aimed at Ireton, of whose predominance in the Council he elsewhere speaks with great wrath (Appendix, p. 265). In the debate of December 14 Ireton made five speeches of considerable length, answering the Independent divines and the representatives of the Levellers with equal effect. His remarks on the origin of commonwealths, on the end of the state (p. 79), and on the extent to which biblical precedents could be applied in drawing up modern constitutions are of particular interest (pp. 113, 122, 128).

A curious scene in these debates, which throws a strange light on the religious fanaticism of the times, was the appearance of a woman in the Council of Officers, who announced that she had a message to deliver to them which had been revealed to her in a vision. She came twice: on December 29 to manifest to them the disease of the kingdom and its cure (p. 150), and again on January 5 to protest against the execution of the King (p. 163). The Council heard her with great gravity, and solemnly enquired into the nature of the evidence which proved that her message was
a divine revelation. An anonymous Royalist pamphlet published in 1651 gives a strangely distorted version of the incident, attributing the whole affair to the contrivance of Cromwell.*

“Now that Cromwell might firmly unite the Counsell of War to him, which consisted of a few able Head-pieces, to whom he laid himself open so far, as to shew them their profit and preferment in the designe, which united them fast to him, the other part, who were soft heads, and had a good meaning to do no evill, but to promote the Kingdome of Christ, and throw down Antichrist, and then according to their duty (as they were taught) to take possession of, and (as Saints) reign over the Kingdome; Cromwell provided fit food to feed such fantasties, for he had provided a monstrous Witch full of all deceitfull craft, who being put into brave cloaths pretended she was a Lady that was come from a far Countrie, being sent by God to the Army with a Revelation, which she must make known to the Army, for necessity was laid upon her; this Witch had a fair lodging prepared for her in White-Hall where she was very retired.

This Witch had her lesson taught her beforehand by Cromwell and Ireton, by whose order she was entertained at White-Hall.

She desired audience at the Counsell of Warre, for to them she said she was sent.

Cromwel and Ireton to beget the more attention and belief in the Officers in the Counsell of Warre, began to extoll the excellency of Revelation, and conceived that this Prophetess being a precious Saint, and having much of God in her, ought to be heard, and that with all attention; because in such glorious days as these God did manifest himself extraordinarily: and especially to his Saints, in chalking out their way before them when they came into straights and difficulties; such as they were in at that time.

By this time the Witch was come to the door, and forthwith she had admittance; where the Officers all beheld her, and her strange postures, expressing high devotion.

Cromwel and Ireton fixing their eyes upon her in most solemn manner, (to beget in the rest of the Officers (who were ready to laugh) an apprehension of some extraordinary serious thing) fell both of them to weeping; the Witch looking in their faces, and seeing them weep, fell to weeping likewise; and began to tell them what acquaintance she had with God by Revelation, and how such a day, such an hour, after such a manner she had a Revelation, which she was to reveal only to them; and that was, that the glorious time of setting up Christ’s Kingdom was near

* A Brief Narrative of the Mysteries of State carried on by the Spanish Faction in England, &c., 1651 (printed at the Hague), p. 69.
at hand, and that Antichrist must be speedily thrown down, and that they were the
Instruments that were by God ordained to throw him down, and how they were
about that great work, and that if they would prosper in it, they must first remove
the King out of the way, which they must do by proceeding first to try him, and
then to condemn him, and then to depose him, but not to put him to death: with a
great deal more such stuff which that weeks Diurnall printed at large, so open was
this business. This relation I had from one that was strongly of the Armies party,
but related this shamefull story with much indignation."

The last important debate on the subject of the Agreement took
place on January 13, 1649. On that day it was finally passed by
the Council, and a declaration was agreed upon to be presented to
the Parliament, explaining the motives which had led them to draw
it up and offer it to the House. Some members of the Council, and
many of the friends of the Army out of doors, objected to the
proposal that the Army should abandon the dictatorship it had
assumed, and leave Parliament the task of carrying out the
schemes embodied in the Agreement. In that sense the prophetess
from Abingdon had spoken, urging the Council to “go forward
and stand up for the liberty of the people,” and not to surrender
to others the power which the Lord had given into their hands
(pp. 151, 163).

In a similar spirit Mr. Erbury now declared, that the Council,
instead of drawing up a new constitution, ought to take in hand
the removal of the oppressive burdens and unrighteous things which
troubled the people. That would be the way to settle the Nation,
and a dozen or twenty-four selected men could effect it in a shorter
time than a Parliament of four hundred (p. 178). Captain Joyce
added that Fairfax and the Council ought not to try to shift off on
others the work which the Lord had called them to (p. 182).
Ireton answered, that to clear up the dispute as to the question of
sovereignty, which had originally caused the war, and to take away
from future governments the power to oppress the people, were the
likeliest ways to settle the nation. Harrison’s speech was probably
more effective, for he sympathised strongly with the view of the Fifth
Monarchy men, but argued that the day of the Lord, when the powers of this world should be given into the hands of his saints, had not yet come. And both Ireton and Harrison urged that the Army was pledged by its declarations, not to use the opportunity to perpetuate power in its own hands, but to give it back to the civil authority (pp. 175-183). Their views prevailed; the Agreement was presented to Parliament on January 20, and the attempt of the army to settle the nation by its own action was adjourned until 1653.

The last meeting of the Council of Officers recorded in this volume took place on March 24, but though Clarke does not record its further debates it certainly continued to assemble. For the three following years, however, it busied itself almost entirely with military affairs, and its next important intervention in politics was the presentation of the petition of August 13, 1652 (Old Parliamentary History, xx., 97). From January, 1653, to the expulsion of the Long Parliament in the April following, it met with great frequency, and discussed public affairs with great vigour. Unfortunately Clarke was at that time in Scotland, and excepting a few short notices amongst the newsletters in his MSS., there is no record of these most important debates (See the English Historical Review, July 1893, p. 527).

The action of the Council of Officers in January, 1649, had postponed for four years the final breach between the military and the Parliamentary sections of the republican party.

So long as the harmony between the leaders of the Army and the Parliament continued, the newly-founded republic was safe. But in the spring of 1649 so many dangers threatened the existence of the Commonwealth, that there was good ground for doubting if it could weather the storm. In Ireland the English interest was, in Cromwell's phrase, almost "rooted out." In Scotland there prevailed "a very angry hateful spirit" against the "army of sectaries" and its leaders. In England the Presbyterians and Royalists were
making ready to co-operate with Scots and Irish in restoring Charles II. (pp. 203, 205). A more immediate and pressing danger was the spread of insubordination in the army, caused by the doctrines propagated by Lilburne and his followers. On February 22, 1649, the Council of the Army found it necessary to lay down regulations limiting the right of the soldiers to petition, and forbidding them to hold clandestine meetings for political purposes (p. 190). Nevertheless, on March 1, a petition was presented to the Council of Officers, demanding the re-establishment of the representative “General Council of the Army” which had existed in 1647 (p. 193). The discipline of the army had evidently become considerably relaxed, especially in some of the newly-raised regiments. Fairfax consequently issued stringent orders for the punishment of any soldiers guilty of plundering during their march for Ireland (p. 193), and Marten’s regiment, which had earned an evil notoriety by its bad conduct, vanishes from the army lists (pp. 56, 213). One of the worst offenders of all, William Thompson, was the leader of the mutiny suppressed at Burford, and was killed a few days later (p. 199).

Several papers illustrate the history of the wilder sects to which so great a political and religious revolution had given birth. The little band of Socialists who termed themselves “Diggers,” and attempted to found a settlement on St. George’s Hill in Surrey, found themselves so hardly treated by the local authorities and by their neighbours, that they applied to Fairfax for protection. Their colony seems to have been broken up about the end of 1649. The song of the Diggers, doubtless written by their leader Winstanley, is extremely curious (pp. 209-212, 215-224). The doctrines and the preaching of the Fifth-Monarchy men are illustrated by the trial of John Erbury for blasphemy, which took place in 1652 (p. 233). Of the miscellaneous papers contained in this volume four letters illustrate the history of the navy (pp. 39, 42, 62, 138), whilst others will be of interest to the historians of
Cambridge (p. 28), Yorkshire (pp. 1, 8, 20, 25, 70), Cheshire (136), Hereford (p. 157), Lancashire (pp. 160, 187), and Jersey (p. 228).

On several important passages in Cromwell’s life these papers shed fresh light. The most important and most characteristic of them all is the long letter from Cromwell to Hammond, printed on p. 49. Large extracts from it have been given by Mr. Gardiner, and it is sufficient to refer the readers of this preface to his admirable explanations of its political significance. Two points the letter makes clear; the first is Cromwell’s deep distrust of the King and of any attempt to treat with him; the second is his desire to see “union and right understanding” between Puritans of every sort, “Presbyterians, Independents, Anabaptists and all.” The justification of the alliance with the Argyle party in Scotland expresses the views not merely of Cromwell himself, but probably of the majority of the superior officers of his army. Exactly the same sentiments are expressed in a letter from the headquarters in Scotland, printed in one of the pamphlets of the time. It is signed J. L. only, but there can be little doubt that these initials designate John Lambert, Cromwell’s second in command.

“Sir,

“The godly party in Scotland seem to be very sensible of the benefit they have lately reaped by the victory God gave to our Army, and say they hope never to forget those instruments which the Lord chose to work their deliverance; and check themselves for the hard thoughts they formerly had of the Army: And its very observable, that this Army which the honest party in Scotland looked upon as a bundle of Sectaries, not fit to be continued, and did many ways unjustly reproach, should now under God, be the only authors of their deliverance. Some of the most eminent and honorable in Scotland have ingenuously confessed to me their error and rashness in charging the Army last year with rebellion unjustly, seeing now there is a necessity put upon them to tread in that very path: Nay, they acted now against a clearer authority, where was the concurrence of the three States, King, Lords, and Commons. I am much persuaded that the Lord hath a glorious work in Scotland as well as in England. The interest of the godly people in Scotland, as to the Civil,


* Good news from Scotland, being a true relation of the present condition of the army under the command of Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell, 1648, 7to.
was once different from that of the godly people in England, or at least acted as it had been different; but now the Lord hath been pleased to order the affairs of that Kingdom, as that the interest of the godly people there, is become the same with ours in England, and they and we must act upon the same grounds and principles: And I am persuaded that so much of their power as the Princess of the Earth have lent to the support of that Man of Sin, God hath and will suddenly break and destroy.

"I have no more at present, but that I am

"Your most affectionate friend,

"J. L.

"Mordington in Scotland,
Sept. 27, 1648."

Cromwell’s friendship with Hammond, proved by this letter of November 6, and by many of those printed by Carlyle, is further illustrated by two other letters to Hammond printed here for the first time. Mr. Gardiner copied them from the MSS. of the Marquis of Lothian at Newbattle, and has been good enough to allow me to add them to those contained in this volume.

The first, which is not dated, was evidently written between January and April, 1648, and deals with the precautions to be taken by Hammond to prevent the King’s escape from the Isle of Wight. The same subject is touched in letters lii. and lvii. in Carlyle’s Collection.

Cromwell to Hammond.

"Deare Robin, am I forgotten?

"Thou art not, I wish thee much comfort in thy great business, and the blessing of the Almighty upon thee.

"This intelligence was delivered this day vix. that Sir George Cartwright a hath sent 3 boats from Jersey, and a Barque from Sharbrowe, b under the name of Frenchmen, but are absolutely sent to bringe the Kings (if their plot can take effect) from the Isle of Wight to Jersey, one of which boats is returned back to Jersey with newes, but it is kept very private.

"I wish great care bee taken. Truly I would have the Castle well manned, you

a Carteret. b Cherbourg. 
know how much lyeth upon it. If you would have any things more done
lett your freindes know your minde, they are readye to assist and secure you.

"You have warrant now to turne out such servants as you suspect, doe it sud-
denly for feare of danger, you see how God hath honored and blessed every resolute
action of theise [?] for him, doubt not but Hee will doe soe still.

"Lett the Parliaments shippes have notice of Cartwrights designe that see they
may looke out for him.

"I have noe more but rest
"Your true servant
"O. CROMWELL."

(Addressed):
"For Col. Robin Hammond
Governour of the Isle of Wight
theise att Carisbrooke Castle
hast post hast."

Hammond was removed from the government of the Isle of
Wight at the end of November 1648, for refusing obedience to the
orders of Fairfax concerning the securing the King's person, and
during the Commonwealth neither held any military office, nor took
any part in public affairs. In 1651 however he again sought for
employment, but had some doubts of the justice of the war with
the Scots, and would have preferred to serve in Ireland. Cromwell
thought him unfit for the work. "You must not expect," he said
to his Parliament in 1656, "that men of hesitating spirits, under the
bondage of scruples, will be able to carry on this work," and he
wrote in the same spirit now to Hammond.

"Deare Cozen,

"I receaved yours for which I thanke you, I understand my cozen your wife is
under some trouble of minde, but because you are not particular, I can only say my
poore prayers shalbe for her that it may bee sanctified to you both. I am glad to
heere my aunt and you are agreed, I hope it's a mercye to you both. You mention
some purposes to come and visitt us, which kindness deservs and hath a thankesful
acknowledgment from your freindes heere, whoe retaine in some measure their oould
principles, which are not unknownen to you.

"You doe expresse in your letter thatt its the desire of your soule that you may

a Holograph.                    b Carlyle's Cromwell, Speech v.
be ledd forth in some way wherein you may have more enjoyment of God, and bee used to his glorye, findinge deadnesse.

"Truly Sir it's a favor from the Lord not to bee vouchsafed to use and owne us, of the sweete whereof you have heretofore tasted, and well it becomes you in remembrance of former experiences, to say, and thinke soe. Hee is a master whose owns every servant in the lowest station, and those whose are in the highest have no thinge to boast of but his favorable countenance and acceptance, the greater the trust the greater the account, there is not rejoicinge simplicie in a lowe or high estate, in riches nor poverty, but only in the Lord. Noe, nor can we fetch contentment from the securest, hopefulllest condition we can choose for our selves, nor is the comfort and peace of the spirit annexed to the greatest retirements, but the winde bloweth where it listeth, and if wee bee found with the Lord in his worke, Hee will dispence what is needfull, and oftentimes exceede in bountye.

"You hint somewhat of a willingnesse to bee againe engaged, but with this that the worke in Ireland goes smoother with you then this. You will forgive mee if I wonder what makes the difference, is it not one common and complexed interest and cause acted in Ireland and Scotland?

"You oppose a call to your being in a good and settled condition to your contentment. Truly if it bee the Lord's worke now in hand lett it bee of choyce to leave contentments for it.

"The Lord hath noe neede of you, yett Hee hath fitted you with abillityes for the present dispensation, your freindes heere judge soe, and will heartily welcom you, but indeed I doe not thinke you fitted for the worke untill the Lord give you a heart to begg of him that Hee will accept you into his service. Indeed, I write not this but in deerness of love, truth of heart, and feare of the Lord, to you. The Lord may lay us in the dust when Hee pleaseth, yett wee serve him—Hee is our master, this is our boastings—to receave and welcom you with comfort into the fellowship of his service is not more desiered by any then by

"Your cozen and very affectionate freind
to serve you

"O. CROMWELL.

"May 13th, 1651.
My affection to my deere cozen,
and aunt Hampden."

In two letters to Lord Wharton, numbered by Carlyle cxlvi., and clxxxii., Cromwell refers to the similar scruples of Wharton and other old friends, and treats them in much the same way. Hammond's answer to Cromwell's letter has not survived, but on July 22, 1651, he wrote to Cromwell interceding for the life of Mr. Love,

* The remainder is autograph.
and incidentally saying that his wife's ill-health had prevented him from joining Cromwell in Scotland. In 1654 the Protector appointed him one of the Commissioners for the Government of Ireland, but he died a few weeks after entering upon the post he had so long sought.

To return to 1648. The letter printed on pp. 49-53 shows Cromwell's deep distrust of the King and his objections to the treaty then in progress at Newport. These are further explained in the famous letter of November 25 to Hammond, printed by Carlyle (No. lxxxv.). He approved of the petitions of the northern army for the punishment of the King, and he approved also of the Army Remonstrance of November 20. His letters show this. On November 20, forwarding the petitions of his army to Fairfax, he wrote: "I find in the officers of the regiment a very great sense of the sufferings of this poor kingdom, and in them all a very great zeal to have impartial justice done upon all offenders. And, I must confess I do in all, from my heart concur with them, and verily think and am persuaded, they are things which God puts into our hearts." On November 25, referring to the Army Remonstrance, he added: "We have read your Declaration here, and see in it nothing but what is honest, and becoming christians and honest men to say and offer. It is good to look up to God, who alone is able to sway all hearts to agree to the good and just things contained therein."

On two important points however Cromwell though he accepted the responsibility of the acts done by the southern army, disagreed with the policy adopted by them. He agreed with the opinion which Ireton some months earlier had expressed to Ludlow, viz., that it would be best to delay the intervention of the army till the treaty between the King and the Parliament had been actually completed. "We could perhaps have wished," he wrote "the

* Original Letters and Papers of State addressed to Oliver Cromwell, edited by John Nickolls, 1743, folio, p. 77.
stay of it [i.e. the Remonstrance of the Army] till after the treaty, yet seeing it is come out, we trust to rejoice in the will of the Lord, waiting his further pleasure."

In the second place he evidently desired that the army and the parliamentary minority should imitate the proceedings of the Argyle party, and as he expressed it "make the parliament null and call a new one" (p. 53). On this question however, as Mr. Gardiner has shown, the army leaders were obliged to yield to their parliamentary allies, and to content themselves with purging the parliament instead of forcibly dissolving it. Had Cromwell been in London at the beginning of December, instead of in Yorkshire, it is possible that his influence might have won over the parliamentary republicans to the original plan. In that case the breach caused by the forcible dissolution of 1653 might have been avoided. On the other hand he was extremely anxious, in 1649 as in 1651, that the Parliament should be persuaded to dissolve themselves, without undue pressure or force from the army (pp. 170, 233).

Cromwell was summoned to London by Fairfax on Nov. 28, (p. 62) and arrived there on Dec. 6. Concerning his share in the trial of Charles I. these papers give less information than we might have expected. The two letters from Cromwell and Ireton jointly to Colonel Harrison, with the minute precautions for the King's safe keeping prescribed by them, prove that Cromwell was determined that Charles should be brought to trial, (pp. 140-144). Mr. Gardiner has shown that even after the King had been conveyed from Hurst Castle to Windsor, "Cromwell and his allies among the officers desired to save the King's life, if it was possible to do so without injury to the cause for which they had fought." * Discussions on the subject undoubtedly took place in the Council of Officers, but no record of these important debates has been preserved. No doubt Clarke was there and took shorthand notes as usual, but

* Great Civil War, iv., 233.
if so he probably destroyed them in 1662 when the notes of the other debates of the council were transcribed. A royalist newspaper gives the following account of the division of opinion amongst the officers.

"There is great talk at White-Hall of bringing the King to tryall, and on Christmas day, when they should have bin at church, praying God for that memorable and unspeakeable mercy, which he in that day showed to mankind, in sending his onely begotten son into the world for their salvation; they were practising an accusation against his Deputy here on earth; and Ireton declared, they had conquered the Kingdom twice; and therefore it was fit they should bring the King, the capitall enemy thereof, to speedy justice: there were six in the council that were very hot for justice; and Hugh Peters did very gravely shew the necessity of it; but Cromwell had more wit in his anger, and told them there was no policy in taking away his life, and shewed divers and more solid reasons than Hugh's were; whereof one was, that if they should at any time loose the day, they could produce the King, their stake; and by his means work their peace: so it was concluded, that His Majesties charge should be forthwith drawn up, and himself brought to a speedy tryall; and, being found guilty, they could proceed either to mercy, or justice, as they pleased."*

But if Cromwell had doubts as to the expediency of the King's execution, he had none as to its justice. Mr. Goldwin Smith erroneously states that Cromwell neither in his speeches nor letters touches on the King's death. Cromwell refers to it with satisfaction, as a warning and as an example, in one of his letters to the governor of Edinburgh Castle. He refers to it again in his speech about the Irish expedition on March 23 1649. "God," he tells the officers, "hath brought the warre to an issue here and given you a great fruite of that warre, to wit—the execution of exemplary justice upon the prime leader of all this quarrell," (p. 202).

In the debates of the Council of Officers recorded in this volume, Cromwell took scarcely any part. Indeed, as the table of attend-
naces shows, he was generally absent (p. 272). But as the discussions mainly concerned the question of liberty of conscience—a subject upon which his opinions are perfectly well known from the speeches in Carlyle’s collection—this is less to be regretted. On the other hand, the important speech of March 23, on the subject of the expedition to Ireland, throws a good deal of light on Cromwell’s views about the Irish war (pp. 200-207). He regarded the reconquest of Ireland as forced upon the English republic, by the adoption of the cause of Charles II. in Ireland, and by the danger of a possible invasion of England from thence. His national pride revolted at the idea of a Stuart restoration by the arms of Irish Catholics, or indeed of Scotch Presbyterians. “I confess I have had these thoughts with myself that perhaps may be carnall and foolish. I had rather be overrun with a Cavalierish interest than of a Scotch interest; I had rather be overrun with a Scotch interest than an Irish interest; and I think of all, this is most dangerous. If they shall be able to carry on their work, they will make this the most miserable people in the earth, for all the world knows their barbarism” (p. 205).

Equally characteristic is Cromwell’s confidence in the triumph of his cause, and his firm assurance of divine assistance and protection. “All the rest of the world, ministers and profane persons, all rob God of all glory, and reckon it to be a thing of chance that has befallen them. If we do not depart from God, I am confident, we doing our duty and waiting upon the Lord, shall find he will be as a wall of brass round about us till we have finished that work that he has for us to do” (p. 204).

The last of these new documents relating to Cromwell is a letter directed to Lieut. Col. Timothy Wilkes, apparently written early in January 1655. Wilkes was one of the Protector’s most devoted adherents, and to him Cromwell unbosomed himself with the greatest frankness, and expressed the grief which the divisions of his own party and the opposition of his former friends aroused in him.
It resembles in its tone the letters which Cromwell wrote to Fleetwood, and reiterates the same complaints. "Truly" he had written in August 1653, "I never more needed all helps from my Christian friends than now. Fain would I have my service accepted of the Saints, if the Lord will;—but it is not so. Being of different judgments, and those of each sort seeking most to propagate their own, that spirit of kindness that is to them all, is hardly accepted of any. I hope I can say it, my life has been a willing sacrifice, and I hope for them all. Yet it much falls out as when the two Hebrews were rebuked: you know upon whom they turned their displeasure." And again, in June 1655: "The wretched jealousies that are amongst us, and the spirit of calumny turn all to gall and wormwood. My heart is for the people of God: that the Lord knows, and will in due time manifest; yet thence are my wounds;—which though it grieves me, yet through the grace of God doth not discourage me totally. Many good men are repining at everything, though indeed many good are well satisfied and satisfying daily. The will of the Lord will bring forth good in due time."

The causes of the breach between the Protector and his former friends, and the motives which dictated the vehement opposition of the Fifth Monarchy men to his government are very clearly set forth in a long and interesting letter from Thurloe to Monk (p. 242). Two letters from Thurloe's MSS. in the Bodleian Library, omitted by the editor of the Thurloe papers, are added here in order to further elucidate this subject. They were either intercepted by the government, or found amongst the correspondence of some Fifth Monarchy man arrested by its orders. The originals were probably written in cypher.

"I account it as great a happiness, that I have opportunity either to receive from you or transmitte unto you. Since I received your letter it hath beene matter of

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* Carlyle, letter clxxxix.  
* Carlyle, letter cxxxix.
refreshment to me and to all the (remnant) Saintes who have heard of it, that in
the day of darknesse upon the world, there remains a spirit of vigour and resolution
for the King of Saints amongst you, both in God's servants and, handmaydes. It
was no unusuall thing in former ages, for the handmaydes of the Lord to seek him
apart upon inferior account, much less upon so glorious behalfe (as this day
they are, in searsal places of this Nation remote from each other) which is a notable
testimony to me, that they are set at worke by the Lorde's owne Spirit, and that he
is now formeing of that Little Stone (cut out of the mountains without hands) to set
the Image upon its feet; which are part of iron and part of clay, partly strong and
partly broken, which is so lame, that it would endeavour to mingle it selfe with the
seed of men, whereby to maintain its brotherhood a little longer; but it is no other
than for the moulding (if I may so say) of the Little Stone in purer mettall that
when it cometh actually to strike, it may make throrow work with the Image both
civill and ecclesiastical, and not deal so sparingly with the Antichristian relations
as those honest harts would have done in the late Little Parliament (so called) as
many of them do acknowledge. But now the indignation of the Saints against
Babylon is so heightened, that when they come to the Lorde's worke againe no less
will serve then the utter eradication of all what is planted, or built by the Manne of
Siane. Surely notable havock will be made in England the next . . . . as ever
was since the world began, and trully the greatest thing that lyeth upon my hart at
present is, that the Lord would make me fitte to follow the Lambe at that time, and
give me such a spirit for the executeing of his judgments, and the rewarding of
Babylon as she hath rewarded us, as he shall call for in such a day. Doubtless his
motions will be very swift when he begins againe to march visibly, and those who
resolve to follow him had need to be redeemed from the earth, as well as from among
men; and indeed to become virgins having no interest marryed unto them, besides
the pure and honourable interest of Jesus Christ. The Remnant of Saintes (since
you were here) are exceedingly raised in their spirits, to consider how they may
bear their witness more effectually for Christ then hitherto they have done, many
being strongly perswaded that the Lord looketh for more from his servants, then
faith and prayer; and that God speakeseth to them now as he did to Moses, "Why
cryest thou unto me? Speak to the children of Israel that they goe forward." And
several of the choicest Saintes here have bene much before the Lord in their closets
in order to this concerne; also in our private meetinge much time is spent in
seeking for a cleere and sure call, that whether we live or dye we may be found in
the works of the Lord, which we know shall prevail, though it were but with
Gideon's 300 men, if so many could be found of such a spirit as they were.

My perswasions are great that a terrible destruction will suddeainely be brought
upon Babylon's worke and workemen in England. There are . . . . sent from
us to Norfolk, where about 15, or 16 churches have mette to conferre together,
and begge wisdome of the Lord how to bear their witnesse for him against the
present powers and their wickedness. The last time they conveen'd was the 18th
of this moneth, at what tyme they would come to a result, whether in print, or by
word of mouth to the present superiors. What the conclusion is, wee cannot yet
heare: our friends did judge it would be by sending two members from every
church to London, there to bear the testimony of their dissatisfaction and dislike of
them, which will be about 80 men. However things goe the councell of the Lord
shall stand, that the bloody city must be remembered with all her inhabitante farre
and neere; because strong is the Lord God who judgeth bir, to whom be Glory for
ever. Amen.

"Wee should have wrote to you in general from the whole meeting if wee had a
safer way of conveyance then by the post, but wee are considering whether to send
messengers to all parts of this nation and Wales to enquire how the Lord moves
upon the spiritts of . . . . . . . . .

tere long to be cutte short of that also, when the great Revolter hath strengthened
his Horse a little more, if God sufferes him. It will be more visibly knowne who
indeed are the people that know their God, and shall do exploites.

"Your friend and bro. in Christ, etc.

"London 19°—10°—1654."

COPY OF ANOTHER LETTER FROM LONDON,

Dated 21°—10°—54.

"As for your desires concerning Anna Trapnell, it is (to be playne) to me a very
strange dispensation, yet I am persuaded she hath communion with God in it, but
under what sort to rank it, I am at some stand. The dispensation is strange,
because rare, more strange, because to me there appears no such amongst the
Scripture records, as to the manner of it: for I cannot reckon it among the visions
and revelations of the Lord, because in the things she utters (whether in verse or
prose) its only what she hath bene conversant in before, and had the knowledge of,
as now she spoke much concerning the Windsor prisoner (which those that know
not she had bene there would have thought she had by revelation) and of the
young men and their meeting, which she is conversant in, and much taken with.
If she did continue it, but for one or two daies I should be apt to think she might
so it when she would, in the strength of phamie [?] same for two things. First, she is so
stiffned in her body that were she not warme one would thinke her dead. Secondly,
because (she saith) she cannot make a verse when she is herself. But it is strange
to me she should continue for 8 daies as she did say; and I am certain'ld (from
these I can believe as if I saw it my self) that she eat nothing all that time; no, nor
drunk, save once in 24 hours a little (and but very little) small beere. And on the last day of the weeke she declared in my hearing that she would be the next morning at the young men’s meeting, which I much doubted, seeing how she lay and had layne; so I went that morning on purpose, and found hir there, she taking me by the hand ere I was aware; she came out without eating or drinking save a little small beere, yet did not experience herself weak or faint. My Lady Roles hearing she was there, called hir to goe to Lambeth in her coach, with whome I went also, and though wee spent the whole day there, she refused to eat. In our converse she was full of affection, with what sweet enjoyment she had of God the whole weeke. I tould hir that it was the opinion of some, that what she delivered was from the strength of hir natural memorie. She answered, no, but throwne in by the Spirit to hir. I have sometimes said, that I thinke God in this Dispensation doth teach his people that when our communion with him is enlarged a very little of the creature will satisfie us.

"John Simpson is come to London; and did preach the last first day with the congregation, and at Allhallowes on the second day, where he related his reasons why he submitted to their order of banishment, and why now he breaks it; one reason to this was, because he hath it from good handes that O. P. had said to them, that John Simpson might come to London if he would, and that the Order was of his owne procuring; he might come to the Church if he pleased, but had no mind to it. Whereupon he declared, after he heard the certaine truth of this, he thought he was bound in conscience to come, whatever it cost him.—O. P. hearing he was in the Citty, sent for him, desiring him to come and conferre with him as a brother and a christian, and to bring three or four of the Church along with him. It was put to the church, and by vote they resolv’d he should goe, but some said he went into a temptation he should have avoided. He was at Whitehall the whole day; wee were together till six of the clock at night, at which time he was not returned, and since I have not had opportunity to know the event. Mr. Simpson did declare in the pulpit his saineness to what he ever was; and that he never in the least doubted of the goodness of his cause, in bearing witness against the last publique things, as a publique sinne against former vowes. [Mr. Sim]pson I apprehend not to be fully enlightened about the kingdom of Christ; and comine home, as I conceive, may occasion further tryalls upon the spirits of the Church in some tyme. God is sifting all sortes.

"It is now I perceive much upon the Spirits of some choice Saintes, that the next tryal may very great: possibly O. P. closing so far as to do such thinges as (he thinke) may please the Sectaries, take away tythes, and loppe the laws; and so deceive the minds of the simple, and enrage all the more against the non-complyers. This tryall some are preparing for. A petition I understand is prepared in the Common Councell of this Citty to encourege the Parliament about settling Church Government, etc. And I have it from a good hand that O. P. sent for a certain citizen, desiring a sight of that Petition; which having read, he said, "I think wee
must labour to have Collonel Pride's Common Counsell again, for these will undo all." One answered, "You (my Lord) called that a Lev[elli]ng Common Counsell, but wee shall never have so good againe?" He replyed, "Where shall wee have men of a Universall Spirit? Every one desires to have liberty, but none will give it."

"Collonel Okey hath layd downe his grounds so farre as is apprehended, they had him at advantage, and he wanted power to oppose them; they on the other side were suspisions, and so were glad of his resignacion. As for that friend, surely the Lord will be a Light in Darknesse to those that with a single heart cleave to him. I desire to present my service to them both, leaving them with the Lord, and desiring he may stand compleat in all the will of God. But I conceive the great ones have lost their opportunity. Surely they were once trusted by God, and had power to have stood up for what they had engaged, and ought to have kept their watch better, and not have suffered themselves to be cheated of so good an interest through the deceit of men and cunning craftiness; and whether ever God may trust them againe I question. But let them in the meanes time take heed of strengthening the bandes of evildoers, and surely were but a few good spirits to appear for their old good cause in the strength of truth, the Appostates and revolters would soon flee with Adonijah and his followers, when that cry was made in Jerusalem, "God save King Solomon."

"I could now relate at large what passed between O. P. and Mr. Simpson and those with him; but it is too late. Yet in brief thus: They conferred together from 9 to 12, at what time O. P. was called to dine an Ambassador he had invited; when he went out he commanded six dishes of meat might be sent to Mr. Simpson and his friends, whom he toold he would again confer with them, which he did from 3 or 7; they took not his dinner, but consulted together how to answere him, for he had challenged them to decla what vows or declarations he had broken; and being met again they instanced: 1st, In his promise about tythes to be taken away before 8 September, to which he replyed, "He wist not whether he had said so or no? But he heard Mr. Jersey should report it of him, in which he had not done well; and for his part he could not do it, for he was but one, and his Counsell allledge it is not fitt to take them away." There were further arguings about this. Another thing that he had sworne to maintain the just laws of the Land, but had contrary to law imprisoned J. S., and C. F. I cannot now write the answers. He sayd it was out of love to them to save their lives. They instanced further that he had vowed and engaged others to the Government without king or single person, and now by taking this Government had not only broken those vows, but also an Act of Parliament that it should be treason so as to do. To which among other things he replyed: "Well said, Simpson, thou art plain indeed; not only to tell me I have broken my vowes, but that I am in plain termes A Traitor." He concluded his answer with this, That the Government he had taken and would stand to maintain it. Againe that he had promised Liberty to the Saints, but now by the Tryers they were thrust
PREFACE.

out of all publick liberty. Hee sayd the Tryers were set up only to keep out
knaves, but should not be used against any Godly men. At parting he gave Mr.
Simpson an exhortation to carry soberly, as that should be best for them. Upon the
whole they came away very much dissatisfied with his Spirit and words.

B. T."

In the beginning of Cromwell's letter to Wilkes he alludes to the
collection set on foot for the town of Marlborough which had been
almost entirely burnt to the ground by the great fire of April 28,
1653. Mr. Waylen in his History of Marlborough (pp. 257-269),
gives a full account of the fire, but both in that work, and in his
House of Cromwell (p. 319), omits to notice a circular letter from
the Protector recommending to the charitable the relief of the
sufferers. As it is not included in Carlyle's collection and seems to
have escaped notice I have thought it worth reprinting in full at
the close of this introduction.

"Loving Friends

"Whereas it pleased the Lord to lay his afflicting hand upon the Inhabitants of
the Town of Marlborough in the County of Wilts, on the 28 of April 1653, by a
sudden and terrible Fire, which burnt and consumed (within the space of four
hours) the Church, Market-house, and 250 dwelling houses, besides divers barns,
stables, and other out-houses, with most of their goods, to the losse of above 70,000£.
as hath been made appeare by sufficient testimony, whereby many of the poore
inhabitants were reduced to a low and miserable condition, even without hopes of a
future subsistence, had not the Lord in mercy by his good hand of Providence
enlarged the hearts of some good people to extend their charity towards the
re-building the said Town, and relieving of the necessities of the poore inhabitants
thereof: And yet (as we are credibly informed by persons intrusted with the
distribution of the monies collected for that purposes) the monies so collected doe
not amount to the sixt part of their said losses, so that many mens houses lie
unbuilt, and divers who have begun building, are necessitated to give over in the
midst thereof, being no way able to finish them, by reason of their yet extremam
want: We doe therefore make it our earnest desire, That you the Officers and
Soldiers under our command in England and Scotland, would take the premisses
into your serious consideration, cheerfully to impart something to be deducted out
of your next months pay for the further reliefe of those poore distressed people,
towards which our Army in Ireland hath already unanimously manifested large
bowells of compassion : which we hope will be a good example for you to follow:

CAMD. SOC. VOL. II.
xxxvii

PREFACE.

And the rather, for that the Town was the first in the West of England that declared for, and took up Arms in the defence of that Cause which the Lord hath so eminently appeared for, and hitherto carried on, by which means they then sustained exceeding great losses both by fire and plundering: of which We need say no more, but shall conclude with that saying, 'He that giveth to the Poore, lendeth to the Lord,' and rest,

"Your Loving Friend"

"Oliver P.

"White-Hall, 20 Nov.
1654."

In conclusion it only remains to refer readers of this volume to the account of the nature and condition of the MSS. given at page lxxvi. of the preface to volume one. The papers printed are generally derived from copies, or, in the case of the debates, from notes made in shorthand at the time but not transcribed till many years later. Both contained in consequence a large number of clerical errors and other mistakes which it was necessary for the editor to correct. Corrections or alterations of any importance are printed out in the notes. For mistakes of his own the editor can only apologise beforehand, and plead that the exceptional difficulty of his task may be taken into account.

C. H. FIRTH.

May 29, 1894.
ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page xxxiii., note a, for "Lords' Journals, vii." read "Lords Journals, ix."
Page 82, last line, for "if these" read "if there."
Pages 128, 129, for "Twistleton" read "Twisleton."
Page 150, line 18, for "gave" read "give."
Page 219, note a, line 23, for "June 26" read "July 26."
Page 226, note b, line 6, for "agent" read "Agents."

VOL. II.

Page 1, note a. "Cavalrie" is a word frequently used to denote the Cavaliers in general.
Page 49, note a. On this note Mr. Gardiner observes: "The letter at Newbattle is not in Cromwell's hand, but it had every appearance of being the letter actually delivered. The explanation which occurred to me when I saw it was, that to avoid suspicion if the letter fell into bad hands, Cromwell either dictated it or had his own handwriting copied."
Page 72, note a, for "vol. 67" read "vol. 65."
Page 89, note c, Mr. Gardiner points out that Peter refers to the Diotrephes mentioned in the third Epistle of St. John, verse 9: "Diotrephes who loveth to have the pre-eminence among them."
Page 169, note a, line 8, for "Cowell" read "Cowling."
Page 171, note c, for "Athenae Oxonienses, ii. 75" read "ii. 175."
Page 229, line 10, "St. Won's Bay," i.e. "St. Ouen's Bay."
Page 233, line 25, for "John Erbury" read "William Erbury."
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

Thomas Margetts to William Clarke.

My deare freind,

Besides the inclosed I have little this weeke. On Wednesday last there was a meeting in this Citty of divers of the Presbiterian Ministers of the County for the setting of that government; but I perceive no great progresse is made in it, they have onely begun some 3 or 4 Classes in the West Riding, tis thought it will goe on but slowly. The high reports of the Scotts coming in makes a sower countenance in their parts; the Cavaliers* denie it on tooth and nayle, and I feare they will quickly bee upon our backs, and whether our late disbanding heere were good service or no, judge. I told you when the Parliament first resolved it, it would give advantage against themselves and kingdome; but I desire my former feare and apprehensions may not happen, if it may not be against the will of God, who works all things for good. By a private gentleman lately come from Scotland wee understand that the moderate party are now the fewest, and that the generall resolution is to come into England. They are for the present preparing their way, and privately carry on their designe of making their entrance as plausible as they can, to preserve and gaine interest. Our forces heere are so disperst into quarters over all the Association that if they intend a sudden and private entrance, or surprizall

* MS. "cavalrie."
of Barwick &c., wee are neither in a posture of offence or defence. Our intelligence from thence is meere[ly] accidentall, not certaine; having no scoutmaster or other intelligences. I wish theis things were considered, and that wee might be as active in private actings for defence as they are for offence. Episcopacy was the roote of the former war. Presbyterianism you will find to be the roote of the succeeding. The lamb and the dragon cannot be reconciled, so a victory there must be, but I rest

Thine owne,

THO: MARGETTS.

York 8 Apr. 1648.

It was against my judgment to send the abstract of the Muster by an express, but it was the Major Generall’s express command, in regard the Committee of the Army did so earnestly write for it, neither is such to be practised.

[Addressed: —]
To his very loving freind Mr. William Clark
at the Head Quarters.

[News-letter from London.] b

Queenstreete, 10 Apr. 1648.

To give you first the newes from Scotland: the Parliament hath yett return’d noe answer to the desires of the Commissioners of the Kirke of Scotland, butt seeme to be very angry that the Ministers still persist to crosse them in their designes, and they seeme to bee farre from agreement. The Parliament are resolved to procede against them; a new modell of their army is agreed on, and great store of armes lately come thither from Holland. Sir Phil. Musgrave hath ingeniously confess uppon discourse with his freinds in Scotland, that the Cavaleers would nott joyne in a body with or

a Compare Rushworth, vii. 1054. Rushworth simply reprints the “Perfect Diurnal” in which a sentence or two of this letter is quoted.

b Headings enclosed in square brackets are added by the editor.
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

under the command of the Scotts, if they come into England, butt are confident to have opportunity and assistance to make a body of their owne partic to carry on their owne designe, and manage their owne interest.

And itt seemes their freinds in London had some intimation of this their intention, though they began to act something too soone, and engaged before the other could assist. For, on Sunday last, there mett in Mooreseilds London some thousands of apprentices and others to sport, which being contrary to the ordinance of Parliament the Lord Major indeavoured to prevent, and sent one of the Trained bands to disperse them; butt such was the greatnesse of their number and their resolutesnesse, that they pelted the Trained bands with stones and att last fell in upon them, and disarm'd divers of them, and tooke away their colours. This done, they thought their designe was now ripe, and that they were fitt for any enterprize; wherupon they gave a generall shoute, and cryed, "Now for King Charles," and soe went shouting alonge; their numbers increased downe towards Whitehall, crying out "For King Charles", and [at] Whitehall intending to beate Col. Barkestead's men out from thence. In this manner they passed through Fleetstreete and the Strand, where they were animated and incouraged by divers Malignants, and their number made them about 3000, some with musketts, others with swords and clubbs. Butt notice therof coming to the Generall, and the Lieutenant Generall, and Commissary Generall, who were very neere surprizing by the multitude, having noe notice of itt till they were almost att the Mewes; butt before they could gett thither the Generall went to the Mewes, and the Lieut. Generall drew forth a partie of horse, fell uppon them, kill'd him who carried the colours, and one or two more were slaine, and divers of them cutt and hack't by the troopers, wherupon they soone fled and were dissipated. This was

* Cf. Old Parliamentary History, xvii., 93; Rushworth, vii., 1051, 1055; Walker, Independence, pt. i, pp. 84, 90; Gardiner, Great Civil War, iv., 97; Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 4th series, vii., 140.
about 8 att night. The troopers followed them and clear'd the streetes, and the Generall went in person to Ludgate, and soe into Smythfield, giving charge to all to keepe within their houses. After this (though it thundred, lightned, and rained), all things appear'd quiet and serene, and noe appearance was found of any company. Butt the Generall had nott bin longe come in and in bed, butt about two in the morning, there came newes, that the rude rabble were againe mett, and had secur'd Ludgate and Newgate, and afterwards went to the Lord Mayor's house, and fell uppon some of the Trained bands there, kill'd 2 or 3, and tooke 2 drakes which bee had for the security of his house. These they drew downe towards the Gates. They alsoe went into Milkestreete, and broke open the Armorie there, and furnished divers of themselves with armes. Thus they continued till about 7 or 8 in the morning, their numbers nott much increasing, nor any of the Citty Trained bands appearing to oppose them. Att last the greatest parte of Col. Barkesteads regiment of foote and 4 or 5 troopes of horse being sent against them, they refused to lett them enter the Gates; wherupon they went about to Mooregate, where they were lett in, and overtooke a great parte of the rabble as they were going to seize uppon some magazine in Leadenhall, fell uppon them in Graceous streete, charg'd them; they received the first charge butt were repulsed with the losse of 8 men, and divers wounded, none of the souldiers kill'd, butt only Capt. Merriman shott in the shoulder butt curable. After this they were driven like sheepe into Leadenhall, the cheif of them prisoners. Afterwards the horse and foote clear'd the streetes of them. The Generall continued all the morning att Whitehall.

This was the abortive issue of the designe of the Malignant partie. To prevent the like tumults, and that the Army may bee in a fitt posture, there is a randezvous of 5 Regiments of horse and 5 of foote (besides those already in the Citty) to bee shortly held within 10 miles of London, when something will bee done in order to a settlement of things.
The Examination of William Paradine.

That on Monday night being the first of May, 1648, according to a former engagement the Cavaleers and others were mett att the signe of the 3 Tuns in Newgate Market, to consult together to finde out a way to raise horse and soote, For God, the Kinge, and Citty. The number of Cavaleers, Apprentices, Innes of Court Gentlemen, and others were neere 30 persons, being all together in an upper roome 2 pair of staires high. Major Pilkington, formerly belonging to the Kinge, drew from his pockett 6 proposals, consisting in 2 sheettes close written, to certifie unto their fellow plotters the lawfulnessse of their undertakings (having bin advised in them by counsell) : which proposals run to this effect, First what they intended to fight for (is) in the defence of the Kinge and his posterity. 2\textsuperscript{by} The ancient protestant Religion. 3\textsuperscript{by} The safety of the Citty. Further that they meete noe more att present all together, butt are appointed severally to list men in severall precincts, and to bringe in the names of those men they list to the signe of the Queenes-Armes in Lumbard streete, and that they have already listed neere 1500, wherof of them in Fanchur[e]h streete and therabouts 700, and that they doe intend when they have perfected their designde to seize on all the Gates of the Citty, and to take all the horses they can light uppon. This is to bee done before the terme bee ended if possible, and when they have soe done they intend to send to the Lord Major, and Common Councill propositions to this effect: that they intend noe hurt to the Citty but their preservation.\footnote{On this plot see Lords' Journals, x., 262, May 18, 1648. Rushworth, vii., 1119.}

An earlier plot of the same kind is mentioned in Mercurius Dogmaticus, Jan. 20-28, 1648: "There was a design of late . . . which was—One Major Clark, sometime a Vinter at the Miter in Bishopsgate Street, Lieutenant Corbet, and Richard Yates, formerly officers in the King's army, had contrived a way how to purchase themselves and the loyall partie of this kingdome a redemption from their cruel bondage; and for that purpose had given forth tickets to those whom they knew to
one objected, what shall wee doe for ammition? The Major answer'd 'I hope there is none heere soe poore butt are able to buy two or 3 shotts apiece, for (said hee) when once the Gates are secur'd wee will nott want for ammition.'

Signed,

William Paradine, &c.

[News-letter from London.]

12 May, 1648.

To observe the strange alteration the defeating of the Welsh hath made in all sorts is admirable. The disaffected to the army of the religious Presbyterians now sawne uppon them, partly for feare of you, and partly in that they think you will keepe downe the Royall partie, which threatened them att their dooers in the strectes to their faces with destruction, and putt noe difference be cordially affected, exhorting them to make all the strength they could amongst their friends and allies; and when of considerable strength to divide themselves into three bodies, whereof the one was to seize upon the Tower, the other to surprise the men at Westminster, and the other to keep a court of guard at Temple Barre, to hinder the citizens from flocking to their rescue... A Declaration was printed and dispersed abroad the heads whereof were these:

"'To all those that are faithfull to God, loyall to their King, and desire to be freed from their cruel bondage.

'1. Wee declare our intentions to be onely for the preservation of His Majestie and ourselves from ruine and the restitution of His Majestie to His just rights, the knowne lawses to their due course, and ourselves to our ancient liberties.

'2. To destroy all those who shall adhere to Sir Thomas Fairfax, in pursuance of his damnable Declaration for deposing the King.

'3. To hang all men at their own dooers immediately who shall conceal any parliament-man in their house within the Citie, and not give present notice of him to the present governor of the Tower.'

"But this undertaking was blasted, even in the bud, for (as the Devill would have it) the Citie Marshall had notice given him of the place where these Loyalists resorted, who at the second search found and surprised them."

* Cf. Gardiner, Great Civil War, iv., 126.
betweene Presbyter and Independant. The Parliament men that went alonge with you because they supposed you would prevaille, and they should bee most secure in you, how doe they flagge,[they that] sawne[d] uppon the Citty, and whisper'd against you, beginning to say you had done thus and thus amisse, [are] now cordiall to you. When the lettres were read in the House of the defeate, how many Royalists hunge downe their heads, and went out, nott staying the conclusion; from all which you may see clearly how necessary itt is to bee alway in action with your army, and if nott heere, yett elsewhere. I finde the people have alway bin content to nott onely parte with mony, soe itt was fairely carried in raising and faithfully disposed of,* butt to bee taken with successes, and the noyse of victorie running in a ballad is matter for them to prate of; the more wise are putt into feare and conformity. This went alonge with all our victories and warres in France, though they exhausted never soe much. The Citty talke as if they would alsoe joyne with you against the Royall partie, butt trust them nott; for all that are nott fooles, unlesse your frends, are for Kinge and Byshopps. Our new Statesmen in the House of Commons are att a losse, nott knowing how to goe farther, either in settling the Kingdome, or in contenting the Scotts. The 2 chief Sco[tt]s Officers came to some of our's for advice, who told them they lik't nott their foundation, and soe itt were indiscretion for them to give advice in the building. The Lords I doe verily thinke will nott parte with the Tower, nor give way to the Militia altering; for one of their selves told mee, if itt bee a truth, that the present state of itt hinders trade. 'Tis best to putt the Tower into such an hand as you may confide in and they bee pleas'd with, and soe now itt is, were they nott soe bent to basenesse. The Scotts honest partie declaring against the other very much stuns them heere, and puttts them to their witts end. Now to declare never to receive the Kinge nor any of his, unlesse hee give satisfaction to the 4 Bills and what was soe presented.:

* Position of clause altered.
* By the letter of intelligence of May 8, Clarendon MS., 2778, it appears that the Independent leaders were even then reviving the negotiations.
that the Parliament shall sitt butt 3 monethes in the yeare, and confined to making lawes, giving mony, and righting those wronged in inferior courts: that then the excise shall cease and soe much uppon the pound rent paid instead thereof: that noe man shall bee punished for discourse in any point of Religion, the same disturbing nott the civill peace: that none shall bee barr’d from trust for not taking the Covenant: and a way taken uppe for raising mony in this Kingdome to pay 10,000 Horse and 30,000 Foote for ever without tax: which may bee done, and to which all the Kingdome, a few excepted, will concurre in. I am confident you might nominate alsoe 21 for a Councill of State, and they would bee yielded unto.

[News-letter from York.] b

Yorke, 12 May, 1648.

To relate unto you the true present condition of these parts is very difficult. In generall wee are all ever in a strugling, striving, fearing, hoping, marching, fighting posture. The late surprise of Barwick and Carlisle hath put... the Cavalleers... many high, proud and confid[ent]... with them,... and that they have plotted and hoped for, have they now opportunity to putt in execution, taking advantage of the paucity of our forces to resist, if they can but possibly gett into a body; their number every where is soe great and the well affected so few, that the former are very highly incouraged even to confidence, and the latter are much discouraged even to differences, because they heare of no visible assistance approaching (which is soe much desired and would never bee more seasonable then now) to give a stop to their dayly confluence and engaging the country on their side, which they loose no time in, while the poore well affected are forced to leave their homes and flie for their lives. They are so high, that

a MS. "these."

b This letter is injured by damp, and in parts illegible. It is pretty certainly from Thomas Margetts, like that of April 8.
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

they cry out in every place "hay for King Charles againe," (and satyriacally) "what will become of the saintes now." Indulgence, I feare, hath whetted this knife to cutt our owne throtes; a hundred or six score of the well affected are fled out of Cumberland for feare of the enemy. All our forces are marched northward to endeavour all they can to prevent the enemies multipling, and dissipate their tender bodies before they grow too corpulent. By the inclosed, which is a copy of the gentlemen's warrant under named, at Tor . . . . in this new rebellion, Major Cholmley's lettre, and the list of men's names enrolled, you will see the forwardness and cunningnes of the enemie. By that warrant they procured a great meeting of the Country to see what those new agents would propound to them. Sir Robert and Sir Thomas Strickland made large speeches to the poore ensnared country to [venture] lives and f[ortu]nes in this their present designe. [Enclosed] is a copy of the list of those that gave in their names for it, which was taken by [one] Harrison, Clarke of the Peace for Westmerland. Their meting was on Saturday last, and at their dissolve they appointed the Tuesday following to perfect their resolves; but that Saturday night after their meeting Major Cholmely with his troope fell into some of their quarters, and apprehended some of them, which hath given a little hush to the people, and 'tis thought now upon the approach of our forces they will disperse. Among the rest Harrison the Clarke of the Peace was taken at Kendall, crying about the stretes "now high for King Charles," and had the list in his pocket. Hee and one Captain Ferrand were sent up to Yorke, and are comitted to Clifford's Tower, and some more are taken. Harrison confessed ingenuously to mee that he did take the names upon a hill in the field at the rendezvous, upon the desire of Sir Henry Bellingham, and that it was a true copy. Here in Yorke there hath bene a great feare of the enemies rising to surprise this towne, and indeed not without ground, because they are so high and many, and doe indeed in plaine termes threaten and speake it, and terrifie the well

* Cf. Rushworth, vii., 1113.
affected as much as they can; and on Wednesday night last about midnight runned in a party of horsemen, and disperst themselves, as is conceived, to severall malignants houses to lie there till an opportunity of setting themselves in a sitt equipage of putting themselves into action, insomuch as the well affected were sore-frighted and began to shift for themselves, and looke about them. This gave a great alarm to the Lord Maior and Aldermen, who presently under strict charge to looke well to the barrs and [H]ouse of C[apt] Spencer, who hath a Con . . . . . Clifford's Tower to suppress meeting[s] and insurrections in the Citty; and p[resent]ly they sumoned a counsell, and tooke into consideration the raising of some volunteers for the defence and safety of themselves. While the Citty was in this confusion, comes in, providentially, and unlooked for, a troop of our horse that quartered in Darbyshere; the Cavaleers seeing them cryed "Glenham was come, Glenham was come," and Quarter Master Diggles, who brought them in, hearing the Citty in that posture, drew uppe the troup in the heart of the Citty, and spake to them to make ready in case of present opposition, which they did, but nothing done; onely this much discouraged the enemy, and incouraged freinds and gave life to the present motion of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen in raising men, who now though lately they would . . . . in the Citty, beg heartily that they would stay in the Citty, till they have raised and putt the Citty in a posture of defence and safety. I heare they have agreed to raise 2 Companies of Volunteers under Aldermen Dickenson and Alderman Gray, and some horse to ride about a nights to keepe downe the enemy. It was verily believed that the last night, had not that troupre come in, the Cavaleers would all have beene up in armes, and possest themselves of the power of the Citty for the Enemy.
A Libell dispersed att Covent Garden.

On the Lords day May 14, 1648.

Oyes, Oyes, Oyes!
If any manner of Man in city, towne or country can tell any tidinges of a thanksgiving to bee kept the 17th day of this present month of May, by order of the Commons now assembled att Westminster, lett him come to the cryer, and hee shall bee hanged for his paynes.

God save Kinge Charles and hange all his Enemies.

[ Gilbert Mabbott to Lord Fairfax.]

May it please your Excellencie.

I am comanded by Collonell Hewson, and some other officers of your Excellencies here in towne, to desire your Excellencie forthwith to give speedie orders for some considerable force that lies quartered neere this place, to advance hither, or neere Westminster. For that before the Surrey Petitioners would withdrawe they forced the Howse and the guards, which occasioned 2 more companies to bee speedily sent for from the Mewse, upon whose comeing, severall affronts were offered them, and shouting for about an houre together gathered about 2000 in a body, and then cryed "a King" "a King," some of them forcing upon the companies in the Pallace, which occasioned them to keepe of at pikes'end, but getting one of the souldiers among them accidentally the Petitioners fell upon [him] with their swords and clubbs, whose was runne through (and conceived dead by this time) before hee could bee releived. Upon which the troope of horse fell in upon them, and routed them; and then the companies

* Wednesday May 17. "This was thanksgiving day for the victory in Wales, which was punctually observed by the Houses, but very slyly in the City." Rushworth, vii., 1117.
pursued, and forced them through the Hall and out at King's Bridge. Not above 2 or 3 slain, and many wounded, and some striped, about 20 odd of the cheife of them taken prisoners. The City gates are shut up, and they stand upon their guard. I leave all to your Excellencies consideracion, resting,

Your Excellencies most humble servant,

G. MABBOTT.

16 May, 1648.

[Col. Barkstead to Lord Fairfax.]

May itt please your Excellency,

This day was a petition presented to the Commons from the County of Surrey* by neere 3000 Horse and Foote. They came to the House about 12 of the clock, and after they had staid about 3 hours they began to expresse much discontent that they had nott an answer, some of them saying, that they would have an answer, others that they would have such an answer as should please them. Att last they cried out with a loude acclamation, “For God, and Kinge Charles,” and see crowding towards the doore disarm'd and knock't downe some of the sentinells, indeavouring to have surprized the whole [guard], saying, “wee will pull them out by the eares.” Butt I having a very watchfull eye over them, and being very unwilling to give them any just occasion, yett seeing their outrageous went thus farre, I sent downe a partie of about 500, which came in very seasonably, for as they came, the petitioners had began to force the guard, att which began a present engagement with them, in which two of our men were kill'd, and 4 or 5 of the Enemy. The businesse was soone over. My Lord, I am informed by some that is amongst them this night, that they resolve to fall on those of

* On the Surrey petition see Rushworth, vii., 1116, and Walker, History of Independency, part i., Epistle. Mr. Gardiner enumerates the pamphlets written on the side of the petitioners and the side of the soldiers, and concludes in favour of the account given by the soldiers. Great Civil War, iii., 376.
THE CLARKE PAPERS. 13

Col. Harrison's regiment which quarter with them, by way of revenge. No more butt that I am and ever shall bee,
Your Excellencies most humble and faithfull servant,
JO: BARKESTEAD.

London.
May 16, 1648.

Sir John Rayney's Information concerning the insurrection in Kent.

Sir John Rayney of Wortham in the County of Kent, Bart. certifieth, That upon the 22th of May instant hee being come to Rochester, upon a summons for a generall meeting of the Deputy Lieutenants of Kent to bee there that day, found the gate upon the bridge shutt, and about 20 musqueteers upon the guard, and 2 pieces of ordnance mounted upon the bridge; and the gates being open'd unto him hee was followed by a musketeer to the inne called the Crowne, without being questioned att all, untill such time as this informant, perceiving the said souldier to follow him, did speake to the said souldier these or the like words, "Thou needest not to follow mee." Hee this informant supposing the said guard to have bin placed by the Deputy Lieutennants of the County, and demanded of the said souldiers and others what Deputy Lieutennants were there; wherupon the said souldiers and divers others replyed, that there were none of the Deputy Lieutennants there, neither did they expect any of them. Wherupon this informant answer'd, that there was a meeting of them appointed to bee there that morning; to which one amongst the rest replyed "the case is alter'd now," and that the Citty was for the Kinge, and should bee kept for him or words to that effect; and another of the said companie demanded whether this informant were nott for the Kinge, to which this informant jestingly replyed, "There is noe doubt of that." Uppon which one of the said companie, who had formerly bin this informants coachman, replyed in these or the like words, "I know that Sir John Rayney wisheth
well to the Kinge," and offer'd to guard him out. To whome this informant replied "you neede not," and soe left them; and passing back through the maine streete found them all armed alonge the streetes in the manner of a court of guard att every doore, and att Margretts Church in his returne was againe stop't and questioned by a guard, demanding his name and whither hee went, and whether hee were for Kinge Charles; whome this informant did putt off with the like answer as before.

JOHN RAYNEY.

[Sir Michael Livesey to Sir Anthony Weldon.]

Sir,

Wee are glad your parts are soe quiett. Itt is otherwise with other parts of the County;* Rochester, Sittingburne, Feversham, and Sandwich all garrison'd for the Kinge. The County Magazines in those places, and as wee just now heard . . . . likewise seized, Mr. Box their prisoner att Sittingburne, and one John Swan though of their owne partie, and by themselves . . . What our indeavours are and present engagements wee shall att large acquaint you with att your coming, which we daily expect. In the meane time resting,

Your humble servant

MICHAELL LIVESAY.

Aylesford,
22 May. 1648,
past 9 att night.

Wee desire you to hasten the raising of all your horse and foote, and immediatly to send away Capt. Skinner's troope to Aylesford, where they shall receive further orders.

For Sir Anthony Weldon Kt. att Swanscombe these.

* On the origin of the Kentish rising see Matthew Carter's A true relation of the Honourable though unfortunate expedition of Kent, Essex, and Colchester. He is particularly hostile to Livesey, pp. 7, 15, 95, 92.
[To the Derby House Committee.]

My Lords and Gentlemen

I send you this inclosed sent mee this morning, by which you may understand the constitution of this County. Never was the faire face of such a faithfull County turn'd of a suddaine to see much deformity and uglinesse. If your Lordshippes doe thinke that by flinging water on our flame you shall extinguish all, believe mee it will nott doe, butt make all parts in flame the more. I heare some Members of the honourable House of Commons are sent to appease the insolencies att Rochester . . . besides many already in the same posture, and noe question by that course all will follow. I cannott say more then I have to your Honours in my former lettre's postscript. You may cast away many gentlemen that have serv'd you formerly from the first beginning of these unhappy differences, butt where to finde such is nott easily to bee advised. For my parte I looke hourely to bee seized, which must cost the seizers or some of them their lives, for I shall nott bee their prisoner to bee led in triumph as poore Mr. Box. I shall nott say more, butt if you suffer us to perish for want of aide you shall wish aide had come in time.

Your humble servant

ANTHONY WELDON.

The 23th of
May, Swanscombe.

To the right honorable the Committee of Lords and Commons sitting att Derby House.

[The Kentish Committee to the Speaker.]

Mr. Speaker,

Perceiving the growing distempers of this County arising by a
Petition to the Parliament sett on foote by the malignant partie in this County, and by a generall randezvouz appointed for a tumultuous meeting att Blackheath, uppon pretence to carry uppe the same, wee raised a small partie of horse to preserve the peace of the County. Since which time uppon the rumours given out of the Princes landing att Sandwich, that towne with the ordnance belonging therto seized by a route, and the Malignants flocking thither from Canterbury and other parts, wee applied our selves to all possible indeavours to raise forces to prevent the heading of that partie; in the very act wherof wee received the inclosed of the 21st instant from Capt. Leigh, Capt. Westrowe, and the Mayor of Rochester, which gave a stoppe to our proceedings. That very night the magazines of Sittingbourne and Feversham were seiz'd, and those townes in armes declaring for the Kinge, and one there kill'd, Rochester that night forewarn'd the approach of our partie of horse towards them which wee had with us for preserving the Counties peace (as will appeare by the severall inclosed of the same date from Col. Newman, and one likewise from the Mayor and severall inhabitants of Rochester) the citty then standing, uppon their guard, and the next day openly declaring for the Kinge, as will appeare by the inclosed information of Sir John Rayney, one of the Deputy Lieutenants of the County. Since which that the like is done att Canterbury and Ashford, wee lately represented our position* to the honourable Committee of Lords and Commons att Derby House by our's of the 21st instant, together with our desires of their speedy care for a timely releif to this County by a considerable strength from the Army or the Citty out of hand; without which this County is in danger to bee wholly lost. What this dayes meeting of the Malignants att an horse race att Cox Heath will produce you will further heare. Wee have a small partie att Maidstone, and the parts adjacent, and are in hourly expectation what supply the Weild of Kent will or can afford us. What help may be had from the Army or City, wee shall againe

* MS. Commission.
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

humbly desire may bee speeded to us, and in the meane time to
send us your further directions.

Your humble and faithfull servants,

MICHAELL LIVESAY.

AUGUSTINE SKINNER.

RICHARD BELL.

LAMBERT GODFREY.

Aylsford, the
23th of May.
1648.

For the honourable William Lenthall Esq.
Speaker of the honourable House of Commons.

[An Anonymous Letter to Lord Fairfax.]

May itt please your Excellencie,

I thought my self bound in duty and conscience to informe your
Excellency that Sir Henry Vane Junr (upon devision of the House
of this day concerning the treaty with his Majesty) voted with the
malignant partie against the honest partie, and therefor I shall
humbly desire your Excellency nott in the least measure to confide
in him. Some honest men were fearfull of his revolt of late,
because Doctor Stane and Scoutmaster Generall Watson* had bin
too conversant with him. I humbly begge your Excellencies
secrecie and pardon heerin, and leave to subscribe myself,

Yours &c.

24 May, 1648.

[The Derby House Committee to Lord Fairfax.]

My Lord,

Uppon some propositions made to this Committee by the Earle of

* On Scoutmaster-General Leonard Watson and his intrigues with the royalists see
Carte, Original Letters, 1739, i., 220.

CAMD. SOC. VOL. II. D
Thanett about appeasing the tumults in Kent, which propositions were reported to the Houses, the inclosed instructions were thenceupon approv'd of to bee given to the said Earle of Thanett to proceede in that businesse, which wee thought fit to send to your Lordshippe that you may see how farre the Houses have proceeded in itt, butt for that itt is of soe great concernement that this tumult bee speedily suppressed, wee desire your Lordshippe that noe opportunity may (uppon occasion of those instructions) bee lost to reduce them by force, if they shall nott conforme themselves to what is contayn'd in the instructions by Saturday morning next. Wee have desired Mr. Boyce Knight of the shire of Kent, and alsoe Sir Anthony Weldon and Mr. James Morice, who have bin very faithfull and active for the Parliament, to waite uppon your Lordshippe, who are able to give you a full information of the present state of that County.

Signed in the name and by warrant of the Committee of Lords and Commons att Derby House by Your Lordshippes

very affectionate freind and humble servant

WILLIAM SAY & SEALE.

Derby House, 25th May, 1648.

For the right honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax, Lord Generall.

[Lord Fairfax to the Derby House Committee.]

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Having received the votes of the House of this day, by which I finde the regiments att. the Mewes, Whitehall, and the Tower,

a Lords' Journals, x., 282.

b This letter and that of the same Committee dated May 26, are calendared in Cal. S. P. Dom., 1647-9, pp. 79, 81.

c These 3 regiments were those of Cols. Rich, Barkstead, and Tichborne. Cf. Gardiner, Great Civil War, iv., 134.
to bee set free from their present duty, and left to your Lordshippes disposal for other service heerabouts, I thought good to represent to your Lordshippes the opinion of my self and the Officers heere, that itt is nott safe or adviseable to engage those regiments (or any parte of them) uppon any service by themselves, in relation to the present great insurreccions; butt itt is our humble advice and desire that your Lordshippes would take order they may speedily bee drawne forth this way to morrow, in order to randezvous with the rest of our small bodie about Hounsloe Heath, that wee may once bee imbodied together; and then as wee shall bee more considerable for any service, soe wee shall bee ready with the whole to bee att your Lordshippes commands. To receive which in order to the managing and carrying on of the present businesse, I have, according to a lettre from the Speaker of the House of Commons (for the sending of some person to consult with the Committee att Derby House) appointed Col. [Hewson] to attend your Lordshippes for that purpose, having noe other whome I could att present spare; and there being likewise much neede of his speedy returne, I desire hee may receive a dispatch from your Lordshippes assoone as may bee.

Windsor, 26th May, 1648.

T. F.

[The Derby House Committee to Lord Fairfax.]

My Lord,

Wee have received your Lordshippes letter of the 25th instant from Windsor, and wee conceive the forces therein mentioned to bee much too short to provide against that danger which wee conceive the Parliament to bee in from this insurreccion in Kent, and the distempers that are in other places; wee are inform'd that the Kentishmen will have a meeting att Black-heath on Tuesday next,

A letter from Fairfax to the Derby House Committee printed in the Lords' Journals, and reprinted in the Old Parliamentary History, xvii., 149, gives an account of the distribution of his forces.
and att the same time those of Surrey att Putney Heath, and those of Essex att Wanstead; wee therefore desire your Lordshippe to give order to as many forces as can bee timely had for the defence of the Parliament and the preservation of the peace of the Kingdome. Wee heare, that many of the inhabitants of Surrey are very unwilling that any forces should come into their County. Therfore, if your Lordshippe shall see the necessity to send any forces that way, wee desire your Lordshippe that they may take care to carry themselves inoffensively to the people of the County, and to their owne quartering that they may bee in safety. Since the lettre wee wrote this day Mr. Westrowe, a Member of the House, is come from Rochester, who will waite upon your Lordshippe to give you the state of the Country.

Signed in the name and by warrant of the Committee att Derby House by,

Your Lordshippes very affectionate freind and Servant

WILLIAM SAY & SEAL.

Derby House.
26 May, 1648.

[News letter from Yorke.]

May 27, 1648.

Affaires heere looke nott with soe plesant a countenaunce as by this time, if my Lord Generall had been heere, they would have done—the reason alleidged of his not coming satisfies not, but people now feare whether he will come or no, and say that discontent in the army, unwillingnes and dissatisfaction in another engagemet is the cause; notwithstanding the Cavaleers are not altogether soe high as lately, in regard their designes have not taken effect answerable to their desire. Langdale with all his forces in armes is confined onely to Westmorland and Cumberland, though sometimes they inrode into the Dales, but without any considerable act. Wee have given power and comission to the
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

well-affected there to putt themselves into a posture of defence, and to rise and nott permit the Cavaleers comming unto them, or through them into Yorkshire, which of them selves they are able and wee beleive will doe. The Enemy however strong reported, (and how strong they are our intelligence is so bad wee cannot certainly learne) yet they have acted nothing, but taken some well affected out of their houses and carried them away. One troup of ours lay farre from the rest even upon their borders, and yet they stired not to offend them. Nine of our troops are in a body, and have lain at least 10 daies upon the borders of Westmorland, but no enemy hath appeared, onely a partee of ours lately tooke 5 of them with horses and armes to a good value, which hath much encouraged our soldiers. The Major-Generall came on Thursdays night from the troupes which lay at Barnard Castle, and in regard no enemye appeared (though wee heare they were at Kirby Stephen) a partee of about 7 score were drawn out under the comand of active Major Cholmley, who had directions to march towards Kirby Stephen into their quarters, and if he saw cause or any advantage to engage, and Coll. Lilburne, who comands the troops in cheife in absence of the Major Generall, was to follow with the rest to second or secure him as occasion should bee. Wee expect every hower to heere of something to be done, for our men are in good case and ready, though they are 6 weekes pay behind the rest of the army. There hath been lately a treaty betweene the Cavaleers and Lancashire, and wee heare that County is newtrall, onely have agreed that they and the Cavaleers shall not hurt one another, soe that now wee thinke they will suddenly attempt Yorkshire. Coll. Harrison is invited out of Lancashire hither. Coll. Twisleton's regiment quartered last night at Otley, himself at York, and had discourse with the Major Generall. [If] those 2 regiments of horse joyned with ours, which is intended, wee shall be able I hope to looke the enemy in the face; besides Yorkshire is in a pretty good posture, and [three] regiments of foote, vizt. one in East Riding [etc.], agreed to be raised, and one of horse. Col. Legard to comand the
East Riding Regiment, Col. Ch. Fairfax, uncle to the Lord Generall, the West, the North not yet named, and Coll. Bethell the horse.

T. M[ARGETTS].

[Col. Barkstead to Lord Fairfax.]

May itt please your Excellency,

The Enemy still continues att Dartford; they give out them- selves to bee ten thousand butt the countrymen lessen every day; very many officers and souldiers that have formerly serv'd the Kinge come in hourly to them. The discourse among them is, that if the country will nott stand to them they will immediately possesse themselves of all the castles and stronge holds, and thereby secure landing for the Irish, French, or Danes, of whose coming they fondlie flatter themselves and the malignant partie of the country. These countrymen that are come home doe extremaly cry out against the gentlemen that did engage them, looking uppon themselves as utterly undone, which is the onely cause of their coming home, hoping th[us] to keepe their neckes out of the halter. I have received order [from] your Excellency by Col. Rich, and accordingly have drawne the be[st part of] my regiment to Lambeth, 200 foote I have left uppon [the] passes att Southwarke townes-end with 3 troopes of Horse. [I] have nott more att present butt doe waite in expectation of your Excellencies farther orders, which shall bee punctually obeyed by him who is,

My Lord,
Your most humble and faithfull servant,

Jo: BARKSTEAD.

Lambeth House,
The 29th of May
1648.

* Cf. Gardiner, Great Civil War, iv., 187.
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

I had 2 scouts from them just now, who brought mee the inclosed pamphleett from amongst them. They report they hope to bee possest of Dover this night, and doe nott doubt of seizing of all the Navy, if your Excellency stay butt 2 or 3 dayes from them.

[A letter from Carisbrook.]

My letters have ever bin welcome to your hands, and soe I am assured this will doe the like, conveying such good newes as the happy prevention of the Kings escape this last night, which was most graciously prevented. Mr. Dowsett the Clerke of the Kitchin, and one Osborne (gentleman usher and recommended by my lady Wharton, a truly soe seemingly pious and faithfull that we all tooke him for a very upright man) having corrupted the sentinells and Mr. Readinges man, a barber and butt newly entertain'd, had design'd to conveye the Kinge over the Castle wall at midnight, two of the Worseleys, gentlemen of this Isle, and Osborne had prepared horses and brought them to the counterscarpe of the line. The Kinge alsoe had cutt the toppe of a stronge iron barre in's chamber, and was ready to descend by a rope which Dowsett was to furnish. Now itt pleased God to move two of the 3 soouldiers' hearts to reveale itt to the Governour, who lett the plott goe as farre as itt would, butt the rope failing, the Kinge attempted itt noe further then to bee ready when the signe should bee, which was the throwing a stone against the windowe. The 2 soouldiers that discover'd itt have 10li. a piece given them, and deservedly, that others may bee encouraged to bee honest uppon all occasions. The designe is (att our request alsoe) examining, to the end that all false hearts may fully bee discover'd as God will give way, for truly itt is cause of joy and sorrow; joy that soe dangerous an attempt succeeded nott according to the craft of those villaines and the expectation of our enemies; sorrow that in soe small a family such perfidie should bee harboured and to throw a scandal uppon
the honest partie who serve by principles of conscience and honour, and were it not unseemly to justify myself I should say somethings that your good opinion may bee continued where I hope tis fix't. Truly I appeale to the Governour what my diligence and care hath bin, without any mixture of other businesse, and to God as touching the integrity of my heart, which I hope will never faile mee, I pray heartily for itt, I shall indeavour itt to the utmost; and as I wish the false may have their reward proportionable to their demeritt, soe I pray God such as bee faithfull may nott bee discouraged. I am sure tis an unspeakeable joy to mee that God has vouchsafed us such a mercy.

Sir, your most affectionate humble servant,
T. H. 

Caresbrooke Castle,
May 29, 1648.

[Col. Whalley to Lord Fairfax.]

My Lord,
The Enemy hath quitt the towne and Stratford, left their guns and ammunition behinde them. They are betwixt two and 3000 foote and 100 horse. They are marching towards Rumford. I have sent a partie of neere 300 horse and dragoones in pursuit of them, which are as many as wee conceive can doe service in these narrow wayes. I remaine with the body att present att Stratford Langton till I receive further order from Your Excellency, which I desire may be hastened to,

My Lord,
Your most humble and faithfull servant

Stratford Langton.

Edw: Whalley.

* Compare with this the letter of Hammond on the same subject, May 29, 1648. *Old Parliamentary History*, xvii., 191. Is T. H. Thomas Herbert?

* Cf. Gardiner, *Great Civil War*, iv., 145. This letter, which is not dated, immediately follows one dated June 4, and was probably written June 5 or 6.
9 June, 1648.

Our affairs here are in a very sad and dubious state, the Enemy very active, strong and cunning. Yow have I question not heard of the taking of Pontefratt Castle, being betrayed by a sergeant and a corporall that formerly served the Enemy, who were upon the guard. The Governor Major Cottrell, having left the keyes with them at that time (which hee never did before) till hee tooke a little rest about 6 or 7 a'clock in the morning, after his watching the whole night himself as he used to doe. Hee was a man that all men judged faithfull, how farre he may bee guilty in this I cannot tell, but hee refused to take quarter, and was shott in the thigh and cutt in the arme, but is living and like to recover. Lieutenant Coll. Morris, who once served the Enemy and delivered up Leverpoole to us, and since served the Parliament, was the maine actor, and is now Governour. Helmsley Castle was lately attempted to bee taken in the like manner, but the fidelity of the souldier they applied themselves to (to whome was offered 100l. in hand and 500l. more upon bond, and to bee knighted) prevented it, for hee discovered the parties and apprehended them prisoners, and now they are in the dungeon att Helmsley Castle This I can assert for truth having examined it upon oath. Langdale is in Westmerland, and wee heare is unwilling to fight if hee can prevent it, but our forces now are in a bodey, and are upon the edge of Westmerland about Bowes, waiting an opportunity to engage him, though fewer in number. Tis thought hee will wheele about for Pontefratt if hee can possible, and misse fighting. Pontefratt is block'd up with about 800 horse and foote, which is all can possibly be made here for the present; the Enemy there increases, and are as wee heare 250 horse and 400 foote, so that that partie cannot lay close seige, and if our partie there or

those attending on Langdale received a worst, it will so highten the King’s partee in theis parts (which I think are 20 for one,) that wee shall be in danger of loosing theis parts, except the good providence of God smile on us, as it hath on you in the southerne parts.

[T. Margetts.]

[Col. Whalley to Lord Fairfax.]

My Lord,

The Enemy hath quitt Chelmesford, march’t to Lees, where as soone as hee came hee had 500 armes besides ordaince without resistance. Wee marched close in the reare of him, but he doth so overpower us with foote that wee cannott ingage in this close countrey, but with greate disadvantage, to the hazard of the brigade. Wee are indeavouring a conjunction with Sir Thomas Honiwood’s forces, who is reported to bee 1200 horse and foote. Itt behoves you to hasten all the foot up you can, and to come your selfe; other wayes the Enemie will be suddenly formed into a considerable army, and will engage us. I shall neede to say no more to your Excellencye, but that I am,

My Lord, Your Lordshipps most humble and faythfull servant

Edward Whalley.

Much Walton, 5 miles from Chelmsford.
June 10th 1648.

Our frendes repourt the Enemy to bee 3000 horse and foote, and like a snowball increasing."

My Lord, I desire to knowe which way and when your Lordshipp comes, that I may take care to secure you; doubtles the best way is by Gravesend.

My Lord,

Since the writing and sealing of theis, I received your expresse, and shall desire your Excellencies force may march by Gravesend to Tilbury, and so to Billericay.

Edw. Whalley.

* MS. "small increase." See Fairfax Correspondence, iv., 35.
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

[Col. Whalley to Lord Fairfax.]

My Lord,

After wee had faine uppon the enemies reare the last night att Lees they marched to Braintree, as itt is conceived with an intention to sett upon Sir Tho: Honywood’s forces, soe they gave out, soe wee beleived; wherupon I imediately sent Col. Scrope with his 3 troopes to their assistance, they being very stronge in foote and desir’d onley an addition of horse. I march’t in reference to the safety of Coggeshall (uppon the conjunction of your Excellencies other forces assign’d for this service) for the better interposing betwixt the rebells and London, to Wittam, where I now lie and waite uppon the enemies motion. Hee hath laine still all this day till now, being one of the clock, butt by a spye that I sent amongst them I am inform’d that they beate their drums and have drawne out a great parte of their foote to Rayne Greene, which is towards London from Chelmesford. Therfore our purpose [is] for the better securing your Excellencies forces out of Kent, to draw somethinge back; and I desire your Excellency would send to Col. Ewer to march to Chelmesford, where I shall bee this night, because just now Sir Thomas Honywood sends mee worde, if I will but spare him 2 troopes more they shall bee sufficiently stronge to defend themselves against any attempt of the enemy made against them. Wee desire your Excellency would expeditate your march, for wee cannott engage them heere without more foote, and the longer they are suffer’d the more numerous they growe:

I am, My Lord,

Your Excellencies most humble
and faithfull servant,

EDW. WHALLEY.

Wittam,
11 June, 1648.

* Cf. Gardiner, Great Civil War, iv., 148; Rushworth, vii., 1150.
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

[Mr. Rushworth to Col. . . .]

Sir, The Generall desires you to send a partie of 50 or 60 Horse into Sussex to Chichester to march to Lewis; for there is a beginning of a rising, and Col. Temple is confident that this party will give life to the honest partie to make head against the rest.

J. R[ushworth].

[Extract from a News-letter.]

His Excellency hath written to the Committee at Cambridge to authorise Major Blackley (?) for commanding 300 men. The well affected Schollers in Cambridge did chuse 2 out of each College to represent the rest, which gave uppe themselves to their results and counsells, which were soe prosperous that in lesse than the space of 24 howses there was 200 fighting Schollers, suitable armes and ammunition, with provisions for a week's space. They pitcht upon the most tenable place Queens Colledge, and in a civill manner requested the Fellows thereof that they might have it, who gave them a peremptory deniall, and secretly caused the tutors of the engaged Schollers to summon them to their severall Colledges, soe that the company was forced to breake.

Leaguer before Colchester,
17 June, 1648.

Lettre intercepted going to Sir M. L[angdale] from the Lo: Capell.
10 July, 1648.

Sir,

Wee are advertised from soe many severall parts of your being att Lincoln, that wee cannot refuse the belefe of it, and in consideration that itt may advance his maiestyes service, I thought itt fitt to advertise you some what [of] our condition att Colchester. Fairfax hath beene for this month engaged heere att Colchester;
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

presume with the considerablist force that party can make, which I belceve exceeds not 3500 foote and 1200 horse. Hee had soe ill successe in his first adventure to storme us, and [in] the last, hee hath had 5, [and] of our floote by divers sallies hee relishes soe ill, that his endeavour is to surround us with a line and works att some distance, in which hee haith proceeded not unsouldyerly. It is to bee doubted wee may soone want fodder for our horse. Neither the Enimy nor wee are idle, yet wee heere conceive that our tying and obliging Fairfax to us is the best way of proceding for his Majesties service; for the rest of the Kingdome have the more scope to act their parts by it, and a disaster here would lett him loose, which is the reason wee hazard not more then needs must stande with our duty and honour, considering the advantage the enimy hath of us in numbers. If this findes you according to our expectation neere Cambridge, I conceive that if you march to Walden on the border of Essex, and Fairfax his army will not neerer attend your comming, and you are att your election to march directly to us, or to goe to London, [that you should act] as shall bee most requisite for the Kinges service; though wee should bee glad to have that advantage by your comming to us to bee releived, and more liberty to encrease our numbers; and itt is to bee doubted when wee are driven to strayt[en] the provisions our men will nott bee kept well satisfied. By this much I doubt not but you will judge of our condition. Sir, I rest your most humble servant,

Arthur Capel.

July 10.
Colchester.

[Extract from a News-letter to Lord Fairfax.]

Your Excellency's answer to the letter of the House concerning the Earle of Holland gave much distaste to some, who moved that your Excellency's commission might bee taken from you; but this not carried, the House of Lords debated neere two houres this day
for a gencrall cessation, butt laid aside for the present, butt will bee insisted on againe tomorrow, and then itt's thought will bee carried, and itt's feared the Commons will comply. The Citties listing goes on this day more violent than ever before. The Lord direct your Excellency for some speedy course in reducing Colchester, which done the rage of the enemies would cease, and till then much increase. . . . Things are high, the desigene will bee speedily putt in execution, if not prevented by a blow att Colchester or the North. I have writ to the Lieutenant-Generall by advice of some members to engage upon any condition speedily, else the Houses will vote an approbation of the coming in of the Scots Army.

London, 16 Aug. 1648.

_Lettre from the Townesmen to his Excellency sent by Doctor Glissen._

Right honourable,

Wee returne your Lordshippe our most humble thankes for your Lordshippes lettres in answer of our petition, and for your condescension soe farre in granting of our desires; butt soe itt is that the Commanders in chief heere having bin made acquainted with the contents of the letters, they have absolutely declar'd their deniall in granting liberty to the Committee heere under restraint to passe hence, and have this day passed an order of their Councill of warre, that all such inhabitants within this towne as have noe provisions for the maintenance of themselves and families for 20 dayes to come are to depart the towne tomorrow in the forenoon, and have caused warrants to bee issued out to the respective constables of each parish to give notice of such their order. Your Lordshippe well knowes that itt is nott within the compasse of our power to inlarge those of the Committee kept heere; and therfore in the behalf of the inhabitants wee humbly renew our former petition to your Lordshippe, that you would be pleased (notwithstanding such
the denial of the Lords and other commanders heere) to grant your Honours letters of libertie of all such as are nott excepted in your Lordshippes lettre to passe into the country for the preservation of their lives; and soe commending your Lordshippe with the issue of this businesse to God Almighty wee humbly take our leaves.

Your Lordshippes humble servants

WILLIAM COOKE MAJOR.
ROBERT BUXTON.
JOHN FURLEIGH.
JOHN SHAW.

Colchester,
Aug. 21, 1648.

Postscript.

Your Lordshippe may perceive that this lettre was intended to have bin sent yesterday, butt wee could nott with convenience, and the commanders heere have now given licence for the sending it by Doctor Glissen, and att the request of our selves and the Committee heere have respited the putting of their order in execution for turning out the poore people.

For the right honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax his Excellency these humbly present.*

An account of the death of Sir Charles Lucas &c., the originall of which, writt with my owne Fathers' hand, I gave Sir Thomas Clarges.

Colchester, 28 August, 1648. Sir Charles Lucas speech att his first coming into the Castle yard.

There may be something that I may vindicate my self in. In order to my duty, I came to this place in the Prince's service, but

* Cf. Gardiner, Great Civil War, iv., 200; Bushworth, vii., 1235.
since I came hither, I am not guilty of wronging the least person
the least soldier of this army.

God knowes I never intended my owne particular in my life,
and if God Almighty had pleas’d as for my sins I doe justly deserve
death, but for this God Almighty is the best judge ; yet I should
have been very glad, that those a people that made themselves my
judges had been pleas’d to have allow’d mee a longer time of
repentance, for the best of us all hath not liv’d such a life but he
does deserve a longer time of repentance then I have now.

Minister.

If it be true, it is as acceptable.

Sir Charles.

My sins are many, and Gods mercies are great that I doe expect.

All those that have either kindnesse for the King, or so much
conscience for themselves, I shall desire that they would be pleased
to let me have their prayers. For what God hath bestow’d upon
mee in this life, I praise him, and pray for his mercy upon mee
after this life. I doe not professe my self a rhetorician att all. I
doe not know how it may be construed, but in the first place, I
wish I could have liv’d longer, to have serv’d my Prince and my
country, or at least [had] a larger time of repentance. But [since
it] hath pleas’d . . . . to allow mee the means to receive the Sacra-
ment, God make mee a worthy receiver, to my salvation, not my
damnation ; and so God blesse you all, and send you peace and
happinesse in the Kingdome.

Sir Bernard Gascoyne.

I would very faine take my leave of Sir Charles Lucas, for I
care not how soon, when it shall please those God hath made my
judges——

Sir Charles.

Farewell, Sir Bernard.

They embrace and kisse.

- M.S. “more.”
Sir Charles.

I confesse the great obligation our country owes to you, for your service to our Prince.

Sir Bernard.

It is a very great consolation to mee for to die with such a companion. I did no man any hurt.

Sir Charles:

[To the minister.] If you have the means to see his Majestie present my duty to him, he is my Prince and Master. Bid my parents and friends they should not afflict themselves. Truly I think it is a great deal of happinesse to mee [to die thus]. God might have taken mee away without such a sense of my sins. They know my genius would not let mee die upon any base thing; bid them blesse God, that I die so happy for the service of my country, as I beleive I have, and have the honour of it.

[To the officers] What is the death that is pleas’d to be assign’d to my self and these worthy gentlemen? doe you know by what means? Captain Packer.

That which is most proper to soldiers, to be shot.

Sir Charles.

With all my heart, shoote mee out of a cannon when they please.

To his Kinsman.

Present my duty to my father.

He and the minister retire aside and pray against the Castle wall.

Sir Charles.

Come, my heart, I need not cheer you up, I know your cheerfulnesse by my owne, but here is my amends, I die for my Prince, and you die not soe.

Sir Bernard.

I thank God, I doe not fear death.

Sir Charles.

CAMD. SOC. VOL. II.
I will not say I do not apprehend death, but I can look him in the face now.
Sir Bernard.
I wish to die, and repent of my sins.
Sir Charles.
You have God's word for it, if I may speak a divines part in it, [that] at what time [soever] a sinner does repent. . . .
Minister.
Hee that repents truely and properly.
Sir Bernard.
I could say so, whereas you repent: from the bottom of my heart I have not found so sorrowfull as it need to bee.
Sir George Lisle.
Better late than never. Though I don't beleive in predestination, yet I beleive it is God's will, and truly I should have thought myself a happy person, if I could live to have a larger time of repentance, and to see the King my master in his throne again, whom I beseech God to send to all the happinesse which is due to so just, so good a man.
I was bid to goe my way, say divers people; but truely I was confident my innocencie in this action would have rendred mee very clear from any such punishment, especially so suddenly.
Sir Bernard.
My conscience is guilty of many things, but nothing this way.
I say that I have never in my life done any action which I will not acknowledge before all the world.
Sir George.
He will that his body remaine with my servant.
I will bear it with as much patience as I can, I should take it for a very great favour done to my poor soul to have a little more time, I have deserv'd it as much as an enemy can doe.
Sir Charles.
I should very willingly hear, if you would please to satisfy mee, by whom I am condemned, whether by my Lord Fairfax
alone, or by a Councell of Warr; I beseech you to lett me know my judge.
Com. Ireton.

I may answer so far, as you were condemned by the Parliament, upon your owne actions. [The war] wherein you have so voluntarily a second time engaged, hath rendred you in their judgement in general your whole party deserving death, and your self is in some particular exception.
Sir Charles.

Pray Gentlemen bee pleas'd to give a dyeing man leave to speak, I beseech you.
Com. Ireton.

Know, your self as all others that engage a second time against the Parliament are traitors and rebells, and they doe employ us as soldiers by authority from them to suppress and destroy. Would you know our commission, it's that. Sir, you were here in armes, (the head), one of the heads of a great party; you have not yet had quarter given, not any of those gentlemen yonder, but by the Generall's demands of you, and by your commissioners consent to it, you were to render your selves att mercy; and for yourself you can't but know, because your commissioner came in to acquaint you with it, that by mercy it was meant to be free in the Generall's breast, without any obligation to the contrary, to put some of you to the sword, if he saw cause. Now as to any matter of judgement; neither the Generall nor any censure of the Councill hath pass'd in this businesse; the judgement hath been in generall pronounced by the Parliament, for whom wee fight, and you being persons in hostility, that yet have had no assurance of quarter, for you it is only thus far resolv'd by the Generall, by the advice of the Councill of war in generall upon the businesse.
Sir Charles.

Sir, this is a very nice point to take away a man's life, when there is a law in the Kingdome, which truely I must plead; and look to it [lest] my blood be upon you. I doe plead before you all the lawes of this Kingdome. I have fought with a commission from
those who were my soveraignes, and from that commission I must justifie my action. For yeielding to mercy, wee must needs yeild to those in whose power we were then. I must starve or yeild. That yeilding of ours, all the world knows, was meer constraint.

Co[m. Ireton.

Wee take it for no other.

Sir Charles.

If wee yeild ourselves unto you, if it be for our lives you should try us.

Co[m. Ireton.

If wee had taken it for any other then what you had voluntarily done upon confidence of the Generall’s mercy.

Sir George.

I am confident I did it upon that ground.

Co[m. Ireton.

But now it is by constraint, and no otherwise. I did speak that that you may yet know there was no assurance of quarter given to any of you, and the Generall did expressly declare that he would be free to it.

Sir George.

Gentlemen, lay your hands seriously upon your breasts, you that were of the Council of Warr, and consider what it is to take away a man’s life in this kind, that you may have nothing to rise against you hereafter.

Co[m. Ireton.

Sir, wee have nothing more to add to that. But to what you said before: you know it is a certaine rule, that among armes the lawes are silent, and had not you by armes stopt the lawes of the land, you and other men might have had the justice of the lawes of the land; but you and others, by pretence of the lawes of the land, have stopt the current of judgement and law which wee had. When you are mett in armes there is no more reason for you to plead it now then there hath been to many soldiers and officers of the Parliaments party, when they have mett some under your
command, if they had pleaded the lawes of the land against them.

Sir Charles.

It was never knowne that men were kill’d in cold blood, before.

Collonel Whalley.

Sir, shall I answer you for that. You have given us a president before, where there was Major Wandstead * and about forty more, they submitted to mercy, and they hang’d up 14 of them.

Ensigne ————

May it please your Honour I will satisfy you.

Sir Charles.

If the Generall pleases, a man may be mercifull, and satisfy both his mercy, and the world besides, and justice. I doe here beseech the Generall that he will be pleased to looke upon mee in that nature as I am in his power, that he will excuse mee with my life, if I can but obtaine the General’s mercy and favour [to me] and these gentlemen; and if it be not, God’s will be done, I must submitt to it.

Cofi Ireton.

I have no more to say to you, nor is there any other judgment that wee have received from the Generall, but you being persons who being in armes and hostility against the Parliament, he may as justly kill and give no quarter to you as ever any was in this warr. He having given you no assurance of quarter nor any of you, has only determined to yourselves in particular, that you are not in the compasse of quarter. Tis no more then if the soldiers mett you and shot you.

Sir Charles.

I am within the lawes of the Kingdome, for what I did is by commission, and quarter hath been given as the lawes of armes doth require elsewhere.

* Major Wansey and the garrison of Woodhouse in Wiltshire are referred to. Fourteen of the garrison were hanged by Sir Francis Dodington’s orders, two by himself and twelve by Sir William St. Leger. Ludlow, Memoirs, i., 103.
Coën Ireton.

Sir, you are better acquainted with the lawes of armes. Is any body bound to give quarter where it is ask’d?

Two of the soldiers sayd, that at St. he came in rageing, and swore a great oath, ‘why should they have any more quarter, then wee had at Cannon-Froome.’

Coën Ireton.

You being a traitor——

Sir Charles.

I am no traitor, but a true subject to my King, and the lawes of the Kingdome. Sir, you ought to prove mee one, before you condemne mee to be a traitor.

Coën Ireton.

Wee tell you what judgement you are concluded by, and that is by the judgement of the Parliament.

Sir Charles.

I can say no more. I shall only desire that my life may satisfy for all the rest of these gentlemen, and these gentlemen may goe free.

Sir George.

I have given many hundred men quarter.

Sir Charles.

Give mee leave to pray with these gentlemen.

Retires with Sir George Lisle and Sir Bernard Gascoigne.

Gentlemen, I now die like a soldier, will you that these gentlemen shall looke upon mee?

They embrace and kisse.

* This word is unfinished. Probably Stinchcombe in Gloucestershire, a small parliamentary garrison near Berkeley Castle, taken by the troops of Rupert and Sir Charles Lucas in Aug., 1645. Twenty, or according to some stories forty, of the garrison are said to have been put to the sword in cold blood. Webb, Civil War in Herefordshire, ii., 214. Report on the Portland MSS., i., 250.

Sir Charles.
Remember mee to all my friends.
Sir Bernard.
I thank God I am no more troubled at it.
Sir Charles.
Remember me to all my friends, and tell them that I have died in a good cause; if I have offended any, I desire forgivenesse; I would have a decent burial, and that I might be buried by my ancestours, and where they are. Their monuments are not only defac't, but their dead bodies remov'd. Let us from henceforth lye in quiet.
Give mee leave to pray but a few words, and now I have done.
I pray God forgive you all, I pray God forgive you, gentlemen.
Farewell, I pray God vengeance may not fall on you for it.
When I shall [fall] lay mee downe decently
One going to pull downe his cap, he said, stay a little.
Oh Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, receive my soule.
After this six dragoones with fire locks discharg'd att him; and after his falling, Sir George Lisle, having kissed him, was also shot to death.

[The Earl of Warwick to the Derby House Committee.]

My Lord and Gentlemen,
On Sabbath day last in the evening the fleete weighed from the Downes, and yesterday morning wee came to anchor off Goree, where calling a Councill of Warre, and finding the winde faine and the weather calme, wee resolved to goe into the harbcur, and about 3 in the afternoone anchored off Gor[ee] towne. The revolted shipples about 13 in number being att anchor within 2 leagues of us off Helvoyet sluice, shortly after our coming to anchor wee

* See Mercurius Rusticus, No. 1; Carter, pp. 167, 234.
resolved on a summons, to the revolters, requiring amongst other
thinges the taking downe of their standard, and contayning an
offer of indemnity uppon the rendring of their shippes,* which I
sent to the Admirall by a servant of my owne, who found aboard
her Capt. Batten, Sir Henry Palmer, Capt. Jordan, Mr. Hamond,
Capt. Bargrave, Capt. Fogge, and some others; to whome reading
my message they declar'd, they bore the Standard by command,
and in right of the Prince his Highnesse; without command from
whence, or from his Majestie, they would nott take itt downe; butt
gave noe reply to that of indemnity. My servant desiring their
answer in writing they determined of Mr. Hamond to draw itt,
who intimating unto them, that itt would bee fitt first to have some
conference together, they did after a little retirement resolve of this
answer: that the matter concern'd the Prince, that without com-
 municating the paper to his Highnesse they could give noe positive
answer, that they would send itt him early this morning (supposing itt
would meete him uppon the way). They expected him to day aboard,
and that this day I expect an answer with which my servant returns.
As yett I have nott heard further from the fleete, which when I
doe I shall give your Lordshippes a further account of my message,
and of the answer I shall therupon receive. Last night and this
day the weather hath bin very stormy, soe that our shippes could
hardly correspond one with another, nor can wee as yett have any
certaine intelligence of the revolters condition; what opportunities
may bee taken for the publique service shall be faithfully improved,
which is all I shall now trouble you with.

Your Lordshippes &c.

WARWICK.

Aboard the St. George riding att
Anchor off Goree, this 29th September, 1648.

* For a copy of Warwick's summons to the revolted ships and their answer see
Old Parliamentary History, xvii., 496.
[A Letter from Dr. Dorislaus.]

My Lord

Uppen Tuesday night all the bloud-royall being att a play together about ten a clock att night, a boatswaine came with Sir John Minch,* and brought good newes from the Navy; being asked what good newes, hee said, Warwick was come with 20 shippes into Goree. The Prince of Wales asking agen, how hee could make this good newes, replyed, 'Because Warwick is come in to your Highnes, and to joyne his shippes with yours.' Itt caused a mighty discomposure in their merriment, and the rest of the night was spent in councill. Divers of their shippes are in the dock, or ashoare careening and the ordinance ashoare. The men in a mutinous disposition, disperst through all the neighbouring townes as farre as Roterdam riotting and drinking. In the morning itt was ordered, that the Prince of Wales' coach should bee ready by 6 a clock to goe for Helvoyett sluice, yet itt was one of the clock in the afternoone before hee went; with him went all that belonge to the partie, leaving a man scarce behinde in the Hague; and for to appease the wrath of the mariners which was especially fierce against Culpepper, for keeping from them (as they say) the money proceeding from their prizes, 4 small barrells of monie were carried alonge in their waggons. Some 3 or 4 horeus after his Highnesse departure, the Prince of Orange and the Princesse Dowager came to the Hague. In the evening I spake with some of the States of Holland, to desire the same civilities towards the Lord Admirall of England which were showne to the Prince of Wales. They answer'd, they would keepe the neutrality, and afford equall respect to both parties, butt withall expect peacefull behaviour on all sides within their harbour.

In the morning Sir William Boswell gave in the paper in the Assembly of the States Generall, and the resolution was taken by

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* i.e. "Mennes."
the States to send commissioners for to declare unto both parties
the old resolution of neutrality taken A o 1643, and to charge them
to keepe the peace within the States dominions; somewhat was
afterward proposed about communicating with the Earle of
Warwick the States inclination to mediate for peace in England att
the time of the Treaty. I finde the partie itt self, and all their
adherents in this nation full of despair, giving this Navy utterly
for lost, although for the present they may gett the mariners quiett
againe by distributing of mony &c., and which concerneth the
publike most, the reputation of England is fully secured in this
Nation by their powerfull appearing att sea, and keeping now under
a lock those haughty men which would brave the Kingdome butt a
few dayes before. Since the Royall partie hath nott any other hope
butt uppon the Treatie, uppon which they build great vast projects
againe, and that see the Kinge come butt in once they shall doe
well enough, and since the Dutch adheering to that partie have soe
great a desire to bee lett in agen into that mediatourshippe, your
Lordshippes will doubtlesse [take] that course that the old censure
of Philipp de Comines may nott bee laid to this age, 'That what
was gott in a dozen yeares fighting was lost in 6 dayes treating.'
Your Lordshippes, &c.,

DORISLAUS.

Hague
21 September, 1648.

[News-letter from Scotland.]

Edinburgh, October 17, 1648.

The Committee of Estates have bin impolyed for the most parte
of this weeke upon their forces, which they have now resolved shall
bee onely 1,500 foote and 600 horse, the West being sure to them,
the South under our reverence from Barwick and Carlile, and that
force conceived sufficient att present to garrison and quiett the
North and East. Other reasons indeed there are why they keepe
uppe noe more, for they found the last army they so much stickled to keepe on foote to bee their greatest prejudice when an hower of temptation came, they turning head against them; they now finde much pressing to bringe in officers who (though without palpable exception) are nott throughly to bee confided in, and I beleive there is an eye of reflection, and the best ground of confidence is helpe from England, if there bee occasion. They have delayed J. R. (who brought the Kings lettre) untill the Treaty bee near* towards an end; and though the lettre was intended to the malignant Committee of Estates, they that by providence are now invested in that power returning an answer, complainging of the miseries suffer'd by the late Engagement, declare how they are forced to rise in armes, what are the consequences of it, and what their resolutions are since, for which they referre the Kinge to their agreement with Lanerick and their late declaration; and in conclusion they presse b his Majesty att last to hearken to the advice of his Parliaments, in consenting to the propositions of both Kingdomes, and especially to those concerning the Covenant and Reformation of religion, which they finde to bee the points hee sticks att, and they in honour and interest are most obliged to stick to, and without which (they tell him) his throne cannott bee established in righteousnesse. They have alsoe writt to the Prince dehorting him from that course of opposition hee is in, and from attempting any acts of hostility against this Kingdome, butt the rather since all worldly policie and projects have failed, hee would apply his indeavour to mediate with his father to consent to the propositions of both Kingdomes, and especially the Covenant &c. (as before). Sir John Cheisley, who is this day on his way to London, is to communicate these to the Houses; then they are to bee sent, and with them two schooling lettres from the Assembly, and Commissioners of the Kirke, who can speake more plainly in the name of their master then the state can doe in their owne.

There is an additionall instruction for reparation of all losses of

*a MS. "now."

b MS. "promise."
horses, clothes or mony taken from our partie, bee made out of the estates of those that were in the late Engagement, and have nott consented or come in to the late agreement; and those that were intrusted to see itt done are upon laying on the estates of Lamerke and Launderdale 100ti a piece, which will pay all scores of that kinde if mony can bee had.

George Monroe, Coll. Diell, Coll. John Hamilton, and other desperadoes are yesterday and this day gone over the water into Fyff, where Crauford, Lamerke, Dury and other ringleaders of that partie were before. They give out itt is onely for a drinking bout att parting, Monroe and Hamilton having received passes from Generall Leven to goe to Sweden, butt knowing men apprehend some new mischief is brewing concurrent with some designe yett in reserve for the Kinge of England, and therfore the old Highland Regiment of Argyll’s are speeded to Sterling, and some horse to St. Johnston’s; and as all malignant designes will bee watched and opposed heere, soe itt’s the wish and hearty prayer of many honest men, even of qualitie in this Kingdome, that they may bee soe there; and they particularly hope that your Excellency and your army will still bee instrumentall therin.

W. R.

The well-affected Lords and others desire that a strict hand may bee held over the great ones of this nation prisoners in England, having cause of jealousie that they will bee working some mischeife.

* This letter is certainly from William Rowe. It is summarised in Rushworth, viii, 1304. William Rowe was in 1650 Scoutmaster-General, and evidently held that post (or some similar post) in the English army in Scotland in Oct., 1648. In the New Model the place had been held by Leonard Watson, who had now left the army. George Downing seems to have succeeded Rowe as Scoutmaster-General. Many of Rowe’s letters of intelligence are amongst the Letters and Papers of State addressed to Oliver Cromwell, which were published by John Nickolls in 1748.
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

[News-letter from Scotland.]

Seaton, 24 October, 1648.

Our cheifest worke heere is to keepe downe the rising and tumultuous humours of the malignant partee, that the Committee of Estates may act securely till their forces be compleated, and 'tis conceaved they will keepe us heere starving the most part of this winter till their Parliament sitt, which will not bee before Januery next.

Heere is one misery: wee stay to preserve a generation of men who call themselves the well-affected partee, till they seate and settle themselves, and their owne ends and interest, but doe feare it will be heere, as it hath been in other Kingdomes (and is the great politique fashion) the pulling downe of one power and partie by our countenance, and the setting up of another that may be as bad or worse then the other. This is our hope: that partee that is now downe wee are sure was [not] good, this for (ought wee know) may bee good; Providence may bring thinges about beyond our feares, thoughts, expectations; what ever the issue be, this is our comfort, wee are in the prosecution of our duty in love and peace.

Time lately was that the great expectation was out of the North. God did great thinges there by a fewe, even to admiration; the scene is now altered, and the great expectation is now upon the Treaty.

The generall evill designe is the same still, and is acted in the latter by the same principles, though not by the same persons as the former; and though I canot well give judgment of the presentt premises there at this distance, yet in the generall I am confidence that hee that overcame that great power of the common visible enemy in the feild, will alsoe bring to nought the great policy of those secret enemies in Insula Vectis. The mistery of iniquity is now discovering, tumults rising, feares &c. appeares, but hee is secure that sees God in every thinge. A man may guesse the temper of this Kingdome by the temper of the Clergy, who are the ringleaders,
ductores et seductores, they are the supreme power both ecclesiasticall and civill, their height of glory is but fleshly, formall; chiefly of a double intrest, Presbyteriall and royall, and these pretty equally mixt, and for ought I perceive were wee gonne there would be another tugg who should be the greater, little striving who shall bee the better; formality in the one is little better than royalty in the other. I see butt little knowledge in the mistery of godliness, tis all confined to a forme and that called jure divino; and those that live above that forme are as great enemies as those that live belowe it, for they are iudged to bee equally evill, though in a different sence, because they sitt not upon that forme. If there be a composure called happy, that happines for ought I knowe either will be (or will be endeavoured to be) confined and have its center onely in that forme, which will certainly will be cryed up by the Clergy of both Kingdomes, that is their interest; and the slavish, ignorant people will as certainly make it their conscience to observe their lawes, though it be to their owne losse and mischeiff. England I think, are more above this forme then Scotland, perhaps our being in the schoole with them, and having had a little better learning, may iusse them up a little higher, and by degrees they may take out a new lesson and advance. When once the light brakes forth in this Kingdome, (and I thinke the sunne is neare rising) it will warme and heale space, butt the cloudes must be broken first, the foundation of this ould fabricke must be shaken; and when the poore, blind, dead people shall see the light and feel the warmth of the sun (sweete liberty) to redeeme them out of their present slavery, then the stragglings of Scotland wilbe as great as those of England, which hath overcome a few of those, but not yet gotten to the top of its glory.*

* Part of this letter is printed in "The Moderate" for Oct. 31, Nov. 7, which has furnished me with one or two small corrections of the Clarke MS. copy. The Report on Lord Bray's MSS. (Hist. MSS. Comm. 1oth Report, pt. vi., pp. 165-173) contains a series of letters written by Thomas Margetts to John Browne, Esq., Clerk of the Parliament, which help to complete those amongst the Clarke Papers. They are dated : Brancepeth, Sept. 14, 1643; Belford, Sept. 20;
[News-letter from Scotland.]

Edinburgh, 24th October, 1648.

In a late Declaration about the Covenant published here (in the enumeration of errors and heresies) Independency is left out, which in former Declarations and papers always brought uppe the rear. There is also a printed Act for the leavies of their new model (as they owne it by that very name) in which there are several observable things, for. 1. They lay all the whole charge and burthen uppon the Malignants, and exempt the well affected; 2. They trust the command to a number of new modell’d officers the most confiding they can picke out; 3. They lay out the best way their present constitution will admit for the getting the honestest of the cominaitie for their soldiers; and for manage of publique affaires in the country they have new modell’d all Committees. By another Act they have discharged the Earle of Crawford Lyndsay, and all other officers belonging to the Treasury or Exchequer, from medling with the Kings rents or the Exchequer affaires, and have appointed a Committee to manage the same.

On Friday last October 20, Sir James Stuart, Lord Provost of this City, warned all the Burgers therof to a Generall Convention, att which betweene 2000 and 3000 mett in a great roome by the Parliament House. After some preface to them hee desired them to joyne in prayer with him, and hee prayed; after which hee made a longe speech referring principally to the late Engagement of the loane of 40,000lb. Scotts (which is about 3000lb. sterling), which they without the consent or privity of the generallity of the City had furnished amonge themselves, and when Argyll’s parte came

Mordington, Sept. 26; Seaton, Oct. 3; Dalkeith, Oct. 10; Seaton, Oct. 17; Broxmouth, Nov. 1. The letter of Oct. 17, summarised in the Report, is printed in full in Rushworth, vii., 1305, but wrongly dated. The letter printed above is obviously also from Margetts. He was attached to Lambert throughout the campaign, and Lambert was now remaining in Scotland to protect the establishment of the new government.
in they were leavying the same (for their reimbursement) uppon the Citty; uppon which account hee requir'd that all who were privy or consenting, or that were for the same Engagement, should with- drawe, and they had then a free libertie to goe out, and all that had bin, or that now were against that sinfull engagement should stay. Nott a man going out, hee againe prayed with them, and after tooke every man's name, man by man as they went out, hee haveinge guards, that suffer'd butt one att a time to passe by him and the bayliffes as they satt in the gate; this hath nott onely, putt all the loane monie uppon the Malignant Magistrates' shoulders, and freed the Citty of soe much charge, butt apparently hath united them against the Malignant partie in further order, who run to. . . . The former Ciake of the Citty (whose influence and power heere is nott inferiour to a Recorder of a Citty in England) is alsoe putt out, and Mr. Andrew Ker, Clerke to the Commission of the Kirke chosen in his roome.

Two ministers from the Presbytery and two officers from the souldiers of the Scottish Nation in the Province of Ulster came lately, instructed to move and presse some things there in order to the renewing of their interest as well in the townes they had by treatie and district garrisons (independant from Col: Monck) as in the sole administration of Ecclesiasticall Government in that province; butt being by one or two of greatest power heere dissuaded from itt, partly uppon the ground, that Ireland was indeed England's sole interest, and partly of unseasonableness, (att present att least) they are this day returned to Ireland, without see much as proposing in publique anythinge concerning the same.

The Committee of Estates are now considering of the time for the Parliament's sitting downe, whiche they thinke to appoint about the middle of December, within a day or two after the time sett downe for renewing the Covenant, that after the recent impression thereof things may goe on the more cordiall and

* MS. " Act."  

** MS. " butt."
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

orderly; which in all probability they may, the best affected that could bee pick't out in all the quarters of the country being chosen [to] this next Parliament.

Lanerik is att Glencairne's house in the West Country; there is noe certainty of any number yet uppe in the North, though Malignants bragge soe.

Att a full meeting of the Committee of Estates this day [to] the number of above 60 persons, the papers and proceedings, from the first sending to Lieutenant Generall Cromwell to this day, were read and approved.

W[ILLIAM] R[OWE].

(Cromwell to Col. Robert Hammond.)

Dear Robin.

Knottingley Novembr 6, 1648.

I trust the same spirit that guided thee heeretofore, is still with thee; looke to thy hearte, thou art where temptations multiply. I

* A copy of this letter is contained in vol. xvi. of the Clarke Papers at Worcester College, where it is signed "Heron Brother," and no indication is given of the person to whom it was sent. I concluded it from internal evidence to be written by Cromwell to Robert Hammond. Some letters from Cromwell to Hammond were mentioned in the Report of the first Historical MSS. Commission, p. 116, as being in the possession of the Marquis of Lothian. Mr. Gardiner at my request examined these letters last summer, and has kindly supplied me with copies of them. Two are now printed in the Preface. The third was identical with the letter in vol. xvi. of the Clarke Papers, but as the copy in the Newbattle MSS. gave an obviously better text I have printed it here in place of the copy given by Clarke. Differences between the two versions, simple variations in the spelling and punctuation excepted, are marked in the notes. The Newbattle version seems to me to be a copy also, and not an original. Compare with this letter Cromwell's letter of Nov. 25, 1648, to Hammond, letter lxxxv. in Carlyle's collection. Carlyle assumes the latter to have been written from "Knottingley near Pontefract," where the letter printed here was written. "Dear Robin" is
fear lest our freinds should burne their fingers, as some others did not long since, whose hearts have asked since for it. Howe easy is it to finde arguments for what wee would have; how easy to take offence at things called Levellers, and run into an extremity on the other hand, medling with an accursed thing. Peace is only good when wee receive it out of our father’s hand, its dangerous to snatch it, most dangerous to goe against the will of God to attayne it. Warre is good when lead to by our father, most evill when it comes from the lusts that are in our members. Wee waite upon the Lord, who will teach us and leade us whether to doing or suffering.

Tell my brother Herne I smyled at his expression concerning my wise freinds opinion, who thinks y the inthroneing

the term by which Cromwell, Ireton, and other intimate friends usually address Hammond. In this letter Cromwell also makes use of the names which he sometimes employed in his correspondence with Vane and one or two others. “Brother Heron” is the younger Vane. “Brother Fountayne” is Cromwell himself. (See Nickolls, Original Letters and Papers addressed to Oliver Cromwell, 1743, pp. 78, 84). “Sir Roger” seems to have been one of Cromwell’s companions in Scotland, possibly Lambert or Hesilrige. Hesilrige and Cromwell had just been entertained at Edinburgh by the Argyle party (see Whitelock, Memorials, ed. 1853, ii., 422, 432). Cromwell defends himself against the charge of granting too favourable terms to the Scots, or as he puts it “turning Presbyterian.” The “wise friend” is probably Pierrepoint, as Mr. Gardiner suggests. Pierrepoint and Vane were both now at Newport, as two of the Commissioners sent by Parliament to negotiate with the King. Both were probably in daily intercourse with Hammond. “It appears from this letter,” writes Mr. Gardiner, “that Cromwell had heard that a party amongst the Independents, including Vane, Pierrepoint, and Hammond, in their alarm at the thorough-going reforms demanded by the Levellers, were anxious to come to an understanding with the King on the basis of moderate episcopacy and toleration. It was to this state of opinion that he now addressed himself. (Great Civil War, iv. 248.)

a Compare the letter of Nov. 25. “Dost thou not think this fear of the Levellers (of whom there is no fear) ‘that they would destroy nobility,’ has caused some to take up corruption, and find it lawful to make this ruinous hypocritical agreement? Hath not this biased even some good men?”

b Compare letter II. in Carlyle’s collection: “If here I may honour my God, either by doing or suffering, I shall be most glad.”
the King with presbitery brings spirituall slavery, but with a moderate episcopacy workes a good peace. Both are a hard choice. I trust ther's no necessity of either except, or base unbeliefe and fleshly wisdome make it so; but if I have any logick it will be easier to tirañize haveing that he a likes and serves his turn, then what you knowe and all beleeve hee so much dislikes. But as to my brother himselfe, tell him indeede I thinke some of my freinds have advanced too farre, and neede make an honoble retreate, Scotts treaties haveing wrought some perplexities; and hindering matters from going so glyb as otherwise was hoped, especially taking in some doubts that Sr Roger and brother Fountayne are also turned Presberiterians. Deare Robin, tell brother Herne that wee have the witnesse of or consciences that wee have walked in this thing (whatsoever surmizes are to the contrary) in plainnesse and godly simplicity, according to or weake measure, and wee trust or daily b businesse is to approve or consciences to Godward, and not to shift and sharke, c with were exceeding basenesse in us to do, haveing had such favo or from the Lord, and such manifestations of his presence, and I hope the same experience will keepe their d hearts and hands from him, against whom God hath so witnessed, e though reason should suggest things never so plausible. I pray thee tell my Bro: Herne thus much from mee; and if a mistake concerning our complianc with presbiteriy perplex an evill businesse (for so I accompt it), and make the wheeles of such a chariott goe heavy, I can be passive and lett it goe, knowing that innocency and integrity looses nothing by a pacient waiting upon the Lord. Our papers are publike; let us be judged by them. Answers f do not

a "He," i.e. the King.  
b "Day of businesse," Clarke MS.
c I should suggest "shirke" instead of "sharke." 
d "thy heart," Clarke MS.
e The King; compare the letter of Nov. 25. "This man against whom the Lord hath witnessed."
f "Answers," i.e. the answers made by the Scots to Cromwell’s declarations. "Cromwell," suggests Mr. Gardiner, perhaps refers to the answer made by the Committee of Estates on Oct 6, in which they speak of "these covenanted kingdoms."
involve us. I professe to thee I desire from my heart, I have prayed for it, I have waited for the day to see union and right understanding between the godly people (Scotts, English, Jewes, Gentiles, Presb\textsuperscript{a}s, Independents, Anabaptists, and all). Our Br\textsuperscript{a}s of Scotland (really Presbiterians\textsuperscript{b}) were our greatest enemies. God hath justified us in their sight, caused us to requite good for evil, caused them to acknowledge it publiquely by acts of state, and privately, and the thing is true in the sight of the sunne. It is an high conviction upon them. Was it not fitt to be civell, to professe love, to deale with cleenesse with them for removeing of prejudice, to ask them what they had against us, and to give them an honest answer? This wee have don, and not\textsuperscript{b} more. And heerin is a more glorious worke in our eyes then if wee had gotten the sacking and plunder of Edinb\textsuperscript{c}, the strong Castles into o\textsuperscript{r} hands, and made conquest\textsuperscript{c} from Tweed to the Orcades; and wee can say, through God wee have left by the grace of God such a witnesse amongst them, as if it worke not yet\textsuperscript{d} there is that conviction upon them that will undoubtedly bear its fruit in due time. Tell my bro: Herne, I beleve my wise friend would have had a conquest, or if not, things put in a ballance;\textsuperscript{e} the first was not very unfeazible, but I think not Christian, and I was commanded the contrary by the two houses; as for the later by the providence of God it is perfectly come to passe, not by our wisdome, for I durst not designe it, I durst not admitt of so mixed, so lowe a consideration, wee were lead out (to the praise of o\textsuperscript{r} God be it spoken) to more sincere, more spirituall considerations; but I said before the Lord hath brought it to a ballance; if there be any dangerous disproportion it is that the

\textsuperscript{a} "Our brothers of Scotland really presbyterians," i.e. not men like the Presbyterian leaders in England professing Presbyterianism for a political purpose.

\textsuperscript{b} "and noe more." Clarke MS.

\textsuperscript{c} "made a conquest." Clarke MS.

\textsuperscript{d} "as if it worke not yet (by reason the poore soules are soe wedded to their government) yet their is that conviction," etc. Clarke MS.

\textsuperscript{e} i.e. A mixed government established in which the Argyle and Hamilton parties would counterbalance each other.
honest party (if I may wthout offence so call them) in my apprehension are the weaker, and have manifold difficulties to conflict wth all, I wish our unwrthynesse here cast not the scale both there, and here the wrong way. I have but one word more to say. Thy freinds, deare Robin, are in heart and in profession what they were, have not dissembled their principles at all. Are they not a little justified in this, that a lesser pty of a Parliament hath made it lawfull to declare the greater part a faction, and made the Parliament null, and call a newe one, and to do this by force, and this by the same mouths yt condemned it in others. Thynke of the example and of the consequence, and let others thinke of it too, if they bee not drenchd too deepe in their one reason and opinions. Robin, be honest still. God keepe thee in the midst of snares. Thou hast naturally a valiant spirit. Listen to God, and hee shall encrease it upon thee, and make thee valiant for the truth. I am a poore creature that write to thee, the poorest in the worke, but I have hope in God, and desire from my heart to love his people, and if thou hast opportunity and a free heart, lett me heere from thee howe it is wth thee. This bearer is faithfull, you may be very free to communicate wth him; my service to all my freinds, and to my deare brother Herne whome I love in the Lord, I rest.

Thy true & faithfull friend
Herons brother.

(Addressed) For the hble Collonell Robert Ham mond Governor of the Isle of Wight.
(Endorsed in another hand) 9br 6n 1648.
A letter from L. G. C.
(Lower down) Cromwell lost (?) letters.

* "and made a parliment null and called a newe one." Clarke MS.

b "if they bee not drencht too deepe in theere owne reason and opinion." Clarke MS.

c "world." Clarke MS.

d None of the writing or signature of the letter is in Cromwell's hand.
[General Council of Officers at St. Albans, Nov. 16, 1648.]

Q[uestion]. Whether this Councill doth approve of the substance and drift of the paper now read to be sent to the parliament and published to the kingdome.

Assented to nemö contradicente.

Committee to peruse the paper, and to fitt it for to bee tendred to the parliament.

Col. Whalley.
Sir Wm Constable.
Col. Scroope.
Col. Ewers.

Capt. Cannon.
Capt. Messervey.

Private Instructions for Col. Ewers in reference to the letters & orders herewith sent for the more orderly prosecution of them.

That leaveing the charge of Portsmouth to Lt. Col. Saunders you haste into the island with the letters, and there:

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a A Council of War, or more properly a meeting of the "General Council of Officers of the Army" took place on Nov. 7, but the Clarke Papers do not contain a record of the votes, though they give a list of officers present. A table of attendances at Councils of War, drawn up from these lists, is given at the end of this volume. Another Council meeting took place on Nov. 16, of which these papers contain no record except the resolutions above. The document referred to is the Remonstrance presented to the House of Commons on Nov. 20. See Gardiner, Great Civil War, iv., 236-245.

b The date of these Instructions should be Nov. 21. Fairfax's letter to Ewer ("that sealed from the Generall") is the letter dated Nov. 21, in answer to Hammond's letter of Nov. 19. It is printed in Lords' Journals, x., 610; Old Parliamentary History, xviii., 240, 255. Ireton's letter ("that unsealed from the Commissary Generall") is dated Nov. 22, and is printed in Birch's Letters to Col. Robert Hammond, p. 95. The letter from the Council can hardly be the letter of Nov. 25 (or rather warrant) signed by Rushworth in the name of the Council. It must rather be some document like the letter of the 4 officers (Birch, p. 87). Ewer was not to deliver it unless he found Hammond satisfied to act.
1. To deliver to the Governor two of the letters, viz., that sealed from the Generall, that unsealed from the Commissary Generall, but not that from the Councell, unlesse in case as is hereafter expressed.

2. To taste (?) whether upon our Remonstrance, the letters, or otherwise, it please God to satisfye his minde better towards the doeing of the thinges himselfe; and if soe then lett him knowe by worde of mouth, that hee undertakeinge to doe it himselfe his present comeing to the headquarters is not expected or desired, but rather his staye there; and in that case for assurance thereof (as alsoe for his better satisfaction to the doeinge of the thinge), give him the letter from the Councell to himselfe.

3. If notwithstanding all this, hee will neather undertake it himselfe nor leave it to you, then keep the letter & proceed as God shall direct & give opportunitye, according to the close of the letter from the Councell to yourselfe, adviseinge therein with Major Rolphe & such other honest officers thereabouts as you finde will be faithfull & secrett.*

*Att a Generall Councell held in Windsor, Nov. 25, 1648.*

That an order be sent in the name of his Excellency & Generall Councell of officers requireinge that the person of the Kinge be secured as formerly in Cairsbrooke Castle, untill upon some resolution to our Remonstrance or otherwise further order shall be given from his Excellency.

To be directed to Col. Hammond or the chief officer commanding in the Isle of Wight.

That the officers above named, or any of them, bee a Committee to consider of such thinges as may bee of concernement for the present affaires, & to make transaction therof.

*From a very rough draft.*
Commissary Gen
d
Lieut.-Gen. Hammond.
Sir William Constable.
Coll. Harrison.
Coll. Whaley.
Coll. Thomlinson.
Coll. Whitchcott.

That an officer of every regiment attend at the headquarters to assist in Councell.

[A Commission issued by Harry Marten.]

Henry Marten of Longworth in the County of Berks Esqr.

To Symon Rice, Capt.

Whereas by virtue of that right which I was borne to as an Englishman, and in pursuance of that duty which I owe my said Country, I have resolved to raise and conduct a Regiment of Harquebusiers on horse back on the behalf of the people of England, for the recovery of their freedome, and for common justice against [all] tyranny and oppression whatsoever, theise are therefore to authorize and appointe, and I doe herby constitute, you Simon Rice, to be Captain over one troope in my said Regiment of horse consisting of 80 men besides officers, and these to trayne, exercise in armes, and lead, according to this commission. I doe farther require all officers and souldiers that have or shall putt themselves under your command for this service, to obey such orders as they shall from time to time receive from you, and your self to obey such as you shall receive from me, and from other your superiour officers in the Regiment according to the discipline of warr. Given under my hand and seale the 25th day of November, 1648.

* Names supplied from above.

b Mercurius Pragmaticus for Aug. 22-29, 1648, after reading the votes for a personal treaty with the King, says: "The precious Saint Harry, is extream angry
[Robert Saunders to Lord Fairfax.]

May it please your Excellencie

I sent two letters from the Isle of Wight to give your Excellencie an account of what had bin done in the prosecution of our trust, in the roome of my Collonel, who is (blessed be God) safelie come

that the Houses should presume, contrary to his liking, to proceed so farre as they have done in order to a treaty, for which cause he is resolved to declare against them, in as high terms as ever he did against the King. . . . And therefore he and one Eires are busy in drawing up a manifesto both against King, Lords, and Commons, as confederate to the enslaving of the people; and having already borrowed a sufficient number of Horse, on whom he hath set riders, who display their embellished colours beautified with this misterious motto, 'For the People's Freedom against all tyrants whatsoever;' hee is now imploied about listing of foot; the rusticks of Berkshire resorting to him in great numbers, being mightily taken with [the] novell doctrine, that the supreme power & authority is inherently in the people, & to them doth Harry daily preach in the habit of a Leveller, proposing unto them that they ought not to acknowledge any power above them, or doe homage or yeld obedience to any, they being a free people subsisting of themselves, & that they ought to pay no tithes, and to confirme them in these opinions, hee hath already forbidden his owne tenants & souldiers, not to yeld him any manner of reverence, or to be subject unto his commands in outh but what shall concerne them in the warre; & now having begun to act the second part of Jack Cade, hee goes on very prettily, having already distributed the tithes belonging to one of the parishons at Reading amongst the poor of the parish, & also hath divided the spoiles of many prerogative landlords amongst their tenants."

According to Lilburne, Marten also taught the Berkshire jurymen that they were greater men than the judges and ought to sit with their hats on at assizes. Trial of John Lilburne, 1649, 4to, p. 123.

Marten's chief assistants in raising these forces were Col. William Eyres and Capt. John Waldron. Their undisciplined soldiers were provided with horses by the simple process of stopping travellers on the highway, or breaking into the stables of the gentlemen of the county (see Gardiner, Great Civil War, iv., 268; Tanner MSS., lvii., ff. 197-199; Portland MSS. i., 495; Grey's Examination of Neal's Puritans, iii., Appendix, p. 67). On Aug. 21, the House of Commons ordered the forces of the adjacent counties to suppress Marten and his adherents, and sent down Major Fincher to command the local forces for that purpose (Commons' Journals, v., 676).

* Isaac Ewer, who had succeeded to the command of Hammond's old regiment. Saunders was Lieut.-Col.
to us, and gone over to serve providence in the execution of your commands. I left Captain Joyce behind privately to agitate businesse with the Governour and other freinds, who is come over this night, that if possible itt may nott bee knowne hee was there, to take off the scandal of an agitating businesse. Hee informes mee, that the Governour doth engage to secure the Kinge.* Hee hath passed the businesse of Ormond, and will send a letter, and if that will nott doe hee will proclame him traitor. The Kinge will nott passe that of Bishoppes. The Commissioners of Parliament will goe on Monday. The Governour is resolved to make proclamation to morrow in the morning, being Sunday, for all Cavaliers that are nott in the list to depart the Island; hee intends to send a copy of the Generalls’s lettres to the Parliament, and give them an account of his being sent for by your Excellency. I have drawne in two Companies of foote into Portsmouth Garrison, and have a troope of horse lying att the place appointed uppon any occasions; which is all at present from,

Your Excellencies most humble servant
ROBERT SAUNDERS.

Portsmouth
November 26, 1648.

[News-letter from Windsor.]

Windsor, 26 November, 1648.

This day the Generall and Generall Councill of officers mett together about 9 of the clock, and continued together till about 5 in the afternoone, seeking God by prayer to direct them in the great businesse now in hand, that they may bee instruments that justice may bee done uppon those who have caused soe much bloud to bee shed, and that righteousness and judgement may flowe in the land.

* See Lords’ Journals, x., 614, for Hammond’s letter of Nov. 28, on the coming of Col. Ewar.
Itt is incredible how wonderfully God appeares in stirring uppe and uniting every man's heart as one man in the prosecution of this businesse, and that there might bee a suddaine settlement made in this Kingedome, and wholesome lawes and modell of Governement may bee speedily agreed uppon, which will bee vigorously prosecuted by the army.

There is a messenger come this night from the Isle of Wight who saith the Treatie broke off there the last night, that the Kinge is secured by Col. Ewers (who deliver'd the Remonstrance and could receive noe answer *) hath the charge of him; Col. Hamond is coming uppe to attend the Generall.

This evening about 7 of the clock severall petitions are come from the forces in South Wales, and the regiments of horse in the North, earnestly importuning the Generall to make way for justice against those who have shed soe much innocent bloud in this first and 2d warre, desiring the Kinge may bee speedily brought to justice.\[To Col. Ewer.\]

Sir,

Windsor, 27 November, 1648.

Itt has bin formerly intimated to you by word of mouth, that the Kinge being secured in Carisbrooke-Castle, if you founde itt hazardous to keepe him there you should in that case convey him over to Hurst-Castle. Now there appearing to us heere some

* The Commons adjourned its consideration to Nov. 27.

* A letter to Fairfax from Westminster, dated 27 Nov., after reciting the votes of the Parliament with respect to Hammond on Nov. 27 adds: "These things I thought itt my duty to acquaint you with, least the Governor of the Isle of Wight might possibly deale contrary to your Excellency's expectation in a business of soe high concernement, and though letters came this day from Windsor that the King was secured, yett this [letter of Nov. 26] from Col. Hammond, and the orders therupon, doe make an absolute contradiction. Soe that the honest parte knew not what to thinks of the businesse."
danger in his continuance within the Island, which perhaps is not soe visible to you there, wee have thought fitt heerby positively to desire you, that for the better securing the person of the Kinge you doe uppon receipt heerof immediately convey him over to Hurst Castle, the best and safest way you can, taking order for a competent Guard out of your Regiment to bee assistant to those in the Castle for the securing of him there. [And] because wee are not certaine of Col. Eyers his being present att Hurst-Castle, wee therefore desire that you would goe over thither with the person of the Kinge yourself, and take the charge of securing him there untill Col. Eyres himself shall come; for which purpose wee have heerewith sent an order to Col. Eyres his lieutenant, that hee admitt you to command in the Castle untill Col. Eyres returne. Wee suppose that the shippe which now attends you will bee faithfull in this business, but if before you convey over the Kinge you finde any new shippes come into the roade, which you have not the like assurance of, wee conceive in that case your best way will bee to take boate att Yarmouth Castle, or else att Freshwater, for your readier passage, and to bee more free from the command of such shippes.

[To Col. Eyres.]

Wheras Col. Ewer is appointed to remove the person of the Kinge from the Isle of Wight into Hurst Castle, these are to require you on sight heerof to take the person of the Kinge into your charge, (and to receive such souldiers as Col. Ewers shall bringe alonge with him for that purpose) and to secure him in your Castle untill you shall receive further orders from his Excellency.

[To the officer in command at Hurst Castle.]

Wheras Col. Ewers is appointed to remove the person of the Kinge out of the Isle of Wight to Hurst Castle, you are on sight heerof to admitt Col. Ewers with the person of the Kinge, and
such guards as hee shall bringe alonge with him into Hurst Castle, and that you observe such orders as you shall receive from the said Col. Ewers, untill such time as Col. Eyres doe returne unto the Castle.\footnote{Col. Thomas Ayres, Eyres, or Eyre, was the commander of Hurst Castle. The garrison seems to have been about forty men. Eyres appears to have been absent when the King arrived, and his lieutenant was probably the officer of whose conduct Sir Thomas Herbert so loudly complains (\textit{Memoirs}, ed. 1702, p. 85.) The letter and the two warrants annexed (which last should also be dated Nov. 27), were probably signed by Rushworth in the name of the Council of Officers.}

\textit{Windsor Castle. At the Generall Council of Officers. 28th Nov., 1648.}

Question. Whether it bee expedient that that Army should bee forthwith drawne uppe to London to quarter in or about the City? Resolved, Nem. Contradicente.

Question. Whether a Declaration shall bee drawne rendering the grounds of the Armie's advance as aforesaid, with relation to the Remonstrance, the thing now in debate, and what shall bee further tendered.

\begin{tabular}{ll}
Comm. Generall. & Col. Whalley. \\
Sir Wm. Constable. & Col. Hewson, \\
Col. Harrison. & \\
\end{tabular}

\textit{A committee to drawe uppe that Declaration.\footnote{Rushworth vii. 1841.}}

\begin{tabular}{l}
Comm. Generall. \\
Sir Wm Constable. \\
Col. Tomlinson. \\
Col. Barkstead. \\
Lt. Col. Kelsay. \\
Capt. Packer. \\
\end{tabular}

Or any 4 of them, to bee a Committee to joyne in advice with such as are sent from London, about the preparing of an Agreement, and other things of that Nature.

\textit{Councell to meete again to-morrow at one of the clocke.\footnote{For officers present see table of attendances.}}
[Circular letter sent to the Commanders at Sea.]

Sir,

The providence of God, together with the sense which he hath bin pleased to sett upon our hearts concerninge the condition of affairs of the Kingdom in relation to the present Treaty, hath led us to prepair and present a Remonstrance to the House of Commons, which wee send herewith to you. Wee have found generall concurrence to the same thinge throughout the Army and severall countyes, and wish and hope for the same with you at Sea. It is therefore desired (as the Remonstrance and the thinges contayned herein shall close with what God hath bin pleased to set upon your harts, which wee doubt not of) that you will in a publike way expres to the Generall your and your officers' and seamen's approbation thereof and concurrence therein,

By the Appointment of his Excellencie and the Generall Councell of the Armie
Signed

Jo. Rushworth,
Secretary.⁸

28 Nov.,
1648.
Windsor.


Sir,

By the Remonstrance which was lately tendered to the House of Commons I believe your apprehensions are full of the weightines

⁸ A similar letter (mutatis mutandis) dated 25 Nov. was sent to officers commanding in different parts of England. That directed to Col. Hammond is printed in Lords' Journals, x., 614.
of our present affairs, therefore in that particular I shall not saie any thinge: onlie lett you know that my self with the advice of my Generall Councill of Officers desire, that you would (with all convenient speede possible) come to the Head quarters, whereby I hope our counsell and endeavours as formerly j[oining] a mercifull furtherance wilbee giuen to the very great business now in agitation: the importance whereoff I am confident you duly resent.

[T. Fairfax.]

Windsor. Nov. 28, 1648.

For Lt. Generall Cromwell."

[Lieut.-Col. Saunders to Lord Fairfax.]

My Lord,
In pursuance of your former orders in securing the Kinges person I sent over two companies of foote with Capt. Prettyes troope, pressing boates in the harbour, and stopping those that came from the Isle. Capt. Joyce and some other of our officers are not idle, butt serve providence for the accomplishing all our desired ends.

RO. Saunders.

Portsmouth, 29 November, 1648.

[Warrant to convey the King to Hurst Castle.]

You are hereby required forthwith to make your repaire into the Isle of Wight, and to take into your custody the person of the

a Cromwell's opinion of the Remonstrance is given in an undated letter to Fairfax, printed in the English Historical Review for 1887, p. 149. "Wee have read your Declaration here," he says, "and see in it nothinge but what is honest, and becoming Christians and honest men to say and offer." Compare also letter 83 in Carlyle's Cromwell.

b Henry Pretty, of Ireton's regiment, later a colonel in the army in Ireland.
Kinge, and that you from thence immediately convey him safely to Hurst-Castle; and I doe hereby require Major Rolphe, Captain Boreman, and Captain Hawes, and all officers and soldiery under their command, as neede shall bee, to give you such assistance therin as you shall require of them; and I doe hereby authorise you to impress such boates as shall bee necessary for this service; and the Governour of Hurst-Castle is hereby order'd to receive the Kinge into the Castle with such forces as you shall see cause to bringe for the better securing of him there; and in case Col. Eyres the Governour bee absent, the officer who commandeth in his absence is hereby required to obey your orders till the Governour returne. Given &c.\(^a\)

To Lieutenant Col. Cobbett and Capt. Merriman.

\[To Lieut.-Col. Cobbett\]

Sir,

I am commanded by the Generall to desire you to have a speciall care that all civility bee used towards the person of the Kinge in the ordering of that businesse committed to your charge, and that bee have such accomodations whither hee is to remove, as shall bee suitable to the present occasion, that there may bee noe complaint there is any want of conveniencies fitting for him.\(^b\)

\(^a\) This second warrant should apparently be dated Nov. 29. Mr. Gardiner suggests that Ewer had accompanied Hammond to Windsor, and that it consequently became necessary to send new agents. The warrant is from the General Council of Officers. *Great Civil War*, iv., 255.

\(^b\) Probably from John Rushworth.
A list of such horse and foote that are to meet at the Randevouz,
1 Dec., 1648.

Troopes.

12
   The Lord Generall
      Col. Whalley
5
   Commissary Generall
4
   Col. Fleetwood's
5
   Col. Rich's
2
   Lt. Generall's
1
   Col. Harrison

29 troopes.

2 troopes Col. Okey's Dragoones.

Regiments.

Col. Hewson
Col. Pride
Col. Deane
Lt. Col. Cooke
Lt. Col. Ashfield

Companies.

3 Col. Inglesby.
5 Col. Barksted.
1 Adjutant Generall.
1 Col. Whitchott.

Two regiments of horse and 17 troopes.

Two troopes of dragoons. Five regiments and ten companies of foot.

[Lieut-Col. Saunders to Lord Fairfax.]

My Lord,

Our God hath done our worke for us, all things are quiet in the

* Before the march of the army to London.
Island, the King went without any opposition to Hurst Castle, and is there; your worke now is before you, to putt such a number of confiding men to guard him as therin you may rest, for the old soldiers are rotten. I have sent a party of horse to Capt. Pretty; there will be need of more horse and foote to ly there abouts; the Castle is allsoc much unprovided of victuall. This is all that I can informe your Excellencie, who am, Sir, your humble servant,

Ro: Saunders.

Portsmouth,
December 2,
1648.

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*The Moderate for Nov. 28-Dec. 5 contains the following letter, dated Newport, Dec. 2:

"This morning about six of the clock, five of us came to his Majesties chamber, and desired one of his attendants to aquaint his Majesty with our intentions (according to our orders, to secure his person, which we rather did because he might not be affrighted; which done we secured the town with 40 horse and two companies of foot which we got over last night from Portsmouth, and once in half an hour his Majesty was coached, and soon after secured in Hurst Castle, of which our dear friend and true patriot, Col. Ayers of Wiltshire is governor, whose fidelity can never be poysoned as H. was."

A second letter from the same person, dated Hurst Castle, Dec. 14, adds:

"When the governour of this Castle, Col. Eyres, came down, and came into his presence, his Majesty saluted him with a kind of a jeer, telling him, he hoped he would not take it ill that he came to visit his wife in his absence; but withall that he was sorry to put him up in so narrow a room (meaning, himself and his attendants would take up the greatest part of that little castle, the governour not having one room left for the entertainment of a friend). The governour answered his Majesty, that the place afforded not that accommodation as might be desired, but he should be well satisfied with his present condition, especially now that his Majesty was there in safety (which I believe was more than his Majesty could cordially say himselfe). Upon Sunday last his Majesty was speaking to Lieu.-Col. Cobbet to shew him by what order he was brought to that castle (which till that time he had not seen); the Lieu.-Col. shews him the order, upon the perusal of which he seemed to be well satisfied, after some debate about it, but told us, that as he had no desire to stay long in this place, yet he should be unwilling to be removed hence without the sight of an order beforehand; to which was answered, that necessity was above order; he replied, that it was true, but necessity was many times pretended, when there was none." The Moderate, Dec. 12-19.
Sir,

I understand you have removed the Kinge to Hurst Castle, and soe manag'd the businesse as it was carried without incivilitie unto him, or prejudice to others. The Parliament being soe busy att present, there can bee noe orders gotten for monies. That you may nott want for the present occasions, I have assign'd you 100li, which you may dispose with the best husbandry you can for the present occasions of those with you attending that service.

[A letter from the head-quarters of the Army.]

Munday, December the 12, 1648.

Sir,

By the last post I acquainted yow in what temper the House of Commons were to comp[ly] with the King, by being ridgedly and passionately bent by voting the King concessions to be a ground of a settlement, which was as much as to say it was satisfactory what he had offered. All good men did soe admire at the weakenes, or rather at the madness of the Parliament in such a vote, which at Midsommer could not have bin expected; but as it happened about 100 members of the Houwse opposed it, who gave encouragement to the Army to thinke of some way to purge the Houwse, since they were soe violently bent to a rotten and unworthy peace; to dissolve the Parliament would have bin counted a rash act; to purge it by a force would be thought a bold and unwarrantable attempt; to let both these passe, and to doe nothing, was to continue the same division that was in the Houwse, and by consequence the division of the Kingdome, and in conclusion the distuction of it. Upon these considerations, finding the disease being desperate, there could nothing thought upon but a desperate cure; and thereupon the

* The letter is unsigned; it is probably from Lord Fairfax to Lieut.-Col. Cobbett.
Army resolved there being noe other way upon the earth left (to my judgement) to save the Kingdome, but to seaze upon certaine members of the House, who had from time to time obstructed the proceedings in the Howse, and all good motions tending to the welfare of the Kingdome out of faction — *a* by respect. Hereupon Mr. Prynne, the firebrand of England, Maior Generall Massey, Mr. Gewen, Sir John Clotworthy, and in all about 40 members were seazed upon by the Army going to the Howse; and others desired to forbear to come thither who were men who were of the same stampe of the same faction. Upon Thursday the Howse sate, and though it was an undoubted breach of their privelidge to have the Members thus seazed, yet the Members had soe abused the privelidge by the[ir] perpetuetye there, taking advantage thereby, not onely to wronge the subject, but to vent malice and passion in particular without controwle, as it was frequent with these time serving members; whereupon the Howse resolved to proceed with the busines of the Armyes Remonstrance and the [settlement of] Kingdome, and to let there members alone till another opportunitie. On Friday the Howse kept a fast, and adjourned till Tuesday; the army being passive all this while, charging the suburbs with provisions, and lying upon bare boards in White Hall, St. Jamess &c., hoping the Cityt would not faile to send moneys for the payeing of the army (considering the City was 100,000li. in arreares) and beds, that soe the souldiers might be accomodated as not to be necessitated to come into London; *b* which the army to avoyde by all meanes possible had patience from Saturday to Friday last, and the City of London in all that time not being able (or rather not willing) to advance one 10 dayes pay out of all theire arreares, necessitating the army to resolve to march into the City, and there to quarter; which accordingly they did on Friday last, in Paul's, Blacke Fryers, and in parts thereabouts. When the Cityt see the

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*a* A word erased.

*b* Cf. Rushworth, vii., 1549, 1560, 1558.
army was in good earnest, and that their owne folly, by not advancing that which they owed unto the army had wrought this upon them, then they beganne to vote to raise 10,000li., and to provide bedding for the soldiers, hoping the army would retire out of the City; but the army being hitherto deceived with their delitarynes, understood where 27,000li. was in bank at Weavors Hall, went and seazed upon the same,* that the City might see, that though they could not raise 10,000li. 10 dayes pay for the army, yet the army could tell how to finde a months pay ready in cash. This terrifed the malignant merchants and goldsmiths, fearing their estates should be seazed upon, though there was noe real cause to suspect them, saide in soe humble a manner that they all professed themselves to be servants to the army. Hereupon the Generall sent some Colonells unto the City to assure them never a gold-smith should loose the value of a thimble, or merchant 2d. in his goods, who did not obstinately refuse to pay the just arreares that were behinde from the City to the army; and further assured that the 27,000li. that was thus seazed upon should be repaide out of the very arreares that is yet due, out of the City arreares to the army, and out of the first moneys that did come in; and the army having bin there ever since, hath committed noe spoyle more then trouble of quarter, because the City are sloe in bringing in of their debts. Thus you have the true account of this weekes passage. The Lord direct both the Parliament and the army out of these distressed proceedings to bring good unto the Kingdom; and my opinion is this, that you will finde these [members] now sitting in Parliament to goe on more unanimously and more vigorously in the settlement of the peace of the Kingdom, in giving care unto the subject, and doinge more capable thinges unto the common wealth in 3 months, then hath bin done by the Parliament for three yeares past.

* See Fairfax's letters to the City. Rushworth, vii., 1656, 1958.
[Thomas Margetts to William Clarke.]

Deare Billy,

Yesterday wee had a generall meeting of Officers heere and they have resolved upon a declaration, sent to his Excellency by this gentleman Captain Baynes, to which I shall referre you. The Major General did expresse himself very sweetly and fully, opposing with aboundance of convincing reason all that gainesaid, so that he gave great incouragement and full satisfaction to all the well affected, and putt much life and strength to the busines, so that he hath clearly taken away all jealous thoughts of non complyance; nay, I can say, I believe no man acts in it with more clearnes and satisfaction in point of conscience, nor can give greater life to the thing; and let no man have any thought against his fidelity and integrity to the publique cause of the kingdome, as I heare he hath been a little too much spoken of in that sence, you may most safely vindicate him against all such.

It is the greate feare of the well affected, that the Army through some temptation or other may fall off, and not act vigorously, (the former defection breeds jealously) and so they be brought in to further mischeif by being engaged with them. And this is also the enemies hope. If in case this declaration be appointed to be printed I beseech you let it be carefully done, and the presse carefully examined and corrected before it be published; and I beseech you also, when they are done, lett a reasonable proportion of them be sent to mee that am

Thine owne

THO: MARGETTS.

Pont. 13 Dec. 1648.

Present my humble service to Mr. Rushworth, my love to Mr. Hatter, Mr. Wragg and all old Cronies.
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

This Castle holds out still, the Governor desperate feeds their men with hopes of relief from Scotland; many of them are sick, and many get away, and [some] came away this day, some yesterday, and some almost every day. Yesterday an officer of theirs standing upon one of their towers had his head shot off by one of our cannon bullets. Wee hope their owne discontents within will shortly put them to extremity. Present my service to Card: Woolsey, tell him by the next post I am for him.*

Generall Councell, Dec. 14, 1648.

[List of Names.]

Question debated—

Whether the Magistrate have or ought to have any compulsive and restrictive power in matters of religion.

Adjourned till Saturday at noone to proceede upon the other parte of the Agreement, waiving [?] this first reserve.

The Generall Councell is to meete tomorrow at one in the afternoone in relation to justice.

The Generall Councell is to meete Munday for further proceeding in matter of this dayes debate. Left to the Committee, in relation to the thinges formerly referred concerning the Agreement, to meete tomorrow here or elsewhere in the Cittie to discusse.

Question. Whether to have any reserve to except religious thinges, or only to give power in naturall and civill thinges, and to say nothing of religion?

* This letter is one of the few originals amongst the Clarke MSS. On the state of political feeling in the northern army see Knabworth, vii., 1386, 1400. A series of letters from the camp before Pontefract are printed in The Moderate. Margetts was secretary to the Council of Officers of the northern army, and probably to Lambezt its commander.
Orders for the discussing of this Question.

(1) That those who are of opinion in the affirmative begin (if they will) to lay downe the grounds.

(2) That the discussion be alternate, viz't. that when one hath reasoned for the affirmative, the next admitted to speake be such as will speake for the negative, and after one hath spoke for the negative, the next admitted to speake bee for the affirmative.

(3) That if none arguing in the affirmative give grounds for a compulsive power, then none in the negative to speake against any other then the restrictive power.

Col. Rich.       Mr. Taylor.
Col. Deane.      Mr. Collier.
Mr. Wildman.     Capt. Clarke.
Mr. Stapylton.   Mr. John Goodwin.

To meete at Col. Titchburne's tomorrow at 4 of the clocke in the afternoone with

Mr. Calamy.      Mr. Marshall.
Mr. Ashe.        Mr. Nye.
Mr. Seaman.      Mr. Russell
Mr. Burges.      Mr. Ayres.
Mr. Cordwell.    Mr. Brinsley.

About the particulars this day debated.*

* This account of the votes of the General Council of Dec. 14 is from vol. xvi. 4to of the Clarke MSS. The debate which follows is from vol. 67, folio.
General Councilli, att Whitehall. 14 December. 1648.

Present,
Lo: Generall Fairfax. etc.\(^a\)

The first Reserve as in relation to matters of Religion, read.\(^b\)

The Question,
Whether the Civill Magistrate had a power given him from God?

Col. Tichborne.

How farre the Civill Magistrate had power from God?

\(^a\) For list of names see the table of attendances, given at the end of the volume. Cromwell was absent. Mercurius Pragmaticus notes under Dec. 14: "This day Duke Oliver set forth in state towards Windsor, upon an entreaty by letter from Duke Hamilton to come and conferre notes with him, now that design is ripe for execution. It's thought that cunning coward (for as yet we must not call him traytor) hath told tales. . . ." The same paper adds: "Munday, Decem. 18, came information, that much discourse had passed between Hamilton and Cromwell at Windsor, but in conclusion he protested he was not invited in by his Majesty, nor by any member of Parliament." Mercurius Pragmaticus, Dec. 12-19, 1648.

\(^b\) This debate concerns article seven of the original "Agreement" laid before the Council of the Army. It runs thus: "That the power of the people's Representatives extend (without the consent or concurrence of any other person or persons) to the enacting, altering, repealing, and declaring of Laws; to the erecting and abolishing Officers and [?] Courts of Justice and to whatever is not in this Agreement excepted or reserved from them." Eight reservations or exceptions then follow. The first is the one now before the Council. "We do not now empower our Representatives to continue in force, or make any Lawes, Oaths, and Covenants, whereby to compell, by penalties or otherwise, any person to any thing, in or about matters of Faith, Religion, or God's Worship, or to restrain any person from the professing his Faith, or exercise of Religion, according to his conscience, in any house or place (except such as are or shall be set apart for the publique worship,) nevertheless the instruction or directing of the nation in a publique way, for the matters of Faith, Worship, or Discipline (so it be not compulsive or expresse Popery) is referred to their discretion." Lilburne's Foundations of Freedom, 4to, 1648; cf. Rushworth, vii., 1358. In the completed Agreement, presented to Parliament on Jan. 20, 1649, there was no reservation concerning religion, but a separate article, the ninth, was devoted to the question of toleration and to religious matters in general. Old Parliamentary History, xviii., 533.
Col. Deane.

The law is, that what a man would have done to himself hee may doe to another, and that according to that rule hee did nott undestand the Magistrate to have power.

Mr. Jo. Goodwin.

Offers to consideration, that God hath nott invested any power in a Civill Magistrate in matters of religion; and I thinke if hee had hee might more properly bee called an Ecclesiasticall or Church Officer then a Civill; for denominations are given from those [things] that are most considerable in an office. There is noe difference in that. That the Magistrate hath [not] in any way a concession from God for punishing any man for going alonge with his conscience, I conceive that is nott necessary to bee argued uppon.

That I suppose is [necessary to be argued upon is], whether itt bee proper or conducing to your ends, whether it bee like to be of good resentment of the wisest or generality of the people, that a businesse of this nature should bee of your cognizance, itt being that which hath taken uppe the best witts to determine whether the Magistrate hath power in matter of religion or noe, yett itt being a matter of that profound and deepe disputation as men have made itt, whether it will bee a matter appropriate to the cognizance of you to interpose to determine, and to decide a question which hath bin the great exercise of the learning, and witts, and judgement of the world. And I conceive though there bee reasons uppon reasons of very great weight, commanding why itt should bee inserted—Certainly if soe bee the inserting of itt could carry itt, if itt could obtaine and bee likely to prevaile in the kingdome I thinke itt would blesse the Nation with abundance of peace, and [be] the preventing of many inconveniences, and troubles, and heart burninges that are like to arise. Butt inasmuch as I doe nott apprehend that itt is a matter proper for you to take notice of [or] to intermeddle in, itt being a matter of conscience and matter of religion, whether you will, you must doe itt either
then as Magistrates, and then you goe against your owne principles, you doe assume and interpose in matters of religion. If itt bee noe matter of conscience, butt only matter of civill right, itt will fall into those Articles which concerne the civill power of the Magistrate.

Mr. Hewitt.

Every poore man [that] does understand what hee does, and is willing that the commonwealth should flourish, hath as reall an hand heere as the greatest Divine; and all devinity you have had from reading, if you had as many degrees of time since the creation, learning is butt the tradition of men. Hee is properly concern'd and as one of England, and therefore [hath a right] to know whether you give him any power or noe.

Those men that are religious they are those men that has the greatest spiritts and fittest for publique service, and to have religion given under the hand of a Magistrate or two, and all the noble spiritts of the poore to turne them out of the Commonwealth—Therefore iff wee doe honour the Commonwealth of England, itt is best to lett them bee free, that they bee nott banished or injured for matters of Conscience, butt that they may enjoy the Commonwealth.

Mr. Wildman.

I suppose the difference is concerning the Stating of the Question. For what that learned Gentleman was pleas'd to say

"On Saturday the two politic pulpit-drivers of Independency, by name Nye and Goodwin, were at the debate of settling the Kingdom, in the mechanic counsell at Whitehall, and one main question was concerning the extent of magistracy, which Nye and Goodwin requested them not to determine before advice had with some learned divines; which saying of theirs turned the debate into a quarrell: for the mechanicks took snuffe, told them they thought themselves as divine as any divines in the kingdom, which a brother standing by undertook to prove, and pretended a sudden revelation for the purpose, by which means both Nye and Goodwin were once again made silenced ministers." Mercurius Pragmaticus, Dec. 12-19, 1648.
whether itt were proper for this Councill to conceive whether itt were matter of conscience. Through the judgment of God uppon the Nation all authorhity hath bin broken to pieces. At least itt hath bin our misery that itt hath bin uncertaine whether the supreme authorhity hath bin [here or there], that none have knowne where the authorhity of the Magistrate is, or [how far] his office [extends]. For the remedy of this your Excellency hath thought fitt to propound a new way of settling this Nation, which is a new constitution. Your Excellency thinkes itt that itt can bee noe other way for to governe the people then this way.

And though this Agreement were resolved heere—The Question is now what power the people will agree to give to the Magistrates that they will sett over them to bee their Governours. Now the great misery of our Nation hath bin the Magistrates trust nott being knowne. Now wee being about setting the supreme power I thinke it is [necessary] clearly to declare what this power is; therefore I thinke the question will bee, [firstly], whether wee shall intrust the Magistrate in matters of religion or nott? [secondly], whether itt bee necessary to express itt or nott?

That then the question must bee thus:

Whether itt bee necessary that after wee have had a Warre for power, to shew what power wee doe give them, and what nott? and I desire that the Question may bee stated: whether itt is

* In the "Humble petition of thousands of well affected people inhabiting the City of London," etc., presented on Sept. 11, 1648, this view is clearly set forth. The petitioners address the House of Commons as "the supreme authority of England," and will them so to consider themselves. They are told that they must not admit King or Lords to any share in this supreme authority, "it being impossible for us to believe that it can consist either with the safety or freedom of the nation to be governed by two or three supremes." The petition complains that the Commons have declared that they will not alter the ancient government from King, Lords, and Commons; "not once mentioning, in case of difference, which of them is supreme, but leaving that point, which was the chiefest cause of all our public differences, disturbances, wars, and miseries, as uncertain as ever." Old Parliamentary History, xvii., 454.

b MS, "exercise," the last line supplies the correction.
necessary clearly to expresse in this Constitution, whether to intrust
the Magistrate in matters of religion or nott, whether itt bee
necessary to expresse itt or nott?

Col. Hewson.

Noe man hath said that in this Agreement nothing hath bin
[granted to the magistrate, save that which hath been] exprest.
The maine thinge is nott whether hee* should bee intrusted, butt
what should bee reserved. I thinke that's sufficient. For to trust
them, if they have a power in themselves either to binde or nott to
binde, I thinke that will bee a thinge questionable still. For that's
doubted by many whether the people can tie uppe themselves to
any particular measure of their obedience. Now if soe, if they have
nott this power in themselves, then for them to say they reserve itt
from others which they have nott themselves——

Col. Rich.

I thinke the greatest cause of the lengthning of the Debate is
the mistake of the Question in hand, and I have heard difference
in opinion severall [times?] about the Question. As to that the
Gentleman that spoke last asserted, I referre itt to your Excellency
that whether or noe the [not] empowering the civill Magistrate
does nott reserve itt. If wee did not give him this power expresly,
impliedlie hee has it not, and therefore to consider whether itt
bee a necessary reserve.\footnote{If itt bee a reserve that concerns the
conscience of any of those faithfull freinds that have gone alonge
with your Excellency, and this is a reserve that does nott concerne
us butt them. . . . Even for that I referre itt to your
Excellency, whether itt ought nott to bee inserted?}

Butt as to the equity and reason of the thinge, whether hee hath
this from God, or whether hee can have itt, that is soe cleare that

* "Hee," i.e., the magistrate.
\footnote{Order of the two sentences altered.}
noe man will argue for it. That [the question] is, whether the 
Civill Magistrate hath power to bee exercis'd uppon the outward 
man for civill thinges. It has bin said wee may intrust the Civill 
Magistrate with our lives and our estates, butt to intrust the Civill 
Magistrate with a compulsive power for religious ends does implic- 
itely signify, that wee will submitt to such a power. Now the 
question is [not] whether wee can impower him over our con-
sciences; it's impossible. Butt this is that which sticks with mee, 
whether wee ought to countenance the Magistrate, much lesse give 
him a power over the persons of men, for doing or nott doing 
religious thinges according to his judgement.

Lt. Col. Lilburne.

To my understanding [in] all that hath bin said to reach this 
business that which hath bin principally aimed att [is] to state the 
Question. According to [the] Commissary Generall's first stating of 
it, [it] is this. That seing there hath bin a great warre about 
breach of trust (and that unlimited trust), and seing wee are now 
about to [seek a way to] avoide those miseries that hitherto have 
happned, I conceive the substance of the Question will bee this; 
whether itt bee necessary to represent the trust that is reposed in 
the Magistrates. That I conceive that is the principall thinges that 
will reach our end. Whether itt bee requisite to expresse their 
trust positively in this Agreement, yea or noe?

Com. Gen. Ireton.*

I have heard soe many thinges and soe many mistakes that itt 
makes mee thinke of some other method, and that is to finde out 
the persons of the severall opinions that are started amongst us, that 
[they] may apply themselves to answer [each other]. Nott many 
to speake together of one parte, and that which they have said goe 
without answer; butt immediateli as one hath spoken any thinge of one.

* Ireton, so far as these reports can be trusted, had not yet spoken. I doubt whether the order of the speeches given in the MS. is always correct.
parte that it may bee answer'd of the other parte. Otherwise wee shall, as farre as my reason goes, perplex ourselves and all that heare us.\textsuperscript{a}

My memory is not able to reach to those many mistakes that I have found in the Debate hitherto, butt I'le speake a worde to the last because it is very materiall. I perceive by this Gentleman that the foundation of the necessity—the ground of the necessity—\textsuperscript{b}—of the determination of this point now, is fix't uppon this: that wee have had warres and troubles in the Nation, and that hath bin for want of ascertainment the power in which men should have acquies'd in the Nation, and for that men have nott knowne where to acquiesce. If the meaning of this bee, that it hath bin for want of knowing what power Magistracie hath had, I must needs say that it hath bin a cleare mistake \textsuperscript{to say} that this was the ground of the warres. The grounds have bin these:

That whereas it is well and generally knowne what is the matter of the supreme trust (that is all thinges necessary for the preserving of peace) \textsuperscript{it is not so well known} what is the end of civill societie and Commonwealthes. If I did looke at libertie \textsuperscript{alone} I would minde noe such thinge \textsuperscript{as a Commonwealth}; for then I am most free when I have noebody to minde mee. Nor doe I finde anything else that's immediately necessary, nott \textsuperscript{as the cause} of making any power amongst men, but \textsuperscript{c} the preserving of humane societie in peace. Butt withall to looke at such a trust. That you commit the trust to persons for the preserving of peace that they may use it in such a way as may bee most suitable in civill societie, that are most probable and hopefull for [preserving] libertie, and nott \textsuperscript{like} to make us slaves, as itt may bee most hopefull for common and equall right amonge us, as may be most hopefull to provide for the prosperitie and flourishing state of the nation. That the necessary thinge, that which necessarily leads all men into civill agreements or contracts, or to make Commonwealthes, is the necessity of itt for preserving peace. Because otherwise, if

\textsuperscript{a} See p. 72. \textsuperscript{b} Answering Wildman. \textsuperscript{c} MS. "by."
there were noe such thinge, but every man [were] left to his owne will, mens contrary wills, lusts, and passions would lead every one to the destruction of another, and [everyone] to seeke all the wayes of fencing himself against the jealousies of another.

That which hath occasioned the warre in this Nation, and that which hath occasioned the controversies heretofore is, not the knowing what the limitations are, or of what [nature] the supreme trust is, but that wee have nott knowne in what persons, or what parties, or what councill the trust hath layne. The Kinge hee hath claim’d itt as his right, as in the case of Shippe Monie, butt the people thought they had another right then. There was a Parliament called, and itt was then cleare and undenied; the Kinge could nott deny itt—that itt was the right of the kingdome that they should nott bee bound and concluded, butt by common consent of their deputies or Representatives in Parliament. Itt [not] being thus farre made cleare where the supreme trust did lie, thus much was cleare, that the kinge could nott doe anythinge alone. Then hee insists upon itt, that the Parliament could nott doe any thinge without him. This was the difference, because they did assume to doe somethinge without him which they thought necessary for the safetie of the Kingedome. Soe that the ground of the warre was nott difference in what the supreme Magistracie [was, but] whether [it was] in the Kinge alone. Now wee are all that are here he suppose unanimous, that this bone of contention should bee taken away, that itt should bee determined in what persons or succession of persons the supreme trust doth lie. With us the Question is, what kinde of power wee should committ with those that have the supreme trust. Since itt is cleare in this question itt is nott intended [to determine] whether wee shall committ [to them] a trust of our judgements or consciences, the question is whether wee should give a trust to them for the outward man, and with

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*a* The position of several clauses altered.

*b* *i.e.*, a difference not as to the nature of the supreme power but whether the King alone possessed it.
acquiescence butt for peace-sake. That all civil power whatsoever, neither in natural or civil things, is not able to bind men’s judgements. The judgement of the Parliament [which] is the supremest Council in the World, cannot bind my judgement in any thing. [Whatever power you give the magistrate], whether you limit it to civil things or natural things, the effect of that power is that he hath not power to conclude your inward, but your outward man [only]; the effect of all is butt the placing of a power in which we would acquiesce for peace sake. Take that for granted then. To come to consider whether as to the proceeding to the outward man, and our acquiesce[nce] unto him for peace-sake, itt bee fitt for us to committ a trust to the civil Magistrate for this purpose, concerning spirituall things as concerning civil things.

Now the ground [of the dispute] is this. There are two pretences of Conscience. There are many men who do claim a right to the Civill Commonwealth with you, and have not forfeited that right. They say “Though wee thinke itt bee in your power to determine who shall bee the supreme Magistrate, butt that being determined there is somethinge of Divine Institution that does tell him what is his duty to doe, gives him rules in point of acting betweene man and man, in civil things hee ought to have regard to that right. 2dly They say, that that same word or witnesse of God left to us, which gives him directions in this case in civil things, [which tells him] what is right and what is wronge, and soe must bee the guide of his judgement—that same does tell him, that in some things [that concern religion] hee ought to restraine. This is truly the pretence of conscience on one parte.

That which is said against this. First, many men doe not beleive that there is by the word of God, by the Scripture, any such direction, or power, or duty laid uppon the Magistrate, that hee should exercise any such power in things that concern religion. They differre in that point. Secondly, they say: “Though itt were soe, to your satisfaction that are of that opinion, yett wee

* The last three sentences lines are transferred from p. 80.
being nott satisfied that wee ought to thinke soe, itt is nott sitt for us to committ a power to him which God hath nott intrusted him withall." That's the argument. For otherwise itt would follow, that if there bee a pretence of conscience, and some probable grounds and reasons on the one side, that the Magistrate should nott bee bound in matters of religion, butt that hee may exercise this power in this case. When wee are uppon the businesse or uppon agreement itt will bee necessary wee should leave this out. Lett us goe on to make an agreement for our civill rights uppon those things wherein wee are agreed, and lett us [not] make such a thinge necessary to the agreement as will inevitably exclude one of us from the agreement, butt lett us make such a distribution of the publique trust in such hands as shall give everyone an equall share, an equall interest and possibility, and lett us submitt ourselves to these future Representatives, and if wee bee nott satisfied in one Representative itt may bee satisfied in the next. This would certainly bee the most reasonable way in all those that have nott admitted this Agreement.

Saving that, [as] itt's alreadged on one hand, "If you put this into the Agreement you necessarily exclude mee from itt, as my conscience is that the Magistrate should have that power;" soe says the other, "If you have nott this in the Agreement you doe exclude mee from the Agreement for my conscience sake, for my conscience is, that the Magistrate should nott have that power."

Then Sir—For that truly I thinke itt has bin offer'd, to the end wee may come to the nejest possibility that I can see to an agreement—this hath bin offer'd. That you cannot conscientious intrust the Magistrate with a power which by the rule of God hee ought nott to exercise, butt if you finde itt is alreadg'd to give him a power to all things but those that are reserved, and [if we do] nott reserve this from him then wee give him the power of that. To that itt hath bin offer'd, that in your generall clause concerning the power of the supreme Magistracie of the peoples Representative that wee should [make it] extend to all civill and naturall
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

things;* then if nott having right to a power from him if hee will exercise his power without clayming itt from some body else ; if hee have itt in him of God then your Agreement cannott take itt from him ; if hee have itt nott [of God] then itt is nott [given him] in the Agreement.

For that for a settting of the power, there are noe rightfull foundations of this trust [save] either Divine Institution or designation of the person, or else an humane placing of them. Now though itt bee in man (where God doth nott desigane) rightfully to elect and designe the persons, yet when the persons are elected and instituted, what is their duty to doe in point of justice, and what is their duty in point of those things of religion wherof they are to judge, [those are things] that are nott to bee determined by those that committ the trust to them. Certainly [by] the same reason as wee in only making our choice of the persons and of the time of their continuance, (that are clearly in our power) do b leave itt to him according to his judgement to determine and proceede in matters of civill right and civill thinges, [so] wee may uppon the same ground, without further prejudice to the inward c man, referre to him a power of determining as to the outward man what hee will allow or suffer in matter of religion.

And thus I have indeavoured as clearly as I can to state the Question and the severall Questions that are in this businesse.

Col. Whalley.

My Lord,

Wее are about preparing an Agreement for the people and truly, my Lord, itt is high time that wee did agree. If we now vary itt is

* Cf. Vernon, "The Sword's Abuse Asserted, or a word to the Army; shewing the weakness of carnal weapons in spiritual warfare, the sword an useless tool in temple work; and the bearer thereof an unfit builder. Tendered to the serious consideration of his Excellency the Lord Fairfax and his General Council, upon occasion of their late debates about the clause concerning religion in the promised Agreement.

By John Vernon, sometimes a member of the Army. Imprinted for John Harris, Decemb. 1648."

b MS. "to."

* MS. "outward."
a ready way to common ruine and destruction. My Lord, I doe perceive in this paper which is prepared for the people to bee by Agreement. There is one Article in it which hath bin soe much spoken of to the great stumbling of many. Itt causes a great difference amongst us. If soe, wee cannott butt expect that itt will cause a greater in the Kingdome, and soe great as doubtlesse will occasion a new commotion. Since itt is soe apparent to us, I must thinke itt were a very necessary Question to putt, whether this ought nott to bee left out of this paper, yea or noe. For how can wee terme that to bee an Agreement of the people which is neither an Agreement of the major parte of the people, and truly for anythinge I can perceive (I speake out of my owne judgement and conscience) nott [an Agreement of] the major parte of the honest partie of the Kingdome? If the Question were whether the Magistrate should have coercive power over mens Consciences, I thinke itt is a very necessary thinge to putt. Wee have bin necessitated to force* the Parliament, and I should bee very unwilling wee should force the people to an Agreement.

Lt. Col. Lilburne.

I agree to that motion of the Commissary Generall, that there might be some of contrary principles or parties chosen out to agree uppon the stating of our Question, that wee may nott spend soe much time in that which wee are to Debate uppon.

Mr. Sprigge.

My Lord,

I should bee loath to taxe any heere with mistakes, though I have nott a better worde to call it by, and itt hath bin used oft already. I conceive there are many mistakes have pass’d in bringing forth the state of the Question. There has bin a mistake I conceive of the true subject that is to bee intituled to this businesse, and a mistake of the capacitie that you are in to act in this businesse, and a mistake of the opportunity that lies before you,

* MS. "serve."
and of the fruit and end of your actions. I conceive my Lord, that hee hath not bin intituled to this thing who ought to be intituled, and that is our Lord Jesus Christ, who is heire of all things; and as hee was Gods delight before the world was made, why, soe God did bringe forth all thinges by him in a proportion and conformitie to him, to that image of his delight and content his sonne; and soe retayning this proportion, and acting in this conformitie to him, have all States and Kingdomes stood that have stood, and expect to stand; and declining from this proportion, itt hath bin the ruine of all Governements [that have done so]. Itt is God’s designe, I say, to bringe forth the Civill Governement, and all thinges heere belowe in the image and resemblance of thinges above; and when as those thinges that are butt of [a temporary] and representative nature have clash’t with that which hath bin their end; and have either sett uppe themselves, or sett uppe thinges that are of this world like themselves, as their end, and soe have made all thinges (I meane the thinges of the other world) to stoope and vaile to these ends, and have measured Religion and the appearances of God according to rules and ends of policie, itt hath bin the ruine of all States. I conceive that that is the account that is to bee given of the [cause of the] condition that this Kingdome is brought into att this time.

Now, My Lord, God having thus taken us a pieces, and that righteously, because our Governement did nott stand in God in its patterne, why hee hath only by his providence now brought forth the Governement of the sword, being that which only wee are capable of, and which wee have brought ourselves into a condition of needing and requiring.* Now, My Lord, I conceive that this same goodwill which is in your Excellency and in the Army to promote the spirituall liberties of the Saints as well as the civill liberties of men, cannott butt bee taken well. Itt is that which certainly you shall nott fare the worse for att the hands of God, who will award unto you according to your doinges, and according to

* MS. "needinessse & acquiringe."
your intentions. Butt wee must also profess that the Kingedome of Christ does nott stand in [need of help from] any power of man; and that Christ will growe uppe in the world, lett all powers whatsoever combine never soe much against him. Soe that I conceive the Question is nott soe much to bee putt in the interest of Christ and of the truth—I meane in the interest of the neede of Christ of your restraining of the Magistrate,—of your providing against such coercion. Butt if itt should bee, now that the Magistrate is despoyled of all power to oppresse the saints, if you should goe to lay an opportunity before him againe, and offer such a thinge to him, certainly that were to lay a great snare before them,* and by thrusting them on to breake their owne neckes the faster. For this I look upon,—that Magistrates and all the powers of the world, unlesse they were in the immediate hand and guidance of God, unlesse hee does superact, they will dash against this stone. Itt is naturall to them nott to retaine themselves in that subordination wherein they are unto God and unto Christ, who are butt to represent [him] in this sphere of theirs in a lower way, and to bee subservient to him. Butt there is an enmitie in all these, there is an enmitie in the powers of the world [against God], and therefore Christ must bee putt downe [by them], as wee have itt att this day. God is in the Kingdome, and hee is growing uppe, and men shall nott bee able to hinder him. Soe that heere's all the question that I conceive can bee made, and all that is concern'd in itt [is this]: whether you will declare your goodwill to Jesus Christ, or noe. For I say, Christ depends nott either upon this or that, or the truth upon itt, as if itt should suffer or die, if such a power doe nott appeare for itt. Butt there may bee sometonge else concern'd then [the truth, namely] the flesh of the Saints, which God is tender of; for hee is tender of all of us in our severall administrations and under our severall dispensations; and if soo bee that [the] Saints are nott

* "them," i.e. the Magistrates, changing abruptly from the singular to the plural.
prepared soe to suffer, or enabled to committ themselves to him in well-doing without such defence as your sword [or] your arme, to restraine and keepe back persecutors—itt may bee God may in mercy putt this into your hearts to accomodate the weakenesse of his people soe. Butt I conceive, My Lord, that this thinge is nott att all essentiall unto your worke; for the power of the sworde and all other power whatsoever being extinct righteously, because itt stood nott and did nott act in God, I conceive that which you have to doe is to waite uppon God, untill hee shall shew you some way, and nott to bee too forward to settle. I perceive by this Agreement of the People there is a going on to settle presently, and [to] make a new constitution, which I thinke wee are nott in such a capacitie to doe. God will bringe forth a New Heaven and a New Earth. In the meane time your worke is to restraine, indeed to restraine the Magistrate from such a power. That the people of God, and that men too, that all men that are, ought to live within such bounds as may bee made manifest to them to bee such bounds that they may nott suffer wronge by might. Certainly if soe bee you shall soe manage your opportunity, I conceive you shall fully answer your end; waiting uppon God untill hee shall [deliver you], who certainly is growing uppe amongst us; and if wee could have butt patience to waite uppon him, wee should see hee would bringe us out of this labyrinth wherein wee are.

Sir Hardresse Waller.

My Lord,

That that I was going about to say was only this: I shall nott take uppon mee to dispute the Question, only tell you I feare I shall goe away with the same opinion I came. That itt was the Question, itt is the Question, and itt will bee the Question to the ending of the world: whether the Magistrate have any power at all [in matters of religion], and what that power is? My Lord, I offer itt to yourselfe and everybody, whether your affaires will
admitt of soe much delay as to determine the Question whether or noe. This that is term'd the Agreement of the People, whether you doe alwayes expect to uppehold itt by the power of the sword? Otherwise you must have somethinge suitable to the affections of the people, to correspond with itt. Truly, My Lord, I should bee glad all men might bee satisfied and I thinke, if I know my heart, I could suffer for their satisfaction. Butt since itt is uppon these termes that wee cannott goe together in all things, I desire wee may bee soe good natur'd as to goe as farre as wee can, and I hope before that [time for parting] comes God will finde out a way to keepe us together. If the other things which are Civill may soe bee termed the Agreement by us, if they may bee gone through withall, and if wee can expresse any thinge to lett the world know wee doe not goe about to give the Magistrate power in that which hee hath noe power, truly, My Lord, this will shew that wee goe not about to give him more then hee has, if hee have itt att all wee take itt away. Certainly what wee doe here does nott conclude against right, wee may bee mistaken, if wee give itt nott certainly wee restraine from that usurpation hitherto though I could thinke itt a great-deale of happinesse that every man had as much liberty as I desire I may have nott to bee restrain'd; and since I venture nothing butt a persecution of the flesh, and instead of bringing ease to the Kingedome I should lay itt out, and to that which lies uppon us of destroying Kinges and Parliaments and all that, wee shall destroy a people of our owne, wee shall nott bee thought agreers butt disturbers of the peace. Therfore I shall desire wee may goe on to other things and leave this till that time. And truly itt is somethinge to mee that the Spiritt of God has nott thought fitt to determine in this world, as wee are to live uppon such incomes* from God, and though itt bee a very pleasing thinge to have God appeare in

* incomes, i.e. incomings, impressions. Cromwell speaks of "men who know not what it is to pray or believe, and to receive returns from God."
power to us in itt, yet God hath bin as much glorified in the
suffering of Saints as in their doing, and therefore I desire wee
may goe on to other thinges and nott sticke att this.

Mr. Peter.

May itt please your Lordshippe.

I thinke wee have hardly time enough to spend about those
thinges that are very essentially and certainly before us to bee done
out of hand.

First of all, wee doe nott know any one's mindes, for I doe nott
finde anythinge att all is putt to the Question. For if any one
of these three or fower were putt to the Question wee might have
noe Question.\(^a\) I know without all controversie there hath bin
dispute, and will bee a great while [about this], and I know nott
in what Country this will bee first decided.\(^b\) Nott that God and
Nature hath left itt soe [doubtful], butt from Diotrephes\(^c\) to this
day there hath bin a spiritt of domination. There are two thinges
uppon which I will raise the Conclusion. 1. I am mervailous
tender that there shall bee nothing done about Religion in
England (and I am only tender in England, if I were in another
Country I would nott say soe) because the interest of England
is Religion.\(^d\) I say itt lookes like the interest of the Kingdome;
and I beleive you will finde that [religion is the cause of] those
contests that have bin in the Kingdome. And though that
Gentleman and others are inabled to know if [it be] soe [better

\(^a\) If any one of these three or four questions propounded were put to the vote we
might know the minds of this meeting.

\(^b\) This question of the power of the magistrate with respect to religion.

\(^c\) Peter doubtless refers to Udall's tract: The state of the Church of England
laid open in a conference between Diotrephes a Bysshopp, Tertullus a papiste,
Demetrius an wuerer, Pandochus an Innkeeper, and Paule a preacher of the worde
of God, published in 1588.

\(^d\) Cf. Cromwell, 4th speech, in which he terms England "the best people in
the world. . . . A people that have the highest and clearest profession amongst
them of the greatest glory, namely religion."
than I am], I ask why doe wee march with our swordes by our sides? From first to the last wee might have suffer’d under Kinges, or Byshopps, or Parliament or anybody, and wee that [speak] know what itt is to suffer and to bee banish’t a thousand miles. a You shall know all the disputes all alonge have bin uppon this very point. Itt was the old Question in Pharoah’s dayes, Whether the people should worship or no? Yett [though] I thinke in truth, [that] though wee all satt still, yett the worke of God will goe on, I am not in the minde wee should putt our hands in our pockettts and waite what will come. b Wee have bin drawne to this worke, wee have nott bin perswading ourselves. I should spitt him out that would looke for any plantations of his owne from the other side, lett that bee curs’t from heaven to minde the thinges of that Kingdome. c I only offer these two thoughts. First, God seems to call for somethinge att our hands about Religion, and that only because wee are Englishmen. The 2d thing is this. That I thinke wee should nott bee too much perplex’t about itt; and therfore, if I finde itt move uppon other spiritts that itt is a matter of great intricacie or trouble my thought is this. Doe butt tame that old spiritt of domination amonge Christians, of trampling uppon their Brother, and giving law, and the like. Witnesse the Country next from us that hath all the markes of a flourishing state uppon itt, I meane the Low Countries. Wee are nott soe against or afraid of this toleration, and I am nott soe against on the other side that are to feare some sufferinges. That which I would hinte is, that now wee are come heere to settel somethinge for Magistrates [let us settel something for the Church too]. “If she bee a wall,” sayes [Solomon of] the Church, “wee will build a silver palace uppon her, and if shee bee a doore wee will have her of boards of

a Peter means to say that he does not agree with Waller’s suggestion.
b Peter does not agree with Sprigge’s view.
c *i.e.* temporal gains.
For the present case I thinke this, that that last motion made by that noble freind and some others [should be agreed to]. I wish wee would doe as all other Republiques would doe when wee come to such a rubbe as this is, I wish that this thought about this reserve may bee hunge forth in every Markett towne if men will write or speake about itt give itt a time itt may have a month or two that before you goe on with your other worke, and those things that can bee agreed to, and the affaires of the Kingdome from such time they may nott have longe debates. And see you have my thoughts.b

Capt. Spencer.

Wee are now about an Agreement of the people, and I perceive one clause in itt is, that if wee have this Agreement wee will acquiesce.c I conceive if you leave this [power to the Magistrate] I can never comfortably [acquiesce in it], nor any man breathing, and this surely will bee [a cause of disagreement] if hee d bee not restraining’d in his power.

Mr.e

That Gentleman hath mentioned itt 3 or 4 times as if itt might bee taken for granted, that the Magistrate hath power over the outward man [but none over the inward man]. In some case itt may bee done. If hee hath power over my body hee hath power

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a *Canticles, viii., 9.

b Peter's meaning is clear though the report is hopelessly involved. He recommends that the reserve be adjourned for a month or two, and the outside public invited to give their opinions on it, whilst the council of war continues its discussions on the other parts of the Agreement.

c Spencer refers apparently to a passage in the letter prefixed to the Agreement. The Agreement is said to be presented by the Army, "as a testimony whereby all men may be assured what we are willing and ready to acquiesce in."

d Hee, i.e. the magistrate.

e Possibly Wildman or Overton, certainly some layman not a member of the Army. "Tha gentleman" whose argument is refuted is Ireton.
to keepe mee att home when I should goe abroad to serve God. And concerning yourselves one worde I would speake. God has pleas'd by your meanes [to give us what liberty we have], which wee looke att as from himself by whome wee have had all the comforts wee enjoy,—I say God hath made you instruments of libertie. In matters of Religion that's preferr'd by us before life. Lett's have that or nothing. Now God hath by your meanes troden uppon that power which should have trodden uppon us. [Let us agree] to prevent any authority from coming uppon us. If you never agree in your Judgements, its noe matter, [if you] keepe butt authority from beating of us and killing of us, and the like. And wheras that Gentleman spake of this concerning a Representative, concerning what power they should have heerafter, wee have this to say. If you your owneselves cannott helpe us [to freedom] in matters of opinion wee doe nott looke for itt while wee breathe. The Lord hath bin pleas'd to informe you as [well as] any other men. If you cannott agree uppon itt, then I shall conclude for my parte, never to expect freedome whiles I live.

Col. Harrison.

May itt please your Excellency.

I would nott trouble you save that itt may save you trouble. I doe wish that which was offer'd at first might bee entertained to save time. That you would putt the businesse in such a way [as] to have the state of the Question.a If itt bee soe longe before you come to the Question, itt will bee longer before you come to a resolution in itt. I offer this: That because this is that which stickes uppon the consciences of men I would nott have itt taken notice of by any that you would soe slight them as nott to doe that now, butt that some of all interests may have the consideration of this, and therin you may have confidence that God will blesse the issue. For what expedient there may bee found in itt that

a i.e. Have the question stated.  
b MS. "wee."
may bee left to their consideration, and the blessing of God upon their endeavours. Whether they should have assistance from some out of London, or those that would bee willing to meete [them from] elsewhere upon it, would bee an happy thinge to guide them to the right of it. That then you would please to goe with the rest of the thinges that I thinke you may more generally concurre in."

Col. Deane.

I should make this motion: whether wee might not finde some-thinge at this time might satisfie all, and whether in that foregoing clause. . . "That in all civill thinges," [etc.], wee might not satisfie all interests?" 

Col. Harrison.

That will leade you to a consideration of the meritt of the thinge, and will spend much time in debate pro and con, and if it please God to guide the hearts of some few it may bee a satisfaction.

Capt. Clarke.

I shall take the boldnesse to offer one worde or two. That Gentleman that spoke last was pleas’d to offer this as an expedient to satisfie all: that if the worde[s] ‘civill and naturall’ [were inserted, it] might suffice to satisfie all. I suppose [they will] nott [satisfie all], because that all punishments, though for matters

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\textit{a} \textit{i.e.} Do not adjourn the consideration of the religious question till we have settled the civil questions, as some propose, but appoint a committee at once to consider the religious question. This proposal was adopted.

\textit{b} Compare the eighth section of the Agreement of the People (as presented Jan. 20, 1649). "That the representatives have and shall be understood to have the supreme trust . . . and the highest and final judgment concerning all natural \textit{or} civil things; but not concerning things spiritual or evangelical."

\textit{c} Refers to Deane.
of religion, are meerly civill for the punishment of the body; and whatsoever the sentence of the Church [may be], if they doe sentence any person, they send him to the secular power. Soe that will bee as himself has spoken.

Butt I shall add one word. This Army by the blessing of God hath done very great things for the Nation, and itt's the honour of the Nation that itt hath bin a shelter to honest people that had otherwise bin hammer'd to dust, and as longe as God makes us a shelter to them [it will be an honour to us]. Wee are now closing uppe the day, and I thinke every one here is willing to see an end of the days, yea yeares [of his life] were itt to see that freedome soe often spoken of, and that common right soe often desired, clearly brought forth to the people. Your Lordshippe and the Army under your command hath taken uppon you to interpose in those times of straightes, to see if you could finde out such a way as might settle the people in formes of common right and freedome. You have remonstrated this to the world; and to that end you have hinted unto a petition of the 11th of September wherin (if your Lordshippe please to looke uppon that itt doth ayme att) the thinge principally spoken of [is] that there may nott bee a restriction to the opinions of men for matters of religion, to the[ir] consciences. Wee are conclude[d] men cannott master

"We expected," say the Petitioners to the Parliament, "That you would have exempted matters of religion and God's worship from the compulsive or restrictive power of any authority upon earth, and reserved to the supreme authority an uncompulsive power only of appointing a way for the public, whereby abundance of misery, persecution, and heart-burning would for ever be avoided. . . . That you would not have followed the example of former tyrannous and superstitious parliaments, in making orders, ordinances, or laws, or in appointing punishments concerning opinions or things supernatural, styling some blasphemies, others heresies; whereas you know yourselves easily mistaken, and that divine truths need no human helps to support them: such proceedings having been generally invented to divide the people amongst themselves and to affright men from that liberty of discourse by which corruption and tyranny would be soon discovered." Old Parliamentary History, xvii., 456, 458.
passions. I referre this to bee consider'd whether if this bee nott our common right and our common freedome to live under a Civill Magistrate to live by our neighbours, butt as touching religion why should any people bee punished. I thinkke, My Lord, that every one heere when hee speakes his Conscience will say plainly [no]. And now whether wee for prudence or policie should protest. Lctt us doe that which is right, and trust God with the rest. Noe man or Magistrate on the earth hath power to meddle in these cases. As for meum and tuum, and right betweene man and man hee hath right, butt as betweene God and man hee hath noth. Therfore I desire [that] though all agree that the Magistrate hath noe power to doe soe, and wee have noe power to give him; yett seing hee hath in all ages usurp't itt; and in these late yeares, and in this last age\(^a\) almost as in the remembrance of errors and blasphemies had made most of them heere to fall to the ground, and since that is soe wee have great reason to reserve itt soe. Wee might bee willing to reserve itt [hereafter] when wee cannott.


Truly, My Lord, I should nott trouble you agen, butt that I see wee are falne uppon an Argument; and from the convincing of one another with light and reason wee are falne to an eager catching att that which is our owne opinion, and dictating that which is our apprehension, as if itt were the minde of all, and indeed of God himself; and indeed studying to preconclude one another by consequence, as especially the Gentleman did that spoke last. Hee tells us, that wee are bound by the Remonstrance to doe this thinge that now wee are questioning about whether wee should doe or noe; and one ground is because in that our Remonstrance wee had referr'd soe to a petition of the 11th of Sep-

\(^a\) May be paraphrased: "Had almost made religion itself to fall to the ground, under pretence of restraining errors and blasphemies."
tember that wee had desired all thinges [in it] to bee granted. Butt if see it had bin an ill use of itt; if there had bin generally good thinges in itt, and one thinge prejudiciall, though wee did stand uppon all thinges in itt that were [good] wee were false to our Engagement. When wee had desired the whole wee did nott insist uppon every particle of itt. I desire wee may nott proceede uppon mistakes of this kinde. This conduces only to stifle itt, and I wish wee may nott goe about to sett such thinges uppon men's mindes.\(^a\) I must clearly minde that Gentleman, that all that is said in the Remonstrance concerning the [petition of the] 11th of September is butt this: when wee have prosecuted our desire concerning justice, and our desires to a generall settlement, and amongst the rest a dissolving of this Parliament, [we then desire] that this Parliament would apply themselves for the remainder of the time to such thinges as are of publique consideration, and lay aside particular matters that have interrupted them hitherto, and for the further time they shall sitt nott medling with private matters, butt consider those thinges that are proper [work] for Parliaments, as reformation of laws, and providing better for the well government of the nation, and hearken to what hath bin offer'd to them by persons well-affected for the publique good; and amongst the rest [we mention] that petition of the 11\(^{th}\) of September [and we move this as to matters to be taken into consideration, in due time and place, after public justice and the general settlement of the kingdom].\(^b\) Now because wee saw very many and great dreames of good thinges, and therfore have desired they would take itt into consideration with this Agreement and settle-

\(^a\) *i.e.* I wish you would not suggest that the Army has broken its engagements.

\(^b\) The grand army remonstrance of Nov. 20, 1648, to which Ireton refers, supplies the words given here in brackets (*Old Parliamentary History*, xviii., 236). In the text of the speech in Clarke MS. after the word "hitherto" in 1. 16, come the following words, which are clearly misplaced, "and for relation to lawes in that kinde and for providing better for the well government of the nation, and wee move this as to advice to matters of justice and of the kingdom."
ment things of that nature, and amongst the rest that therfore wee should bee concluded because of that, that wee should not now have any thinge in this Agreement that shall not prevale for that which the petition does [is unreasonable].

Another thinge wee have declar'd [for] : to have a settlement uppon grounds of common right and freedome. Itt is the title of the Agreement. a 'Tis true, but I doe not altogether remember that itt is in our Declaration. Lett itt bee soe that itt is a common right. Itt is dictated to us by that Gentleman to bee a common right and freedome [that any man] submitting to the Civill Government of the Nation should have liberty to serve God according to his conscience. b This a right, I will agree to that. That is nott the Question amongst us. For if that were the Question, I should bee sure to give my noe to the allowance of any man [to be punished] for his conscience, and if I had a thousand noes I should give itt, and that as loud as any man.

Heere's a[nother] Gentleman c that does speake for what is to bee done in this businesse, [as being] a matter that is nott necessary to God and Jesus Christ, butt a thinge wherein wee must shew our good will to him, in preserving his people from sufferinges for that which is his worke, his act. If that were the thinge in Question, I should thinke that wee of this Army above all others should walke most unworthy of the mercies wee have found, if wee should nott indeavour [it].

. Butt heere's the case. The Question is now, whether you shall make such a provision for men that are conscientious, [in order] that they may serve God according to their light and conscience, as shall necessarily debarre any kinde of restraint on any thinge that any man will call religion. That's the very Question. Truly, itt is soe, or else you will make noe question. If you could

a "An Agreement of the people of England, and the places therewith incorporated for a firm and present peace upon grounds of common right and freedom."

b Clarke?

c Sprigge.
bringe it to a restraint for the Magistrate to punish only men that are members and servants of Jesus Christ, all that are heere would give an aye to itt. Butt to the question: whether admitting that to bee never see good, and I thinke itt is our great duty and great interest to indeavour [to secure it]—yett whether wee shall make our provision for that in such a way as shall give to all men their latitude, without any power to restraine them, to practice idolatry, [or] to practice atheisme, and any thinge that is against the light of God?

Lieut. Col. Lilburne interrupts.

That is not the Question; butt [whether] that clause may bee in the Agreement or not?

Coñ. Ireton.

Whether this bee not the Question: that at all that] will joyne with you in civill thinges [shall be free from any restraint in spiritual things]? Now I come to tell you of what kinde those thinges are that conscientious men doe thinke the Magistrate ought to restraine. I doe not thinke any man conscientious [that says] that the Magistrate ought to restraine a man from that which Jesus Christ does teach him; butt men have consciences to say that there are many thinges that men may owne and practice under pretence of religion, that there may, may there ought to bee the restraint of them in; and that is the ground of our Question. Butt if I have mistaken this, I shall willingly bee mistaken. However I am sure of this in generall: that there is noe exception to the putting of this in this Agreement butt this; that you cannott see provide for such a reserve as this is for men really conscientious that they shall nott bee persecuted, butt you will

* "These things we declare to be essential to our just freedoms, and to a thorough composure of our long and wofull distractions. And therefore we are agreed and resolved to maintain these certain rules of government and all that joyne therein, with our utmost possibilities against all opposition whatsoever."

by that debarre the Magistrate of a power that hee ought to have to restraine.

Mr. Sprigge.

There is something offer'd in that which I made bold to speake of. The Question that I conceiv'd to bee canvas'd was: whether your Excellency should improve this opportunity to restraine any power whatsoever from oppressing or vexing any man for the thinges that hee does conscientiously?

Co'm. Ireton.

That's nott the Question.

Mr. Sprigge.

I suppose itt will bee resolved in this, and though the termes may bee different.

Co'm. Ireton.

Doe you make that [clear] that they shall nott punish for any thinge butt that, and wee shall stand to itt.

Mr. Sprigge.

I conceive that there is all alonge a supposition of a provision to bee made to prevent heresies in the world, besides that same which is (as I conceive) the only means of suppressing them and eradicating them, and that is the breaking forth of him who is the Truth, the breaking forth of Christ in the mindes and spiritts of men. This is that which does only roote uppe and destroy those heresies, those false conceptions and imaginations; and I conceive that this same is altogether omitted and forgotten in the discourse [of the Commissary General]. For this is the extremity that wee are reduc't to looke uppon. How shall we awoide, say you, butt that the Kingdome may bee over-runne with such thinges as idolatry and the grossest thinges that are? I conceive that itt is nott proper for Magistracie to bee applyed unto this; and therfore if you doe reserve [from
the Magistrate] this power to apply himself this way to the restraint of these, you do not reserve [from] him that which is his right, that to which he bears any proportion, neither do you withhold any means that is proper for the suppressing and preventing of these things. It is a shewing a great diffidence in the spirit of God, and in Christ, as if he would not provide for the maintaining his own truth in the world.

Col. Harrison.

I will only trouble you in a word. We are not yet resolved upon a Question. [The Commissary General] and the Gentleman there that spoke last [differ] which ought to be the Question; though in the issue it will be, whether this clause concerning religion ought to be in [the Agreement]. Yet to the end that you may come to a period [I desire] that you would first take this into consideration: Whether the Magistrate hath any inspection at all in matters of Religion? And when you have concluded that it will fall under your consideration how much [power] will be needful for you upon any considerations to give to him. Therefore, if you will fall into the Debate of the business, I do humbly offer this to your Excellency as the first Question: Whether the Magistrate hath any power or no?

Doctor Parker.

I would not have spoken in this kind, but that I have heard divers men speaking, and yet in my own sense they do not come to that which I apprehend concerning the things. The Gentleman that spoke last spoke well: that he would have a Question [stated, whether the Magistrate hath any power or no]. All that I would add is, that the question be, whether they have any power to restrain men in their own consciences acting to civil peace and civil honesty? Whether Jesus Christ under the New Testament hath given any power to the Civil Magistrate to restrain men professing their Consciences before God, while they walk orderly according to civil peace and civil honesty?
Comi Ireton.

Itt is good to keepe to the Question which was first drawne, and as it is last (whether Jesus Christ hath given such power) itt is a catching Question. Itt was not the businesse of Jesus Christ when hee came into the world to erect Kingdomes of the world, and Magistracies, or Monarchies, or to give the rule of them positive or negative. Therefore if you would consider this Question, whether the Magistrate have any thinge to doe in any thinge which men will call Religion (for you must goe soe large), you must nott confine itt [to the enquiry] whether Jesus Christ have under the Gospell given itt, butt you must looke to the whole Scripture. As there is much in the old Testament which hath lost much, yett there are some thinges of perpetuall and naturall right, that the Scripture of the old Testament doth hold forth, wherein itt does beare a cleare witnesse to that light that every man hath left in him by nature, if hee were nott deprav'd by lust. There are some thinges of perpetuall right in the old Testament that the Magistrate had a power in before the coming of Jesus Christ in the flesh. Unlesse you can shew us that those thinges are nott a perpetuall right, nor had nott their perpetuall end, butt had only their temporall end, soe as to determinate by his coming in the flesh, you must give us leave to thinke that the Magistrate ought according to the old institution to follow that right.

Col. Hewson.

I desire your Excellency to consider whether itt tends? If itt bee a Question tending to that, then consider what you doe in putting itt to the Question. Either you resolve that they have a power or nott. I would faine learne if itt bee resolved whether that trust bee infallible, if itt bee liable to a mistake then wee may build a very great foundation.

Lo. Generall.

Now is only to dispute the Question.
Mr. Nye.

My Lord;

[I desire] that your Lordshippe would bee pleased to state the Question. There is one thinge that I have observed, that words of a neere significatie [sometimes lead to confusion], and I conceive these two words doe. Itt is one worde of "matters of religion," and another "matters of conscience." Matters of conscience is larger then "matters of religion." Itt concernes that of the 2d table. Now if itt bee the power of the Civill Magistrate over consciences for a man may make conscience of some thinges. There was a Gentleman cast into Newgate to bee executed for having two wives, and hee had this case of conscience;\(^b\) hee sent for severall Divines, and amongst the rest I had this dispute. All the arguments about persecution for conscience. "Those that were of neerest affinitty to sett them farthest off" [etc.].\(^c\) [Say] such matters [of conscience] as concerne the first Table; then you come to distinct termes.

Mr. Walford.\(^d\)

As a servant to your Excellency I desire to speake a worde. There is none concern'd more in libertie then the Lord himself. I know nothing butt that Kingses and Armies and Parliaments might have bin quiett att this day, if they would have lett Israel lone. For men to give away God how well they will answer itt I doe nott know. The Lord is a transcendent thinge. There is a seede gone forth from God . . . and whilsts I am in bonds heere you will punish mee, when I shall come to returne to my spiritt. . . . Itt was nott the saints butt God himself. . . . and therfore all that I shall say to this—if you can make by your power a Magistrate a Lord and lett him bee sett uppe assoone as you will. I have noe more to say.

* MS. "that of religion."

* i.e. made this a case of conscience, said he was following his conscience in thus acting.

* Specimen of the argument used by the gentleman.

* Walford was one of Fairfax's chaplains.
Sir Hardresse Waller.

I should desire the Question if I thought the Question would doe the businesse. I am afraid wee are gotten into the ocean againe, I should desire that might bee minded to save the time. Itt was moved a while since, and that by the way, to putt itt to such a thinge as may bee satisfactorie, for I doe nott thinke that words can satisfie the hearts of men. Butt if your Lordshippe shall take such a course that men of all interests to bee together. Lett the world know you will bring them into their civil quiett. Wee doe nott know butt that they will bee all agreed in this, and when itt is declared to the world, all Gods people may bee free.

Major Barton a.

An't please your Lordshippe, for ought I perceive there are many presumptions. Many thinke there are great presumptions. I desire there may bee tendernesse had, and that is first, that Justice may bee executed. b I feare stating this soo high itt does somethinge putt a demurre uppon that, and uppon what ground I doe nott know. I shall desire, that the meritt of the Remonstrance may bee consider'd, and noe other thinge offer'd that may intermingle, and desire that as itt is of that tender consideration as to bloud or peace. I heare of some thinges that hath bin spoken heere, that there have bin divers invited that as yett doe nott appeare; and [I move] what was by one Gentleman c offer'd to your Lordshippe, that the place and time may bee doe determined as to this particular that they may have a further invitation, and soo bee invited that they may come. I shall desire that wee doe nott lay a foundation of distractions.

a Of Scroope's regiment of horse.
b Apparently refers to the King's trial.
c Referring to Harrison's proposal for a Committee.
Col. Titchborne.

I shall desire to move this, that when wee doe putt itt to the Question, first, that you would propose heere what shall bee the Questions in the Debate; and then to referre itt to some persons and some time wherein you may take the concurrence of all persons that doe concurre. And in the meane time that the rest may bee [busied] in the [matters] that concerne the whole.

Mr. Overton.\(^b\)

I have observed, that there hath bin much controversie about this point, and severall motions concerning the matters. One thinge offer'd by Col. Hewson and some others, that some of all parties might bee chosen. I humbly conceive the same thinge hath bin already done, for there hath bin fower of severall parties chosen for the drawing uppe of this Agreement,\(^c\) which they have done to try who will agree, and who will nott agree; for itt is a thinge nott of force butt of agreement; and I presume, that there is noe man heere butt is satisfied in his owne judgement what to agree to, and what nott to agree to. I desire itt may passe to the Question, [yea] or noe?

Com. Ireton.

I should bee as free as any man to have a catch of his owne Agreement, there was little difference in those that drew this uppe.

All.

Calling for the Question.

[Commissary-General] Ireton.

My Lord, the Question that men doe call for is nott as to the

\(^a\) MS. "whole."

\(^b\) Richard Overton.

\(^c\) See Preface. The history of the drawing up of the original "Agreement" is given at length by Lilburne.
Agreement—whether that clause may bee fitlie in or noe, or any thinge to that purpose—a—butt [a question] to bee debated in relation to our judgements.

The Question was: Whether the Magistrate have any power in matters of Religion, that is, those thinges concerning the first Table?

Col. Rich.
I shall offer one worde to the Question.

Coñ. Ireton.
Whether the Magistrate have or ought to have any power in matters of Religion, by which wee understand the thinges concern'd under the First Table?

Col. Rich.
My Lord, I finde that there is a generall agreement by every person that hath spoken, that itt is nott his desire that the Civill Magistrate should exercise a power to persecute any honest man that walkes according to his conscience in those thinges that are really religious, and nott pretended soe. What is represented in opposition to this is: That wee cannott finde out any way to discriminate this from that exorbitant liberty which those that are nott Religious butt would pretend to bee soe, would take. If you please I should offer my sence to the Question:

Whether or noe the Civill Magistrate is to exercise any power, restrictive or compulsive, uppon the persons of men in matters of Religion, they walking inoffensive to the Civill peace?

Coñ. Ireton.
My Lord, I still say, that whoever is eager to catch advantages

* Order of clauses altered.

b MS. "this,"

CAMD. SOC. VOL. II. P
for his owne opinion that there may be an advantage gained on the other hand, does not further agreement. That which is propounded I did offer it, that men under pretence of Religion may break the peace, [or do] things that are civilly evil. Now, My Lord, I suppose that “whether if a man doe walk civilly & inoffensively or noe,” is not at all necessary to be considered in this, which is the first and maine Question that is here propounded, [viz.] whether in some things which [a man] may call Religion, [the magistrate] may have a restrictive power. Whether compulsive or restrictive power you may take it whether you will. Yet it may still be the question, if you will have it put [after the main question].

Doctor Parker.

One word more I added, that word “civil peace” or “civil honesty.”

Com. Ireton.

Make it whatever you will according to “civil peace” or “civil honesty;” yet still it remains to be debated [whether the magistrate is to exercise any power in matters of religion].

Major Barton.

My Lord, I do perceive as I judge, and speak it with submission, that there are some here that are too inclinable to follow the course of corrupt Committees formerly, that were forward to put the Question before there be satisfaction given.

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"MS. "hee."  "MS. "hee."

* The order of the clauses given in the MS. has been altered.

Ireton's point is that the question raised by Parker may be considered later after the main question, whether the magistrate has any power at all, has been settled.
Capt. Hodden.

Heere have bin very many disputes what would bee the Question, and if these words bee nott further explain'd in those termes the Question is still, and hath bin, that which I thinke most mens spiritts heere have from the beginning satisfied to bee, [to wit]: Whether you will restraine Magistrates from that tyranny of compelling or enforcing* men, and persecuting men for doing those things they doe out of conscience, and as to the worshipp of God?

Com. Ireton.

Reades the Question.

Whether [the Magistrate ought to have any power in matters of religion, by which we understand the things concerned under the first Table]?

Col. Harrison.

I desire the word compulsive may bee added, for restrictive will nott bee large enough. If [the words] any power bee nott large enough, [I desire that] then you will take both "compulsive" and "restrictive."

Comn. Ireton.

My Lord, I perceive it's every man's opinion, that the Magistrate hath a protective power; and if you will apply matters of Religion to the first Table, itt will bee granted [that he should also have a] compulsive. "Thou shalt have noe other Gods butt mee,"

"Thou shalt make noe graven image" &c. "Thou shalt nott take the name of the Lord in vaine." And then for the 4th. "Thou shalt nott doe any manner of worke [on the Sabbath day].

Whether the Magistrate have or ought to have any power in matters of Religion?

Mr. Bacon.

I doe apprehend there hath bin much time taken uppe about the

* MS. "informing."
restrictive power and the compulsive power; that is concerning the power of the Magistrate in matters appertaining to the Kingedome of Heaven, and the Kingdome of God. They have bin debated, first, whether hee have power; and 2dly what is that power that hee hath; and soe whether the power that hee hath bee either compulsive or restrictive. Now I doe conceive, that any other power [than that] which is purely protective hee hath nott; and I doe give this account. The whole power of the Magistrate is said to bee the power of the sword, an outward power. I doe apprehend [that] really all matters relating to the Kingedome of God are purely and altogether spiritual; and therfore I conceive [that] to allow the Magistrate any other power then that which is purely protective of men to live quietly is to putt a power into the hands of the Magistrate which is nott att all given him by God. I speake some thinge as a man, and I crave leave to speake a word only as a Christian, as touching affaires of this nature, which I doe confess is a matter to bee acknowledged as the great and wonderfull worke of God. To witt, that there is a time [of] coming forth of captives, according as the Scripture speakes, "I will take off every yoake and remove every heavy burthen from off the people, because of the anointing," that is, because of Christ. Now Sir, give mee leave [to say], this thing is the great matter, and it is the glory of the nation that wee have lived to [see] it, and it is the care of the honourable Councill and all the good people of the Nation, how wee are [to] secure the people of the Nation from the like thrldome they have bin in in times past. I will lay downe only this one position. The ground of all that enmity that hath bin of men one against another, and of the universall enmity that hath bin in all sorts of men against God, I conceive hath bin the state of ignorance, and darkenesse, and pretence of Religion that hath bin amongst us. That nott having the faith itt self which wee have pretended to see wee have rather the forme of godlinesse then the power of itt, and

a MS. "to." b Order of clauses altered. c Isaiah, x., 27.
God hath bin pleased to bringe forth as wee have heard. There are certayne men in the Army that having tasted of the good worde of God and the powers of the world to come, that have bin in the good land, have bin in such a scattered time, wee all having light come, that the land may have her sabaoth in a good sence after 6 or 7 yeares disturbance or trouble now taken away, and therfore the Lord fill the Nation with men of upright spiritts. Whatever you doe appoint for the restrayning of men the Magistrate his hands will nott bee bound uppe, butt hee will keepe his power against that Religion that is contrary to himself; and therfore that's to bee prevented att this time as longe as wee goe noe further.

CoMM. IRETON.

A caution that you would use such words as concerne a restrictive power.

Whether the Magistrate have or ought to have any compulsive, or restrictive power in matters of Religion?

1. That those who are of the opinion in the affirmative, begin to lay downe their grounds, and that the discussion bee alternate;

2. That if noe man give grounds for a compulsive power, then those that doe speake against the power of the Magistrate will speake only to the restrictive power.

Mr.——

If there bee noe man heere to speake. . . . . That that, I should offer to consideration is this. When Israel having bin at a losse a longe time had renewed their Covenant with God soe that God accepted them, Hee was pleased to deliver his minde to them (and nott only to them but to all the sons of men) in those ten words, commonly called, the Ten Commandements. Now as your good Apostle saith, they consist of two Tables, and the commands of the

* From this point the speech becomes simply a collection of fragmentary sentences.
* MS. adds "or ought to be."
first Table are all negatives. Now God never gave any rules to the
sons of men butt hee gave them to bee in force. For my owne
parte I apprehend, that they are morall, and soe a rule to all the
sons of men as well as to Israel, butt especially to those who are
zealous for their God. That there is a compulsive power left to
the Magistrates that I cannot allege; butt that there is a restric-
tive [power from the very] nature of the Commandements that I
doe hold necessary. Neither did Israel itselft goe about to
compell any man, butt were very watchfull and shy whome they
did admitt into communion with them, butt wee have observed
that they have restrain'd, as itt concerns every Magistrate [to do].
Wee must nott looke att Pagans and Heathens that are revolted
from their dutties to God, and yett God hath left those impressions
uppon the sons of men that you shall nott finde any people butt
they worshippe some God. Now the command of God in that
kinde is, that they should worshippe noe other God butt him.
This is that which I thinke lies uppon all powers, to suffer noe
other God to bee worship't butt Jehovah; and soe the 2d Com-
mandement does restraine Idolatry. Butt as hee is pure in himself,
soe hee will have such a worshipp as himself hath instituted and
appointed; hee will nott have the sacred name taken in vaine.
Now any that shall breake the 2d or 3d Commandement comes
under the cognizance of the Civill Magistrate. Soe for the 4th,
though there bee a Prologue leading to itt, yett itt is restrictive.
Soo that though I have nothing to say for compulsive power, yett
thus much I have to say, that [the magistrate ought to have a
restrictive power]. God deliver'd these things to Moses that
was a prince in Israel, and itt is a rule to this day, and itt is a rule
by the light of Nature [also]; and therefor itt properly concerns
the princes of the people, especially those that know* God, to
restraine corrupt worshippe.

* MS. "knew."
Mr. Nye.

I speake to this. That there is noe ground from the nature of the Meeting to conclude every man [as agreeing] that sayes nothing, if your end bee by the suffrage of silence to second your owne judgements, to stampe your owne judgements, butt these have a better foundation then silence, butt least silence should bee soe farre thought of—Truly as the Question is stated I thinke a man may assent to itt, if you will take the wordes, "those things that are truly religious."\(^a\) If the contests that is betweene us and Byshopps were by way of compulsion they have assum’d soe much as this. That even in that which is truly religious, the worshipp and service of God, they have putt such restrictions\(^b\) as these are: that men shall nott preach though they bee called of God; and soe likewise compulsion, that such a forme of prayer [should be used]. In this sence your Question ought to bee understood, and soe to take the words in your proper speech, and that is religion. For if you say "religion" simply, by itt you understand true religion; and if you speake of any other thinge you will give itt’s adjunct "false religion;" and soe a man may easily stand to itt, and yett nott come to what is the drift of the Question: whether a false religion, or such matters as these, are [matters which] the Magistrate hath to doe withall. If itt bee understood in that strict sence, I must stand with you in itt. I doe nott thinke, that the Civill Magistrate hath anythinge to doe determinativly to inforne anythinge that is matters of religion, to inforne the thinge that is that I doe extreamly question. Butt for the other [question], whether the Magistrate have anythinge to doe under any notion or consideration whatsoever, either of setting uppe the false God, which is noe religion indeed, that for my owne parte I must profese that I doe thinke the Magistrate may have somethinge to doe in that. And soe I shall deliver my judgement that noe man shippewreck himself in this thinge.

\(^a\) The last clause has been transferred from a later sentence. Nye proposes to amend Ireton’s definition by adding these words.
\(^b\) MS. "reasonings."
Mr. Wildman’s Question.

Whether the Magistrate have any restrictive or compulsive power in the time or manner of Gods worshippe, or [as to] faith or opinion concerning him?

Coën Gen. Ireton.

Whether the Magistrate have or ought to have any power of restrayning men, by penalties or otherwise, from the profession or practice of any thinge the evill or good whereof relates to God only?

Col. Harrison.

That you will leave [thereby] the judgement to the Civill Magistrate [to decide] whether the doing of such a thinge bee [relating] to God [only] or noe. Whether [when the magistrate punishes] errour or * heresie, hee doe nott [profess to] punish them as itt relates to the Neighbour; and whether if soe, wee † doe nott leave them to bee punished [by using those words.]?

Coën. Ireton.

1. I take itt for granted that [the things commanded in] those words which wee call the fower first Commandements they are matters of religion, the fault of c non-performance whereof relates to God only, the duty and satisfaction if a man doe observe them relates to God onely. I speake concerning such thinges. As to them I give my ground thus. That as to those thinges the Magistrate hath a power to restraine men, and ought to doe itt. I argue first from the possibility of the thinge. Those are thinges against which there is a testimonie in the light of nature, and consequently, they are thinges that men as men are in some capacity [to judge of], unlesse they are perverted—indeed a man perverted in his owne lusts cannott judge of any thinge even matters of common honesty.

* MS. "of."  † MS. "hee."  c MS. "or."
Those who are subject[s] and not the judges, they are likewise in [a] capacity to judge of the evil of those things even by the light of nature. And in that respect I account it is proper and not unsuitable to the judgement of men as men, and of Magistrates as Magistrates, because (if any body will take notes of it in writing they may *) because in such things the Magistrate by the light that he hath as a man may judge, and the subject by that light that he hath as a man may be convinced.

In the next place I goe to grounds of Scripture, and shew that this is the Magistrates duty. And first I will take it for granted till some body give mee reason to the contrary:

1. That tis the injunction [of the old Testament], and likewise itt hath bin the practice of Magistrates in all the time of the old Testament till the coming of Christ in the flesh, to restraine such thinges. If any doubt it they shall have proofes: first, that the Magistrates of the Jewes as Magistrates were commanded to restraine such thinges: secondly, that they were commended when they did it: thirdly, that they were reproved when they did not: This is cleare through the current of the old Testament.

And first because I see the answers to these are obvious, I shall speake to the two chief [answers], and shew you what is objected. That is first: [that] what the Magistrates of the Jewes might or ought to doe is noe rule to others, for they were to doe it as ecclesiastical Magistrates, Church matters concerning them; [that by] the punishment of death or such other punishments, they did butt allude to excommunication, unto the time of the Gospell; and that you can make noe inference from what they ought to doe as to conclude a perpetuall duty of Magistrates, butt a duty allegorically answer’d in the duty of Ecclesiastical [officers in ecclesiastical] thinges. This I have have heard to be one answer; and to this I shall butt apply one reason to shew the inconveniencie of this answer [to] those grounds that wee give from Scripture, and that is this. If

* Probably a reference to Clarke's note-taking.
itt doe appeare that those that were the Magistrates amonge the Jewes,—whether they were Ecclesiasticall or Civill Magistrates—that they were to exercise this power, nott only to persons within the Church, but [to persons] without the Church, professedly noe way within the compasse of the Church, then that objection is taken away. Butt I thinke [it is clear that] they were to extend this power to those that were out of the Church. They were commanded to beate downe the Idolls, and groves, and images of the land whither they went; they were commanded that they should nott suffer the stranger that was within the gate to worke on the Saboath, [and not to] to suffer swearers or idolaters of any kinde. If any man doubt that, itt is an easie matter to produce Scripture for that purpose—Soe that itt is cleare to mee they did [it] consider’d as Magistrates having an auctority civill or nacturall, not as persons signifying or typifying the power of Ecclesiasticall Officers under the Gospell; and therfore what was a rule of duty to them (unlesse men can shew mee a ground of change) is a rule and duty of Magistrates now.

And that rule or duty to them leads mee to the next evasion: that what was a rule to them under the Law as Magistrates does nott hold under the Gospell. Now to this I answer (and I doe these things because I would give men grounds against the next meeting to consider of some things) ; I say that I will acknowledge as to those things enjoyn’d the practice whereof was commanded, the neglect whereof was reproved in the Magistrates of the Jewes, whose end was typicall and determinative, to end att the coming of Christ, to all those [I acknowledge] the duty of the Magistrate doth cease. Either as to restriction or compulsion [it]. doth cease; because itt relates [not] to the thinges themselves. Butt for those thinges themselves for which they had a perpetuall ground in relation of the duty to God, a perpetuall rule by the law written in mens hearts, and a [perpetuall] testimonie left in man by nature—and soo consequently for those thinges whereof the ground of duty towards God is nott chang’d—for those thinges I account that
what was sin before is sin still, what was sin to practice [before] remains sin still, what was the duty of a Magistrate to restraine before remaines his duty to restraine still. And thus I have given my grounds why wee ought [not] to binde the hands of the Magistrate, [so] that they shall not restraine men from evills, though against God only, that are given as breaches of the first Table only.

Mr. Nye.
I should have made bold to suggest my thoughts this way before. I doe not profess it to bee my opinion, but now I shall doe it upon a ground or two.
Under favour I thinke your resolution att first was to propose some objections now, and leave them to consideration.

Mr. Goodwin.
I shall crave leave to speake a few words to what the Commissary Generall hath said.
You were pleased to lay this for your ground. That the Magistrate ought to have a restrictive power in matters of religion, because matters of false worshippe (or at least of idolatry) are matters comprehended within the light of nature, such as may bee perceived by natural men. I conceive first: That it is not whatsoever may bee made out, may bee drawn* out by much meditation, or discourse, or inference by the light of nature—you will not call this matters of the light of Nature; for then every man that is to obey your lawes ought to bee a student, and by contemplations finde those things that lie as remote from mens first apprehensions. There are abundance of thingses that may bee made out by the light of nature which are not lawes or constitutions. All law ought to bee [such] thingses [as may be known] by the light of nature; butt

* MS. "driven."

* b Order of sentences changed.
such things as ought to bee knowne by the light of nature without inquiry, without meditation. See [for instance with regard to] things as to the being [of God], as to the creation of the world. It is an hard thinge for any man to come to frame a notion by such a meditation of such a being as is in God. You must put in infiniteness of wisedome &c. It will require much of a man's time to frame such a notion which will answer the being of God. For this is nott [to knowe God], to beleive that there is a God, to say there is a being which is more then men, from above that which is of men. Butt to know God is to beleive that there is a true God. "This is life eternall to beleive the only true God." That was for that thinge. That though itt bee [possible] by the light of nature to make out [that there is a God, that though] men are capable by the light of nature to conceive that there is a God, yett to conceive this in a right and true manner itt is in the profundities, in the remotest parte, amongst those conclusions which lie farthest off from the presence of men, [even] though itt should bee in the light of nature.

And then againe, [with regard to] what you were pleas'd to observe concerning the Old Testament and the power of the Magistrate, I shall desire to suggest these two things by way of answer. My ground is: that there is nott the same reason for the power, and the exercise of the same b power [under the] the Gospell [as there was] under the law. My first reason is this. Wee know, that the Magistracie of the old Testament was appointed, instituted, and directed by God himself. The Magistracie under the Gospell is chosen [by men], and they are vested with that power which they have from men. Now God may bee his owne carver. If hee will create and sett uppe Magistrates hee may give them what power hee pleases, and give them charge to exercise such a power as hee shall conferre upon them. And then further

a "This is life eternal that they might know thee the only true God." John xvi, 3.

b MS. "samenesse of power."
there is this. There is a peculiar and speciall reason why Magis-
trates under the law should bee invested with such a power in
matters of religion, and that reason being chang'd under the new
Testament the consideration will nott hold; itt will nott paralell
here. The reason is this. Wee know the land of Canaan, and
indeed all things in itt, nott only those that were . . . .\textsuperscript{a}
poeti-
cally, butt the land and Nation and people, was typicall of Churches,
and \textsuperscript{[typical]} of the Churches of Christ under the Gospell, of the
purity of them and holinesse of them. Canaan is the Kingdome of
Heaven as wee all generally know.\textsuperscript{b} There was a necessity, that
land being a type of perfect holinesse and of the Kingdome of
Heaven, that there should bee lawes and ordinances of that nature
which should keepe all things as pure and free to worshippe as
possibly might bee. Otherwise the visage,\textsuperscript{c} the lovelinesse of the
type, would have bin defac't. Itt would nott have answer'd God's
designe in itt. Now unlesse wee shall suppose that the lands and
state[\textsuperscript{s}] under the Gospell are typicall alsoe, there is noe reason
that wee should thinke to reduce them to those termes\textsuperscript{d} \textsuperscript{[as the}
land of Canaan was]}, or by such wayes \textsuperscript{[as the land of Canaan
was]}. That is by forcible meanes, by stronge hand, as God did
then order and use for the clearing of that land, of that naked
piece, which bee intended should bee a type of that whole estate of
things in his Kingdome and his Church. And that's another
thinge. Inasmuch as Magistrates now in \textsuperscript{[being are under]} the
Gospell, they are from the first,—and soe consequently to the
lowest, for they have all their descent from him—\textsuperscript{[all instituted by
man]}. If soe bee wee shall conceive they have power from him,
itt should bee part of that power which is putt into him, and vested

\textsuperscript{a} Word illegible.
\textsuperscript{b} See the argument of Roger Williams in \textit{The Bloudy Tenent of Persecutions},
ed. 1648, p. 272 \textit{et seqg}.
\textsuperscript{c} I should be inclined to suggest "virtae" in place of visage, were it not that
Goodwin might perhaps have been intending a play upon words.
\textsuperscript{d} The MS. continues "for matter of freeness."
upon him who made them and sett [them] uppe in the place of Magistrates. For that you were pleas'd to suggest in another parte of your discourse, that there is a certain [inherent] power in Magistracy; for man marks the case and God putts in the jewel, men present and God impowers. I doe nott conceive there is any such thinge in itt, for then there was a necessity that the extent of the Magistraticall power should bee the same throughout the world. Wheras if you looke into the state of all Nations, [you will see] that the power that is putt into the hands of Kingses and princes is moulded and fashioned by the people; and there is scarce any two places in the world where the power[s] of the rulers are the same. Magistrates have soo much power as the people are willing to give them. If [it be] soo now, then if a body of people, as the commonalty of this land, if they have nott a power in themselves to restraine such and such thinges, [as] matters concerning false worshippe, amongst themselves, certaine itt is, that they cannott derive any such power to the Magistrate, butt hee does act itt of himself, and by an assuming unto [himself] that which was never given unto him. There is much more to bee spoken in this point.

Mr. Nye.

The Arguments to abate what the Commissary Generall said are many.

I shall speake butt to one branch, and the last thinge mentioned: that the Magistrate hath noe other power butt what is conveyed to him by the people; for that I thinke is the [great] consideration. For what the Commissary was pleased to say as in relation to the Jewees, wee doe nott beleive that all that was there was typicall, butt much [was] rather morall, judicall; butt that such a thinge was then in practice as to putt a power in the Magistrate to have somethinge to doe about religion about matters of God. [1]

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* Cf. The Bloody Tract, pp. 214, 205, 341.
* MS. "magistrates."
* MS. "ct."
THE CLARKE PAPERS. 119

will take uppe this consideration: that that fundamentall principle of a Commonwealth to act what they are pleas'd to act, does nott in the least lie in the Ministeriall power butt in the Legislative power; and if so itt lie[s] in the people. If soe, then [I would ask], whether itt doe nott lie in the power of the people to consider any thinge that may tend to the publique weale and publique good, and make a law for itt, or give a power [for it]. Whosoever a company of people gather'd together may judge tending to the publique good, or the Common weale, that they have a liberty [to do], soe longe as itt is nott sinfull. They may putt this into the Ministeriall power to attend itt. Now Sir, suppose this bee laid downe as another principle, [I would ask] whether may nott a company [of people] conclude together and sitt downe in a Commonwealth to doe what may bee done in a lawfull way for the preserving and feeding of the bodie to their good. That the thinges of our God, itt is that which is of publique good and publique concernement, and amonge all other comforts of life I looke uppon this as one, aswell as my house and foode and raiment.  

A second consideration may bee this: that there may bee such [and such] sins for which God will take account and make miserable this Commonwealth, those [men] being Christians, or [even] if they have the light of nature [only]. By the light of nature wee are able to say for such thinges God will plague a Nation, and judge a Nation. A companie of men mett together to consult for common good doe pitch uppon such thinges as doe concerne the Commonwealth. They would doe what they can to prevent such sins or provocacions as may [make judgments] come downe uppon their heads. In this case I doe nott goe about to say this, that a Magistrate, as if hee had an edict from heaven, should oppose this [or that]; butt that the people making of them, if itt bee lawfull for

* Nye's argument is clearly "If a Commonwealth may provide for feeding the bodies of its members may it not provide also for feeding their souls, etc."
* The position of the last sentence has been changed.
* "them," i.e. laws, or possibly magistrates.
them to make such conclusions or constitutions to avoid such evil's, 
the Magistrate may lawfully exercise that which they may lawfully 
make; and therefore I say it was once exercised under the Jewish 
Commonwealth. Then [if the end of a Commonwealth be to pro-
vide] for common good, and if the thinges of God [and blessings] 
appertayning to them be a good to bee wish't; if they doe nott 
[only] tend to that [common good], butt prevent the evill and 
judgements of God, I know nothing butt in conclusion there may 
bee some power made uppe in the Magistrate as may tend to itt.

Mr. Wildman.

I suppose the Gentleman that spoke last mistakes the Question. 
Hee seems to speake as in relation to the peoples giving that 
power the Gentleman spoke before, butt to that which hee spoke 
this may bee answer'd de futuro. That itt is nott lawfull to 
intrust the Magistrate with such a power. That itt was nott 
meerly typicall. The Question was, whether itt were morall? If 
itt were nott morall itt were [not] perpetuall. If itt were morall 
itt must goe to all Magistrates in the world. That the Magistrate 
should act to his conscience, destroy and kill all men that would 
nott come to such a worchippe as hee had. God hath nott given a 
command to all Magistrates to destroy idolatry, for in consequence 
itt would destroy the world. To that which the Gentleman said, 
that the people might conferre such a power uppon the Magistrate 
in relation to a common good, I answer: that matters of religion 
or the worchippe of God are nott a thinge trustable, soo that either 
a restrictive or a compulsive power should make a man to sin. To 
the 2d thinge: that [there might be such a power] nott only in 
relation to a common good, butt to the prevention of evill; because 
by the Magistrates preventing such thinges as are contrary to the 
light of nature—To that I answer itt is nott easily determinable 
by the light of nature what is sin; and if the Gentleman speake of

* The beginning of this speech is hopelessly confused. Wildman attempts to 
anwser both Nye, "the gentleman that spoke last," and Goodwin, "the gentleman 
that spoke before."
things betweene man and man, of things that tend to [destroy] humane society, hee is besides the Question; if concerning matters of the worshippe of God, itt is an hard thinge to determine [by the light of nature.] Itt is nott easy by the light of nature to determine there is a God. The Sunne may bee that God. The Moone may bee that God. To frame a right conception or notion of the first being, wherein all other thinges had their being, is nott by the light of nature. Indeed if a man consider there is a will of the Supreme cause, itt is an hard thinge for [him by] the light of nature to conceive how there can bee any sin committed; and therfore the Magistrate cannott easily determine what sins are against the light of nature, and what nott. And to both of those considerations together this may bee said. Supposing both these thinges were thus, yett [to give the Magistrate this power] is butt to putt the Magistrate in a probable condition to doe good, or in a capacity probably to prevent sin. Because the Magistrate must bee conceived to bee as erroneous as the people by whome hee is restrain’d, and more probable to erre then the people that have noe power in their hands." The probability is greater that hee will destroy what is good then prevent what is evill. Soe that to both of them they doe nott putt the Commonwealth into soe much as a probability of any good by such a trust committed to them.

Com. Generall.
I shall desire butt a worde or two. Truly I did indeavour when I began to goe in the way that men might judge whether there was weight in what was said in the reply; and I perceive there was noe other ground laid then what I said, [or] then what Mr. Nye did addde further as a rationall satisfacciion to men why such a thinge might bee intrusted. Butt I suppose the grounds of this are such

* i.e. “equally fallible and more likely to err.” Some word such as “constituted” is required by the sense, in place of “restrained.”

CAMD. SOC. VOL. II.
as to lay a ground upon conscience why it is or should be the duty of Magistrates in a Commonwealth to use what power they have for the restraining of such things as sins against the first Table, [and] practices forbidden in the first Table; and I would very faine once hear somebody to answer to these grounds that I lay to that. I have heard an answer to one of those grounds: that things are subject to men's judgements, . . . to the judgement of the Magistrates, and to the conviction of the subject. Butt I have heard none upon the Scripture ground, and I would heare something of that. 1. That in the state of the Jewes the Magistrate there as a Magistrate,—and as a Magistrate nott of a Church only butt as a Magistrate of a Nation—hee had [the] power and [the] right [to restrain such things]—nay itt was a duty uppon him, hee was injoyn'd to itt, and when hee did itt hee was commended for itt, and when hee neglected itt hee was condemn'd and brought to ruine for itt—and [it was] to bee exercised to others then to those that were members of the Church only. That this therefore which was the rule then, is a rule to a Magistrate as a Magistrate [now], and as the Magistrate of a Kingdome or a Nation. That [which] was then a rule to them that were then [Magistrates] to deserve this commendation if they did itt, and reproof if they did itt nott, is a rule to Magistrates under the Gospell, unlesse in such things the evil or good wherof as then was taken away [by the coming of Christ.] If the things which hee had a power to restraine [was temporarily or typically evil], then I agree that by the coming of Christ in the flesh itt was taken away. Butt if the things were morally and perpetually evill, that which was the ground of the duty [then] will remaine the ground of the duty still, then I conceive the duty as to such things remains the same still. I would I could expresse itt shorter—butt men may take itt shorter,—Butt I would have some answer [these grounds] that is deny that the Magistrates had power to restraine, or [assert that they exercised it not] as Civill Magistrates b of a civil

a MS. "of."

b Position of phrases altered.
society, and [that it] extended only over the Members of an* Ecclesiastical Society; and to shew me some grounds why if it were a duty then it should bee alter'd now, and as subject to men to judge of.

Col. Deane.

The business [as you seeme to state [it] is thus: that in the State of the Jewes there was a Magistrate, and that Magistrate did this and that [to them] that did not act according to the Jewish religion.

Commissary Ireton.

I will agree [that] all that was in the Jewish religion, the good or evill whereof* did tend to typical institution is not a rule of our practice.

Col. Deane.

Why should not the Civill Magistrate in this time punish any man for walking contrary to those rules for which the Jewes were punished?

Com. Ireton.

Those things which the Magistrates of the Jewes did punish as evill, if they bee of the grounds and evill as they were then——

Col. Deane.

Why will you not destroy the Turke and the Jewes, and all others as they did the Canaanites?

Doctor Parker.

I would offer this to the consideration of our worthy freinds that are here.

You say that which was commanded to the Civill Magistrates of the Jewes that is of [moral] right, that is alsoe to bee continued amongst us. I shall offer this objection as to that: that those things

* MS. "any."

* MS. "thorof."
that are of morall right as wee conceive, and that they did practice in their religion, were commanded immediately from God; if they were commanded to them immediately from God, without any injunction to bee practized by their successors, and that they should practice the same thinge, then your argument holds good, otherwise nott. My meaning is this. Wee know itt was of morall right, that noe man should kill his owne sonne. Abraham had an injunction to the contrary. God may give out injunctions to his owne will and pleasure, face to face, to any particular person, and to bee obeyed by that particular person, [even if contrary to] those thinges that are of morall right. Itt is of morall right I should preserve my childe, and doe him all the good I can doe. Yett because God did command a contrary thinge itt was practised. Soe on the other side, if God will command thinges to bee done [by particular magistrates], they doe nott conclude all successors of [those] Magistrates that are in the same power.

Mr. Gilbert.

The Doctor sayes, if wee can shew that those commands are now binding uppon Magistrates hee'le grant us the Question as for his parte. Truly I have this to offer. Itt will bee much in compliance with what the Commissary General [said]. There were three lawes amongst the Jewes, the Ceremoniall, Judiciall, and Morall Lawes: I suppose the Judiciall law as to the pains of itt was a fence and guard to the Ceremoniall and Morall law. [In the first place] the law doth aime at obedience to itt, and in the second place a punishment to itt's disobedience. I conceive the punishment of the Ceremoniall law was nott [a part] of the Morall law itt self, butt [a fence] of the purity of the Jewes. Soe farre as the Judiciall [law] was a fence and out worke to the

* MS. "panges."  
* MS. "ence."  
* MS. I conceive the punishment of the Ceremoniall law was not of the Morall law itt self the punishment of the Morall law was not of the Morall law itt self, but of the purity of the Jewes.
Ceremoniall law [it] is salne with the Ceremoniall law. Soe ferre as itt was a fence and outworke to the Morall law itt stands with the Morall law, and that still bindes uppon men. Soe [that part of] the Judiciall law that was a fence to that, is still the duty of Magistrates.

Mr. Collier.

As ferre as I remember the Commissary Generall offer’d two thinges: and the first was, whether that this Judiciall law for the Magistrate to punish thinges which were sin, sin against God, those things in the old Testament mentioned are not commanded by God. And the 2d, whether they are taken away, and soe have noe relation to the Magistrates under the Gospell. Now to the first, I shall give you the ground why those lawes or commands and that Judiciall law given under the time of the Law hath noe reference to us under the Gospell. I might give you particular grounds, but one principall ground of that I shall give you is this, as one ground of that which is given already. As itt is Morall itt should have bin given to all states as well as to the Jewes. But the ground is this, that the law of the Jewes is not binding to us under the Gospell. If itt bee I shall then thus inferre, that the Magistrate hath his power from Divine Institution, and soe hath his power from God, and nott from the Agreement of the people, and if soe then they must come to have the same claime from God. If hee have his Commission from God lett him shew itt, soe say I, if hee have his Commission from God wee have nothing to doe to limit him. b

The 2d thinge that I would minde you then itt is that wee generally agree in, [and it has been] often minded this day: that the Judiciall law to the Jewes is abrogated to us in the Gospell. I meane in respect of the circumstances of itt, though in respect of the truth of itt there is a Judiciall law to bee executed uppon

a MS. "Morall."

b Position of clause altered.
the people nott in the way the Jewes did. I shall give you the grounds of itt. One ground is this, that there are some things mentioned that was given as commands to Magistrates in the Judicial law to punish, with which Magistrates in the New Testament have nothing to doe.\(^a\) I shall minde two in particular. The first is that [sin] of Idolatry which was punished with death in the old Testament. Idolaters are to bee putt to death. That under the Gospell the Gospell is seer farre from giving that liberty much lesse power unto a Magistrate to punish an Idolater with death. To mee it is very clear in these words of the Apostle in 1 Corinthians vii.\(^b\) that if a man or woman had a wife or husband that was an Idolator they were to live with them, and nott to punish them according to the law of the Jewes. The 2\(^a\) thinge I shall minde to you is that of Adultery. Adultery was [under the Law] to bee punished with death. If wee looke to the Judicial law wee must bee exact as to every particular of itt. Wee shall finde, that this law was done away. The woman that was taken in Adultery was brought to Christ, and they told him that Moses' law was to putt her to death. Christ answers, "Hee that is without sin lett him throwe the first stone att her." Now I looke upon it to be mysticall. To mee itt was this: that the Gospell would admitt of noe such thinge as this [Judicial Law], but that there was a New law; and in the Epistles, there was rules given for the excommunication of Adulterers, and [persons guilty of] Incest, and the like, which gives mee ground to judge that the appointing of death under the Old Testament, and the like [penalties to] those which commit such offences doth relate to excommunication.\(^c\)

Col. Hewson.

I am nott satisfied as to the thinge, and therfore I shall nott use

\(^a\) Position of clauses altered.
\(^b\) Position of clause and order of words altered.
\(^c\) In this speech, which is exceptionally confused in the MS., the position of several clauses has been altered.
any argument as from my self; butt having heard some [use an] argument that is nott answer'd I shall desire to hinte itt againe. I shall gather itt uppe in few wordes That which in the Morall law is enjoyn'd unto the Jewes is still of perpetuall use amongst us under the Gospell. Butt restriction in the Morall law is enjoyn'd unto the Jewes, as in the 4th. Commandement. Therfore restriction is in perpetuall use now under the Gospell. This I conceive to bee the summe of what you have from the 4th Commandement. To mee itt seemes to bee of some force. There is some thing hinted of that which was typicall, and the like, butt nothing as to this argument from the Morall law.

Com. Ireton.

Because this Gentleman doth relate an Argument from mee, I'le tell you how I putt itt.

That which was evill in the time of the Jewes, and remains in evill now, and hath the same ground of evill now that itt had then, and especially if such a thinge as was evill even before that law [was] given; for such a thinge what was the duty of a Magistrate to restraine then [remains his duty to restrain now], though I cannott say to restraine itt with the same penalty. For the imposing of a penaltie was judiciall, butt the imposing of a restriction was nott judiciall butt perpetuall. This I take for granted: that [what] was evill then and remains uppon the same ground equally evill now, that if the Jewish Magistrate ought to restraine that even in persons nott under the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, soe ought Christian Magistrates to restraine itt, if they bee Christians, even in those that are nott under the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction.

Mr. Goodwin.

Though itt bee supposed and granted, that the same thinges [which] are evill now as they were under the law [are] to bee
punished now as they were [then], butt if God hath ordain'd new kinde of punishments [for them] to bee punished with, wee can-nott suppose that they are punishable with both punishments. The latter does dissannull the former. If bee that blasphemes is to bee cast out to Satan, that bee may learne nott to blaspheme, itt is impossible that this Commandement of God should bee putt in execution if a blasphemere should bee putt to death.

Coñ. Ireton.

I thinke if wee were now uppon the question of what an Ecclesiastical Judicature or Church Magistrate should doe, itt would very well bee that that should bee the rule that Mr. Goodwin sayes: that such punishments should bee used by the Ecclesiastical Officers (and only such) as are warranted by the Gospell, uppon which the outward calling of the Church hath itt's ground; butt itt is concerning a Civill Magistrate, or a Magistrate of a meere civill constitution. I say this, if any man doe butt consider, that in the Gospell there is nothing that is to bee called and taken as of positive institution, butt that [which is expressly so intended] ; I will nott desire that itt may bee taken any advantage of. Butt parts of the Gospell* are either historicall, expressing what Christ did when bee was in the flesh and how bee was brought to death, as the fower Evangelists, and the Acts of the Apostles. Or else they are exhortatory, written by way of advice to the Churches of the Saints in the severall parts of the world; and they are written to them, [partly] as applyed to what was in generall to bee the condition of all Saints in all ages to the worlds end, and partly [as applyed to] what thingses were the condition of all the saints to whome these Epistles were written. As for the historicall parte of the Gospell—or Prophetical—that's the Revelation—I suppose noe man from the historicall parte will goo to make itt necessary, that in the historicall parte there should bee

* MS. "The Gospell the parts of it."
anythinge of institution of Ecclesiasticall or other Magistrates. In the Epistolary parte, if wee first consider that all the Saints or Churches to whome these Epistles were written were all rather under a condition of persecution under Heathen Magistrates, then having a power of Magistracie in their owne hands, wee have noe reason to thinke that the Epistles written to them should bee intended as to give the rules concerning Magistracie. Butt since there was a rule concerning Magistracie, that is [a rule] by which hee might judge what was evill and what was good—First, Had from the light of nature. 2dly, Had a more cleare foundation in the Morall law (as they call itt) that gave grounds which way the Magistrate might goe—they doe as well leave the Magistrate [free] in the punishment of those things that are in the first Table uppon prudentiall grounds, and notty tying them uppe to the judicall grounds of the Jewish Commonwealth, butt when there should bee any Christian Magistrates leaving them to those foundations and rules of their proceeding which they had a ground for in nature, leaving that which was good or evill to restraine or nott. I conceive the whole drift of the Gospell hath bin to apply [restraint] in that kind to what things are either [un] fitt to bee used amongst men in society as Christians; or else things that were the common duty of men not [merely of] Magistrates [to restrain]; though itt sayes something of that, and if any will say I shall thinke itt to bee very good. Butt this I shall wish to bee consider’d: whether in relation to what is said in the Gospell, if the penaltie does cease then the punishment of itt att all does cease? Then I would faine know, whether by the same ground that Idolatry should [not] bee punished [with death], murmur should not bee punished with death? And [I would fain know] what you can imagine should exempt the Magistrate under the Gospell from punishing Idolaters, should excuse the Magistrate

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*a “Hee,” i.e. the magistrate.

*b “They,” i.e. the Epistles.

c i.e. leaving the magistrates to decide what was to be restrained or permitted.
under the Gospell, or should deterre him from punishing them
with death, or other punishment which under the judicall law is
punishable with death? Whether the same thinges will not serve
to this, that now even for murther, for theft, for all those thinges
that are evills against men, which in that law had their particular
[punishments] prescribed, whether itt would nottt hold as well for
this, that now there ought to bee a libertie under the Gospell, ittt is a
time of mercie, and that wee ought nottt to punish those thinges?

Mr. Goodwin.

Those punishments by death of murther and the like, the
originall of the equitie and justice was nottt to the Jewes only, butt
they were by the law of nature. [The old Testament says:] By
whome man's bloud is shed. But longe before this [murder was
punished by with death].

Com. Ireton.

Wee shall desire noe more [than this]. That if the ground of
that which made ittt sin, and the ground of the punishment does
remaine the same now, then the sin is to bee restrain'd as ittt was
then, and that which was sin then is sin now.

Mr. Nye.

If blasphemy bee punished with two punishments, a sin may bee
punished with two punishments; as for example theft. If a man
were a Church Member hee might bee excommunicated first, and
hang'd afterwards. That was nottt a fallacie.

There were 2 places that Mr. Collier had [alleged]. They must
nottt punish Idolaters then because the Magistrate was soe.* Buttt
for the woman taken in Adultery, this was the reason that Christ
did nottt judge her, because hee would nottt meddle with Magistra-
ticall matters. All the while Christ lived noe Jewshe rite was
abolished.

* i.e. The magistrate was himself an idolater.
Mr. Wildman.

I humbly conceive, that while there is a new saving made whether that such thinges bee null’d by the Gospell, the ground [of your argument is that] which the Commissary Generall sayses.

This is your Argument: that which was sin then, and is now sin, and ought to be punished then, ought to bee punished now. I suppose there is noe consequence att all [in this argument, that] if itt were punished then itt ought to bee punished now. Because itt was [punished then] upon a judiciaall law, which was morall, butt nott naturally morall,* and yourself said, that the punishment was nott naturally [moral]. If soe I would desire to know how wee should distinguish which parte of itt was naturally Morall, and what was nott. The Decalogue contains the whole law. If you will extend itt beyond itt I would know where you will terminate itt. Besides, if itt were naturally Morall, you must found it upon nature. If itt had bin given as a thinge naturally morall, and [to a magistrate] as a magistrate, then itt must belonge to every Magistrate that was in the world, and then you must hold that God had ordain’d such a power to bee in every Magistrate. I must confess, that what was given to them was as Jewish Magistrates, butt nott quatenus Magistrates. Not determining what a Magistrate shall bee you leave us to an uncertainty. Wee finde noe such power att all in any Magistrate.

Mr. Goodwin.

That if this power should have bin destined in all Magistrates, then every Magistrate in the world had bin bound to have putt all his subjects to death.

Coni. Ireton.

If I should reply to what was said, and then adjourne the Court, itt would bee thought nott faire; and thersore I shall say nothing.

* MS. "not morall, but nott naturally morall." Wildman’s next sentence shows that the first "not" is superfluous. Some repetitions have been omitted, and some corrections from a second version of the speech inserted.
in the world to answer to this, butt leave men to judge whether
that which hath bin said bee an answer or noe.

_Councell of War held at Whitehall the 15th of December 1648._

Resolved:

That the Kinge bee forthwith sent for to bee brought under safe
guards, to Windsor Castle, and there to be secur’d in order to the
bringling of him speedily to justice.

Lt. Col. Venables.  
Lt. Col Goffe.  
Major Swallow.  
Captain Grove.

Lt. Col. Cooke.  
Major Barton.  
Major Cambridge.

These are, any three or more of them, to meete at Mr. Hunt his
lodging in Whitehall, upon the rising of this Councell, and thence-
forth to meete de die in diem as they shall agree, to consider of the
best ways and grounds for the speedy bringing of the King to
Justice, and to take advice and assistance therein of any such
persons as they shall finde fitt and able to promote this business,
and to make some report of their proceedings upon Tuesday next
in the afternoone to this Counsell.

The like concerning Duke Hamilton, Lord Goreing, Lord Capell,
Lord Loughborow, and withall to consider their cases in respect of
Articles given them.

Resolved &c.:

That the Earle of Holland, Sir Lewis Dives, Sir John Owen,
Sir Hen: Lingen bee propounded to bee brought to speedy
justice.∗

∗ On Nov. 10 the House of Commons had voted that Holland and Owen and five
other chief promoters of the second civil war should be simply banished. _Lords,
Journals, x., 590, 596; Great Civil War, iv., 246_. But this vote had been
repealed by the Commons on Dec. 19, 1648. _Commons’ Journals, vi., 96_. Mr.
Gardiner points out that Cromwell was of opinion that those leaders should be
tried before the King’s trial instead of afterwards. _Great Civil War, iv., 282_.
Resolved &c.:
That Major Boswell, [Mr. Thomas] Holder, Colonel Thomas, Colonel Mouldsworth, Colonel Boynton bee speedily proceeded against as spyes, and the Judge Advocate to prepare a charge against them.

[Letter to Lt. Col. Cobbett and others.]

Gentlemem,
In pursuance of these inclosed Resolucions of the Generall Councell of Officers I have sent Colonel Harrison with a convoy of Horse and Draggoons to guard the King from Hurst Castle to Windsor. I desire you therefore upon receipt hereof that you bring away the person of the King to Windsor Castle, at such tyme, and by such way and marches as Colonel Harrisone shall direct, who is to order the Guardes for the convoying and safe guarding of him, but you are (until forther order) still to continue your care about the person of the King for his necessary accomodation and the beter secureing of him from escape.

I remaine*

Westminster December 15th 1648.

For Lt. Col. Cobbett.
Captain Merriman &c.

Generall Councell. Westminster Dec. 16 1648.

Magistrat:
The second Reserve, as to the not impressing of any by sea or land, considered and debated.

* Probably signed in the name of Fairfax.
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

Question. Wether wee shall propound in this Agreement any reserve from the power of the Representative in point of impressing men for the Warre.

Past in the Affirmative.

Question. Wether there shalbe a Reserve from the Representative to impress for Forraigne Services.

Past in the Affirmative by all.

[Except Colonel Hewson & Scoutmaster Roe.]

Wee doe not impower them to imprest or constraine any person to serve in forraigne warr, either by sea or land, nor for any military service within the kingdome; save that they may take orders for the forming, traynening, and exercisinge of the people in a Military way, to be in readiness for resisting of forraigne invasions, suppressing of suddaine insurrections, or for assisting in execution of law; provided, that even in such cases none bee compellable to goe out of the county hee lives in, if hee procure another to serve in his roome.※

Resolved &c.:

That this Councell meete againe on Munday next upon the Remainder of the Agreement.

Resolved &c.:

That Dr Pagett, Dr Cox, and Dr Goddard bee added to the

※ In the Agreement as originally laid before the Council this reservation ran thus: "We do not empower them to impress or constraine any person to serve in warre, either by sea or land, every man's conscience being to be satisfied in the justnesse of that cause wherein he hazards his life." Lilburne, Foundations of Freedom, p. 11; Rushworth, vii., 1360. Compare vol. i., p. 409. In the Agreement as presented to Parliament on Jan. 20 this reserve agrees with the resolution as passed on Dec. 16, with the following clause added: "or for assisting in execution of the laws; and may take order for the employing and conducting of them for those ends; provided etc."
former persons appointed to go into London to Colonel Tichburne’s house about the first Reserve on Tuesday at 9 of the clock in the morning.

Major Carter
Captain Hodden \} added of the Army.

That at the meeting of the Council on Munday they bee remembered of this appointment.


The Third Reserve allowed and past thus.

That after the time herein limited for the commencement of the first Representative, none of the people bee at any time questioned for any thinge said or done in reference to the late Warres, or publique differences, otherwise then in execution or pursuance of the determinacion of the present House of Commons, against such as have adhered to the Kinge, or his interest, against the people: and saving that accomptants for publique moneys received shall remayne accountable for the same.

4. The 4th Reserve laid aside.

The 5th suspended, as not proper to the place in which it is sett, coming in among the reserves.

* The third Reserve was passed as it stood in Lilburne’s draft agreement, except that the first sentence ran originally: “That after the dissolution of this present Parliament,” etc. See also vol. i., p. 409. The fourth Reserve, now voted to be laid aside, ran thus: “That in any lawes hereafter to be made, no person by vertue of any tenure, grant, charter, patent, degree or birth, shall be priviledged from subjection thereto, or being bound thereby as well as others.” The bearing of this clause on the position of the House of Lords may be seen by comparing it with the arrangement proposed in 1647. Clarke Papers, vol. i., pp. 391, 408. The fifth Reservation was of the same kind: “That all priviledges or exemptions of any persons from the lawes, or from the ordinary course of legal proceedings, by vertue of any tenure, grant, charter, patent, degree or birth, or of any place of residence or refuge, shall be henceforth void and null, and the like not to be made or reserved again.” Lilburne, Foundations of Freedom, p. 11.
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

Question. Wether the sixth Reserve shalbe waved or not.
Affirmatives 16.
Negatives 18.
Soe that it was carried in the Negative.
The Councell in relation to this business of the Agreement meete on Thursday next.
Ordred to bee added to the Committee to goe into London.
Colonel Hewson.
Major Barton.
Colonel Okey.
Memorandum at the meeteing to morrow to consider of some moderate men to meete in London at Colonel Tichburne's.

Whitehall December the 19th 1648.

Tuesday. Day of Humiliation at Wilmott House.

Major Coleman  
Captain Spencer  
Mr. Cooly
{ added to those formerly appointed to meete at Colonel Tichburne's.

[Sir George Booth to the inhabitants of Cheshire.]

Deare Countreymen,
Most thankfully I acknowledge your respects enhaunct by that your unanimouse electing mee, whoime yow were pleased to appoynt one of your servants in Parliament, which favour of yours haveinge bin ever in myne eye hath comanded from mee what ever my skill or ability could enable mee unto. This I hope I may modestly and safely say, your business I have intended, without designing aney private advantage of my owne by place of honour or proffitt, and have endeavoured soe to smooth and playne my actions, that although in these traducinge tymes 'tis impossible to avoyde, yet may keep.
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

137

...dirt from stickinge on me. I dare not (deare Freinds) soo much weaken my interest in your affections to suppose this declaratory of my selfe necessarie as to you, but shall meane it to those who being strangers to me, and my actions may have just title to it. That which at this time I shall make yours is breifely and exactly to acquaint you, that the 7th of this instant December, comeing as at other tymes, to doe you the best service I could, I was at the stepp, which leads to the outward doore of the House of Commons stopp'd by a guarde supposed to bee of the army, who asked mee whether I was a Parliament man, my answer, I was one; then they demanded my name, I told it them; upon that a long paper was brought out by an officer (as I supposed him) which when they had perused, they told mee I must withdrawe, alledging noe reason at all for it. Knowing it to be both imprudent and vaine to contest with such force I did withdrawe into Westminster hall, where I mett with divers Gentlemen who had received the same usage, with them I joyned in a letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, telling him what interruptions wee had in the way of our duties, and desiring him to acquaint the House with it, which I may hope hee did. This hold I myselfe obliged to doe, that soo your undoubted priviledge might be asserted, which is, as part of the free borne people of England, to send your members to act in the Commons House of the Parliament of England without molestation or interruption; though thus far I had proceeded, yet could not thinke my self to have but very incompleatly discharged my duty, the principle part, as I conceive, being undone, that was acquainting you with it who employed mee, whose servant I am; haveing faithfully presented you with the whole matter I leave it to you. This consideration I hope in the vacancy of my employment, will in your thoughts acquitt mee from any share of blame for any inconvenience may fall on you, by free quarter, immoderate impositions or the like, force debarring mee from being there where your commands doe place mee for...
preventing of such extremities, which to doe my selfe but right I may say I was in a faire way of effectuating, and had made a good progresse in it when the aforeremtion’d interrumpcions happened, and of this I have very good and plentifull witness. At what time when it shall please the gratious disposer of all things soe to order affaires, that I may with your honour and freedome (for yours it is), I say when thus I may bee permitted to doe you service, I am ready; till that time and alwayes, whether in power or out of power, I have and hope ever shall have an affectionate heart to the reall good of my deare Countrymen the inhabitants of Cheshire, as becomes an Englishman, a Cheshireman, and as you may justly expect from him whome you have obliged. Your faithfull servant as long as life last

G. Booth.

December the 19th, 1648.

Indorsed. For my deare Countrymen the Inhabitants of Cheshire. This is a coppie of a coppie attested under the hands of Peter Drinkewater, John Leigh.

[Captain Richard Haddock to Mr John Rushworth.]

Worthy Sir,
I heare inclosed send yow a true copey of the ingagement wee tooke on board the Unickorne before wee sett sailee of this last expedition out of the river of Thames, which engagement they did unanimously stand up to mayntayne agaynst the revolted fleete. Sir, the principall motive which induces mee to send itt you is, first, in the way of an account, that you may thereby see this part of our actions; secondly, that our men for their fideleity to give them further encouragement may see that their names are enrowld in the army; thirdly, to stirre up others when occasion shall
bee to act by their examples. I beseech you have me excused for this my troubling you, for the premises aforesaid moved my presomption, humbly requesting you to present my service to his excellency, I rest

Sir your servant

From aboard the Unicorn.

R. Haddock

Dec. 19 1648.

For the worshipful Jo. Rushworth, Esq', secretary to his Excellency the Lord Generall, at the Head Quarters nigh London.

Whitehall Dec. 21 1648. Generall Councell.

An expedient upon the first Reserve concerning Religion brought in and debated.

Question. Whether the particulars now debated shall be referred or noe.

Past in the Negative.
All but Officers to goe forth.

Question. Whether the word Morall shall be in the paper now read or noe.

Affirmatives 17.
Negatives 27.

Soe that it was carried for the word Morall to bee left out.

* On Richard Haddock see the Haddock correspondence, printed in vol. viii. of the Camden Miscellany by Mr. Maundele Thompson.

b Under Friday, Dec. 22, the Perfect Diurnal says: "The General Council of the Army have had many large debates this week upon that reserve in the Representative, in matters of religion; some Presbyterian ministers have been discoursed withal, and at last an expedient is agreed upon, which will give satisfaction; much debate also upon the power of the Representative in Civils, as how they might proceed to punish, not being directed by a known law."
Resolved &c.
That the Representatives have, and shalbee understood to have. the supreme trust in order to the preservacion and government of the whole; and that their power extend, without the consent or concurrence of any other person or persons, to the enacting, altering, repealing, and declaring of lawes, to the enacting and abolishing of the Courts of Justice and publique officers, and to the highest and finall judgment concerning all naturall and civill things, and to whatsoever in such things is not herein excepted and reserved from them as followeth.*

Question. Wether under this Generall Article of the power of your Representatives now agreed on, there shalbe any reserve subjoyned concerning Religion.

Affirmatives 12.
Negatives 37.

Soe that it was carried to have noe Reserve.
The Councell adjourned till Saturday.

[Letter to Col. Harrison.]

Sir,
Col. Thomlinson is to bee speeded away to Windsor with instructions to himself, Lt. Col. Cobbett, and Captain Merriman, for securing of the Kinge, answerable to the severall Heads you desire resolution in. Soe soone as hee comes you may come away, and

* This is practically the eighth clause of the Agreement as presented to Parliament on Jan. 20, 1649, except that the eighth clause, after "natural and civil things," continues "but not concerning things spiritual and evangelicall:" and then enumerates the six reservations, prefacing them thus: "Provided that, even in things natural and civil, these six particulars next following are, and shall be, understood to be excepted and reserved from our Representatives." Old Parliamentary History, xviii., 632. In the completed Agreement a separate article, viz. the ninth, was devoted to the question of religion, instead of a single section amongst the reservations. For the schedule propounded in 1647, see vol. I., p. 494.
your presence here is both desired and needed. But before you come away, we desire you to appoint 3 or 4 troops out of your convoy (of the surest men and best officer'd) to remain about Windsor, to whome you may assigne quarters in the next parts of Middlesex and Surrey, advising with the Governour therin, and to keepe guard by a troope at a time within the Castle, and for that purpose to receive-orders from Col. Thomlinson; and we desire you alsoe out of the cheif of the Kings servants last allowed (uppon advice with Lt. Col. Cobbett and Capt. Merriman) to appoint about the number of 6 (such as are most to bee confided in, and who may best supply all offices) to stay with and attend the Kinge for such necessary uses, and the rest we desire you to send away, nott as discharged from the benefitt of their places, but only as spar'd from extraordinary attendance. This is thought fitt to avoide any numerous concourse which many servants, with their followers and their relations or acquaintance, would draw into the Castle; and for the said reason it is wish't that such of the servants retain'd as are least sure, and nott of necessity to bee constantly in the Kings lodgings, may bee lodged in the Towne, or the lower parte of the Castle, wherein the Governour is to bee advised with.

Capt. Mildmay (wee presume) will bee one of those you'll finde to retaine. The Dragoones of your convoy send away to the quarters formerly intended, which (as wee remember) were in Bedfordshire. Wee blesse God by whose providence you are come on soe well with your charge. Wee remaine

Your true freinds to serve you,

Oliver. Cromwell.

Henry Ireton.

&c.

Westminster,
Dec. 22, 1648.

To Col. Harrison at Windsor, or by the way to Farnham thitherward.

Hast.

Anthony Mildmay. See Appendix.
Sir,

Capt. Brayfield of Col. Hewson’s Regiment with his owne and two other companies of Foote are ordered to come to you, and to receive orders from you for the better securing of the Castle and the person of the Kinge therin. You may quarter them in the towne and in Eyton \( ^* \) (if not in the Castle). Col: Harrison is alsoe writt unto to appoint 3 or 4 troopes of Horse out of his convoy to remaine neere Windsor, and to quarter in the next parts of Middlesex and Surrey, as you shall advise, and keepe guard by a troope att a time within the Castle. It is thought fittest, that the Horse guard or parte of itt bee kept within the upper Castle, and that att least one company of Foote att a time bee uppon guard there, and that the Bridge betwixt the Castles (if you thinke fitt) bee drawne uppe in the night, and kept drawne ordinarily in the day. Alsoe, that noe other prisoners bee lodg’d in that parte of the Castle besides the Kinge, unless Duke Hamilton in some close roomes where hee may nott have intercourse with the Kinge, and hee rather to bee in Winchester Castle \( ^b \) (where Sir Thomas Payton was), if you can safelie dispose of the other prisoners elsewhere; butt the Kinge (by all meanes) must bee lodg’d in the upper Castle in some of the safest roomes, and Col. Thomlinson, Lt. Col. Cobbett and Capt. Merriman to have lodgings there, and those Gentlemen of the Army (being about 6 or 7) who are appointed to attend and assist them in the immedite watching about the Kinge to bee alsoe lodged (if itt may bee) in the upper Castle, or att least within the Tower; some of his allowed servants alsoe (that were of immedite attendance about his person) must necessarily bee lodged in the upper Castle, about which Col. Harrison and Lt. Col. Cobbett will advise with you. Col. Thomlinson and with him Lt. Col. Cobbett

\( ^* \) Eton. \( ^b \) Winchester Tower.
and Capt. Merriman are appointed to the charge of the immediate securing of the Kinges person (as you will see by their instructions which they will shew you), and for their assistance and furtherance therein you are desired to appoint such Guards of Foote for the immediate securing of him, and to guard the rooms where hee and they shall lodge, as they shall desire, and that you order those Guards from time to time to observe the orders of Col. Thomlinson, Lt. Col. Cobbett, and Capt. Merriman therein. The Horse alsoe (as to the immediate guarding of the Kinge) are appointed to receive orders from Col. Thomlinson, butt as to the safe-guarding of the Garrison, all (both Horse and Foote) are to bee att your command. Wee thought this distribution better for your ease, and for the leaving you more free to looke to the security of the whole Garrison then to burthen you both with itt, and with the immediate charge of the Kinges person, where you have alsoe soe many prisoners to looke to. Itt is thought convenient that (during the Kinges stay with you) you turne out of the Castle all malignant or Cavalerish inhabitants (except the prisoners), and as many others of loose and idle persons as you can well ridde out, and to stinte the number of prisoners servants to the lowest proportion you well can. You are desired alsoe to restrain any numerous or ordinarie concourse of unnecessary people into that parte of the Castle, of whose affection and faithfulness to the publique there is nott good assurance, or who have nott necessary occasions there, and to suffer noe publique preaching in the Chappell, or any like occasion for concourse of people. Tis good the prisoners this while bee strictly kept in, and with-held from intercourse or communication one with another, and that the Guards of the Gates att the upper-Castle have a list of the Kinges allowed servants now retayn'd and their followers, as alsoe of the Officers and Gentlemen of the Army that are to watch the Kinge with their servants, that those Guards may know whome they are ordinarily to lett in, and the Guards att the outer Gate of the lower Castle to have knowledge of the same list, and of all other dwellers and lodgers within the lowest part. The Lord bee with
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

you and blesse you in this great charge. To his good pleasure I committ you and itt.

Your faithfull freind and Servant,
OLIVER CROMWELL.
HENRY IRETON.

Westminster,
Dec. 22, 1648.

For Col. Whitchcott Governour of Windsor Castle a hast these.

The 3 Companies of foote now sent have pay for the present, and shall bee duly supplyed; if you can lodge them within the Castle you shall uppon notice have bedding sent for them.

Dec. 23, 1648.

General Council.

December 23.

Instructions for Colonel Thomlinson, Lieutenant Colonel Cobbet, Captain Merriman, and Captain Brayfield, in and for the immediate securing of the King's person from escape.

1. It is to bee understood by you that as to this charge and in the pursuance of those instructions Colonel Thomlinson is to command in chiefe. Lieutenant Colonel Cobbett next, and Captayne Merryman third, and Captain Brayfield last, and in such subordinacion what is herein directed and committed to you is to bee understood.

* In October, 1642, Col. John Venn occupied Windsor Castle for the Parliament. In April, 1645, the House of Commons recommended Col. Christopher Whichcote (to use his own spelling of his name) as Venn's successor. Whichcote, who had commanded a brigade under Essex in Cornwall, and had signed the capitulation of Sept. 1, 1644, seems to have been removed from his governorship in 1651. He died about 1655. Commons' Journals, iv., 100, 121; Rushworth, v., 706. Memorials Politiques, July 24-31, 1651. Some documents relative to the sojourn of Charles I. at Windsor are printed by Tige and Davis, Annals of Windsor, ii., 228.
2. The Troopes of Horse which shalbe left by Colonel Harrison about Windsor to keepe guard within the Castle, are to receive orders from you or any of you in the subordinacion aforesaid, and the Governor is to order such foote Guards in and about the roomes where the Kinge shalbe kept, for the imediate securing of him, as you shall desire, and the Guards soe appointed are to observe your direccion herein; but as to the safe guarding of the Garrison all both foote and horse are to bee at the Governor's command, and you are to give orders to the horse accordingly (if there bee occasion).

3. Whereas there are some Gentlemen belonging to the Army appointed to bee assistant unto you, and to receive direccions from you in this businesse, you are to take orders that two of them with one of your selves (if health permitt) may nightly watch in his chamber or at the doores thereof, and at least one of the three soe watching to bee within the chamber; and in the day time two of the said Gentlemen, with one of your selves, to bee continually in the roome where hee is, or in view of him, or (when he shall be private at his devotion, to bee attended at the dore of the roome). But in case of necessary hinderance to any of those Gentlemen in their course you may admitt one of his allowed servants who shalbe willing, or some commission officer of the Horse or foote attending the garrison, to watch in his stead that shalbe soe hindred.

4. You are to suffer noe lettres or writings to pass to or from the Kinge, save what you shall first reade, and soe fitt to pass, and of any writing which shall be tendered to pass to or from him you are to take a coppie, if you see cause.

5. You are not to admitt any private discourse betwixt him and any other person, save what one of yourselves or one of the aforesaid Gentlemen shall heare.

6. You are to restrayne any numerous or ordinary concourse of people into his presence, or that part of the Castle where hee shall lodge, and to that purpose to desire the Governor's assistance.
therein, and his strict care to restrayne the ordinary access of any such people into the Castle, of whose affections and faithfulness to the publique there is not good assurance, or who have not necessary occasions there.

7. You are not to permitt the Kinge to walke out of the Castle beyond the Tarras walke.

8. It is referred to your discretion and care to take off and cause to bee forborne all matter of unnecessary state, which might occasion needless charge, take up much roome, or induce recourse of people into his presence."

Whitehall.

Whitehall, December the 23th,
1648.

At a Generall Councill held there, Ordered that Jo\textsuperscript{er} Rushworth Esq., his Excellencie's Secretary, signe these Instructsions now agreed uppon, in the name of his Excellency and the Councill, as at other times,

HEN: WHALLEY.
Advocate.

[\textit{Ld. Fairfax to Col. Thomlinson.}]

Sir

You are on sight hereoff to repayre to Windsor Castle, where you are to shew unto Lt. Col. Cobbett, Captain Merriman, and Captain Brayfield this lettre, with the instructsions to your selfe and them heere inclosed concerning the securing of the King's person, and you are with them to imploy your utmost care and indeavour for the immediate securing of the King's person from escape, and are

* These instructions were all passed unanimously, as Clarke MS., xvi., 61, shows, with the exception of the fifth, which was opposed by Cromwell, and by Cromwell alone. The reason may have been that he thought this particular instructsion unnecessarly harsh. Or, on the other hand, he may have considered that it would be an obstacle to the treaty with the King, which, in the hope of saving the life of Charles, Cromwell still continued to advocate. \textit{Great Civil War}, iv., 285-285.
hereby impowered in all things necessary to that end. In pursuance
where off the said instruccons here inclosed are to be observed by
your selfe and them untill further orders; I remayne
Your very assured freind

T. Fairfax.

Westminster the
23rd December 1648.
For Colonel Thomlinson.*

The Sixth Reserve in the Representative read and debated.
Afterwards read thus

(As an expedient.)

That the said Representatives may not exercise the power of

* I conclude from this vote and letter that Fairfax, disapproving of the proposal
to try the King, had absented himself from the meetings of the Council, in order not
to be implicated in the preparations for the King’s trial; but was held nevertheless
to be bound by the decisions of the majority of the Council in political matters.
From the time when the Council of the Army was first set up, May 1647, the
attachment of his signature to the declarations and political manifestos of the army
was a mere matter of form. In his “Short Memorial” he says: “From the time
that they declared their usurped authority at Triplow Heath, I never gave my free
consent to anything they did: but being yet undischarged of my place they set my
name in a way of course to all their papers, whether I consented or not.” It is
certain that Fairfax in writing this, much over-states and ante-dates his opposition
to the proceedings of the Army. During 1647 he seems to have been in perfect
agreement with the other leaders of the Army. Their differences began in 1648.
At some period in the beginning of 1648, probably about April, if the statement
of Fairfax himself may be trusted, he prevented a forcible purgation of the Parlia-
ment which Cromwell and some others advocated (Short Memorial, ed. Maeseris,
p. 446; cf. Life of Col. Hutchinson, ii., 149, ed. 1885; Bushworth, vii., 1070). In
November, 1648, his objections to the acceptance of Ireton’s draft Remonstrance
led to a last negotiation between the Army leaders and the King (Gardiner, Great
Civil War, iv., 237). Now, in December, 1648, after giving his support to the
Remonstrance, playing the most prominent part in the occupation of London and
the interruption of the Newport treaty, he accepted the responsibility of Pride’s
Purge, but parted company with the Council of Officers on the question of the
King’s trial.
immediate Judgment in particular questions of right or wrong between one private person and another. Nor may they give immediate judgment upon any man's person or estate for any offence which does not extend immediately to the hurt or damage of the publique, nor for any such offence may they proceede to the takeing away of life or limbe, unless before the fact done it were soe provided against by express law then in force, nor may they inflict or awarde other punishment for such an offence not soe provided against beforehand, save where it is clearely against the generall law of humane societie, and where the vindicacion or secureinge of the publique interest does require such Justice.

1. Question. Whether the Sixth Reserve shall pass as it now stands or noe.

Carried in the Negative, Nemine contradicente.

That the Representative may not give Judgment upon any man's person or estate where noe law hath bin before provided, save only in calling to account and punishing publique officers failing in their trust.

2. Question. Whether this clause now read shalbe put to the question as part of the Reserve or noe.*

Affirmatives 22.
Negatives 15.

Se that it was carried in the Affirmative.

Question 3. Whether this clause now read shall pass as part of the Reserve as it is.

Affirmatives 25.
Negatives 13.

Se that it was carried in the Affirmative as part of the Reserve.

* This is the sixth Reserve in the original Agreement, and the fifth in the Agreement as presented on January 20, 1649. The difference is that the sixth Reserve originally began, "That the Representative intermeddle not with the execution of any law, nor give judgment," &c. Both versions conclude "punishing publique officers for abusing or failing in their trust," so that these three words are probably accidentally omitted in the report of the proceedings of December 26, printed above. For the formulas adopted in November, 1647, see vol. 1, pp. 407, 408.
C. E. petition of the well affected in Newport Pagnell and parts adjacent.

Directed

To his Excellency the Lord Fairfax, Generall of the Parliament forces &c. and to the officers of your Excellencie's Army now mett in Generall Councell. (Read.)

4. Question. Whether there shall bee any addition made to the 6th reserve or noe.

Affirmatives 12.
Negatives 19.

Soe that it passt for noe addition to that Reserve.

Adjourned till Fryday about 10 of the clock in the morninge.

The Petitioners call'd in.

Answer returned by Comm. Generall Ireton.

Gentlemen,

Wee have read your petition, and the Councell have appointed mee to returne you this answer for the present. That they doe very kindlie resent, & thankfullie accept those expressions first in the preamble of the petition of your affections & faithfulnessse in relation to the publique Justice & the liberties of the Kingdome, and for your desire in the prayer of the petition, concerning our prosecution of justice & freedome, they doe heartily close with your desires in itt, & shall indeavour to prosecute the same as God shall direct & inable them in all honest wayes.

And for the last part of your prayer of the petition, for mediating with the Parliament concerning those particulars following, I am to acquaint you, that as the most part of the particulars are such as relate to publique justice & a generall settlement of the liberties of the Kingdome, the Councell hath taken many of them already into consideration, and are in consideration of some other things remayingne, which soe soone as they have passed the Councell you will see publique, and wee hope to your satisfaction; and the other
particulars that you desire mediation in particularly, either concerning the reformation of laws in being, or the making of new, the Councell commanded mee to lett you know that such thinges as those are matters of publique justice & of generall settlement of the liberties of the Kingdome, they shall see farre as they are proper for their cognizance take them into consideration in their place & time.

General Council att Whitehall 29 December 1648.

Elizabeth Poole of Abington first spake, to this effect. That the businesse was committed to their trust, butt there was a great snare before them.

That God was about to breake the pottesheards of the Earth.

That there should not bee a sheard left to carry coales now was of finer sort of mettall. I looke uppon all manner of manifestations, formes, and religions which are made uppe in any regard of—

That there might bee a pure life in death—That men might

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*a A large number of petitions both from the army and different counties were presented to Fairfax in December and January, 1648-9. See Rushworth, vii., 1374, 1388, and the Moderate for those months, pp. 200, 210, 211, 214, 223, 224, 231, 233, 239, 251, 263, 285.

*b A full account of this woman's discourse to the Council is contained in the pamphlet entitled: "A Vision wherein is manifested the disease and cure of the Kingdome, being the summe of what was delivered to the General Councell of the Army, Decemb. 29, 1648. Together with a true copy of what was delivered in writing (the fifth of the present January) to the said General Councell, of divine pleasure concerning the King in reference to his being brought to triall, what they are therein to do, and what not, both concerning his office and peraun. By E. Poole, herein a servant to the most High God. London 1648. &to." In a pamphlet published in 1651 called "A brief narrative of the Mysteries of State carried on by the Spanish faction," etc., she is represented as a "monstrous witch" provided by Cromwell in order to mould the Council to his designs.
bee dead unto all their fairest images, and finde the comlinesse in truth."

After a short speech to this effect, further declaring the presence of God with the Army, and desiring, that they would goe forward and stand uppe for the libertie of the people as it was their liberty and God had open'd the way to them.

The Commissary Generall said: That for what was said in commendation of the Armie, that they did nott looke for the praise of men; butt for that which shee spoke otherwise, that which shee exprest itt is very good and excellent and worthy consideration.

``
Woman."

When I had bin many dayes a Mournor for the land with great and sore lamentation, and indeed a sympathizer with your labours, I had a vision sett before mee which was this, for the end of your labours.

There was a Man, a Member of the Army, that some times had bin shewed mee, [expressing] his respect unto his Country, to its liberty and freedome, which hee should gladly bee a sacrifice for. This persone was sett before mee [on the one hand, representing the body of the Army], and a woman which should signifie the weake and imperfect distressed state of the land on the other hand. This woman was full of imperfection, crooked, weake, sickly, imperfect. I [having the gift of faith upon me for her cure] was to appeale to the body of the Army in this man that hee should improve his faithfulnesse to the Kingdome, by his diligence in the

``The great work which lieth upon you is to become dead to every pleasant picture which might present itself for your delight, that you perfectly dying in the will of the Lord, you may find your resurrection in him.‖  A Vision, etc.

b This account of her vision stands first in Mrs. Poole's pamphlet and was probably delivered before the fragmentary speech on p. 180, but I have preserved the order given in the Ms.
cure of this person, by the direction which I should give him for her through the guift of God in mee. There was nothing requit’d att his hand more then the act of diligence; that hee should before the Lord, act diligently and faithfully to impoy all meanes which I should by the guift of God direct for her cure; and looke how farre short hee fail’d of the meanes, soe farre short hee should bee of her cure; butt soe farre as hee should bee faithfull, soe farre hee should bee for her consolation. Nevertheless this I was to shew him: that itt was nott the guift of God in mee, nor the act of diligence in him, butt in reference to that spiritt of eternall power which had called mee to beleive and him to act, neither was hee to bee slack in action, nor I to bee staggering in beleiving.a

Col. Rich.

I cannott butt give you that impression that is uppon my spiritt in conjunction with that testimonie which God hath manifested heere by an unexpected Providence. What shee hath said being correspondent with what I have made [known] as [manifested] to mee before. The truth is, Itt is true [there are] many thinges in which wee are to take a liberty and use the libertie in reference to the men of the world that wee have to deale withall; butt that principle which is to carry us as in consideration of ourselves before God and the world, [is] after that liberty which the world doeth nott understand. Itt is true wee may use these arguments to satisfie such as understand noe more butt such [things] as the world gives testimonie of; butt if wee have nott another manner of testimonie, such thinges that God hath by his providence given us satisfaction of, I beleive as shee says the conclusion of itt will bee butt fleshly [after] having begun in the spiritt. I thinke every man is to search his owne heart, and to see what is within, and nott [to look for deliverance] from himself or from men, or from outward

a The words in this speech inserted in brackets are derived from the pamphlet.
b The position of this clause has been altered.
meanes; butt from that Kingdome which when itt comes will have noe end. And truly I have had my portion of troubles and thoughts of heart since these thinges have come to their chrysis and to their alteration, and I confesse I can finde nothing that is really and seriously an objection to then butt what does arise from the flesh, which has tempted mee all alonge that might tend to a bearing testimonie against the whole and series of the actions. Certainly these thinges are of God, and 'tis good councill and, 'tis true, that hee that will goe about in a fleshly way to save his life shall loose itt, and hee that will [loose] itt is [in] the way to save [it] . . . them butt they being purified by that fire which is from God and through which all thinges must passe . . . I doe rejoice to heare what hath bin said, and itt meetes much with what hath bin uppon my heart heeretofore and I could nott butt speake what I did to beare witnessee to the same testimonie, and shall rejoice to see itt made out more and more in others.

Woman.

Itt is true that the Lord hath a controversie with the great and mighty of the earth, with the captaines and rulers. Hee will contend for his owne name amongst them, butt beleive itt to your consolations who waite uppon him, that itt is nott with you, or with any butt as the captaines and rulers of the earth; you may bee captaines and rulers uppon the earth and maintaine his controversie, butt if you bee the captaines and rulers of the earth his controversie is against you. Wherfore greater is hee that is with you then they that are against you.

Col. Harrison.

If I doe rightly observe what did fall from you, you said, that

* "The Lord hath a controversie with the great and mighty men of the earth, with the Captains and Rulers, and Governors. You may be great and mighty upon the earth, but against the mighty men of the earth is his controversie held: For as you are the potsherd of the earth, he will surely breake you to peeces till there be not a shred left to carry coals on." A Vision, etc.

Camd. Soc, Vol. II.
one was represented to you on behalf of the Army, and that through their acting such a thinge was to bee accomplished. Itt was given to you to beleive hee should effect [this by] following somethinge that you ought to suggest unto him. Now that I have to offer unto you is this, whether any thinge was given to you more particularly to expresse then before?

Woman.

Noe, Sir. For itt was represented to mee as the Church, not that the Church was confined to this, or that, butt as in the body, butt by the guift and faith of the Church shall you bee guided, which spiritt is in you, which shall direct you.\footnote{MS. "hee."}

Com. Ireton.

For what this woman doth speake of the vision that was sett before her and soe for the judge of spiritts, for ought that I yett see, I see nothing in her butt those [things] that are the fruites of the spiritt of God, and I am therafore apt to thinke soe at the present, being not able to judge the contrary, because mee thinkes itt comes with such a spiritt that does take and hold forth humility and selfe deniell, and that rules very much about the whole that shee hath deliver'd, which makes mee have the better apprehension of itt for the present.\footnote{"She being after demanded, Whether she had any direction to give the Council? She answerd, No: for the present, for she was in this case presented to herself as the Church which spirit is in you, and shall guide you." A Vision, etc. Cf. vol. 1, p. 361.} Itt is only God that can judge of spiritts of men and women.

I thinke the summe of that which shee offers, that wee ought to doe for God, and you must goe on in the way, and I thinke the exhortation is very seasonable; and therafore I would have you come to the businesse that is before you, and I hope that God will lett that [counsel] goe alonge with you, that wee doe itt nott as men pleasers and men observers, butt as unto the Lord.\footnote{A petition from Lieut.-Col. Lilburne was read after Mr. Poole’s business was finished, and the Council then proceeded to discuss the Agreement,}
Whitehall Dec. 29 1648. Generall Councell.

The 7th Reserve read, [and] passt as it stands nemine contradicente.

The 8th Reserve read [and] passt in the affirmative, nemine contradicente.

The 8th Article of the Agreement altered, and passed thus:
That the Councell of State (in case of imminent danger or extreame necessity) may in each intervall summon a Representative to bee forthwith chosen and to meete, soe as the Session thereoff continue not above fourscore dayes, and soe as it dissolve at least

* The seventh Reserve in the original draft of the Agreement was: “That no member of any future Representative be made either Receiver, Treasurer, or other officer during that employment, saving to be a Member of the Councell of State.” In the Agreement as presented on January 20 this was the seventh Article. The eight Reserve in the original draft of the Agreement was: “That no Representative shall in anywise render up, or give, or take away any of the foundations of common right, liberty or safety contained in this Agreement, nor shall levell men’s estates, destroy propriety or make all things common.” This became in the Agreement as presented on January 20 the sixth reservation of the eighth Article. The following words were also added in the completed Agreement: “And that, in all matters of such public concemment, there shall be a liberty to particular members of said Representative to enter their dissents from the major vote.”

The eighth Article of the original Agreement before it was altered, as mentioned above, concluded: “Soo as the sessions thereof continue not above 40 daies, and soo it dissolve two moneths before the appointed time for the meeting of the next Representative.” In the Agreement as presented on January 20 the Article, passed as above, is the sixth in order.

The ninth Article of the original Agreement passed as above, became in the completed Agreement the third reservation of the eighth Article. The chief alteration made by the Council from Lilburne’s original draft is the insertion of the sentences printed in italics.

The tenth Article now passed by the Council is also the tenth in the Agreement as presented on January 20. In the original draft of the Agreement it ran: “That every officer or leader of any forces in any present or future Army, or garrison that shall resist the orders of the next or any future Representative (except such Representative shall expressly violate this Agreement) shall forthwith after his or their resistance, by virtue of this Agreement, lose the benefit and protection of all the laws of the land, and die without mercy.” Lilburne’s Foundations of Freedom, p. 13.
fifty days before the appointed time for the next Bienniall Representative, and upon the fiftieth day see proceeding it shall dissolve of course, if not otherwise dissolved sooner.*

The 9th Article of the Agreement read and passed (altered thus):

That all securities given by the publique faith of the Nacion shalbee made good by the next and future Representatives, except to such creditors as have or shall have justly forfeited the same, and saveing that the next Representative may confirme or make null in part or in whole all gifts of lands, money, or offices, or otherwise, made by the present Parliament to any member or attendant to either House.

The 10th Article read, and thus altered and passed. That whosoever shall, by force of Armes, resist the orders of the next, or any future Representative (except in case where such Representative shall expressly render up, or give, or take away the foundations of common right, libertie, and safty contayned in this Agreement) shall forthwith after his or their such resistance loose the benefitt and protection of all the lawes of the land, and shalbe punishable with death as an enemy and traytor to the Nation. Non contradicente.

The fifth reserve (formerly waved) read.
Question. Whether this shall pass as a reserve or noe.
Resolved in the Negative.

The of the Agreement read:

Colonel Harrison. Major Barton.
Colonel Rich. Captain Clarke.
Sir Hardress Waller. Captain Deane.
Colonel Deane. Captain Hoddon.

These or any six of them to meete at Com: Generall Ireton's Quarters to morrow at 10 of the clock in the morninge, to con-

sider of a forme of conclusion and subscription to this Agreement as to the officers of the Army. Councell to meet againe on Munday by 10 of the clock in the forenoon.

Some Remarkable Passages out of the Countie of Hereford and Southwales concerning Sir Robert Harley and other Members of the House of Comons &c.¹

In primis Sir Robert Harley and Sir William Lewis and other members of Southwales, &c. did impannel themselves in the name of a Comittee of South Wales, and contrary to all ordinances of Parliament, did order in the said committee that all delinquents in South Wales should not bee sequestred, except Papists in armes and such as defended garrisons in the Kings right, on purpose to make such creatures of their owne members of Counteyes and shires to sitt in the House of Parliament; and were not at all sequestred till now of late Commissioners were sent down by speciall command from the House of Parliament, and some that were sequestred had their sequestracions taken off on purpose to make members to sitt in Parliament, viz¹ Mr. Lewies in the County of Radnour, and Mr. Rotherway Gwyn who made Majour Robt. Harlow Burges of Radnour, and one Mr. Ansloe ² a Irishman Knt. of Radnour shire; and see look on all South Wales, and yow will hardly heare of a man there that serves in the House, but have either bin made by delinquents, or have bin Comissioners of Array or otherwise assisting the Kinge in party, the Earle of Carbery having a great hand in makeing of them and alsoe your Comittee men and Justices of Peace, this Earle being Generall of all South Wales for the Kinge.

Item, the Citty of Hereford hath two members that serves in the House for it, one Benjamyn Hoskins always a Comissionou...
of array, and one Edm. Weaver a cavalier, both made by delinquents that have bin in armes against the Parliament.

Item, Lemster have two Burges serves for it, Col. Birch and Walter Kerle, lawyer, the first have much enriched him selfe indirectly by the warr, the latter a great Cavalier, and have kept correspondency with the Enemyes garrisons and by raising monies and provision for them: this Lepster is within this County of Hereford.

Item, the two Knights of the County are Sir Robert Harlow, one who hath much deserted the godly partey, and did soliciete and write to divers delinquents together with his son and papists for their voyces to make his said son Col. Edw. Harlow, Knight of our County of Hereford, contrary to the freedome of the people.

Item, the said Col. Edw. Harlow, Col. Birch, and one John Hackett a Committee man have bought seaven Lordshipps and woods, 3 parts in 4 less then the worthe of it, of the Bishopps lands within the said County, which much hindereth the state in paying the publique debts of the Kingdom.

Item, the said Coll. Edw. Harlow and Major Harlow his brother, with Sir Robt. Harlow their father, would never suffer any Committee man to bee made within the County of Herford but men of their owne creatures, whereby dyvers summs of money have bin receeed by the said Col Harlow and Major Harlow, sons to the said Sir Robt, by order of the said Committees, themselves being two of them.

Item, the said Robt. Harlow hath by his deputies received great sumes of money out of the Bishopps and Deane and Chapter lands, and how that hath bin disposed of few doe know.

Coll. Burch have enriched him selfe from a man that drove packhorses with Manchester ware, his stock I am perswaded not being 200 ti., untill in Bristoll hee married a widdowe which was thought to bee worth 1000 ti. more, soe that it is guesed hee was full worth 1200 ti.; now sence this warr hee hath purchased in London and Herefordshire
6 or 700 ti. per annum, and will purchase more besides his said stock, which was abroad at interest is thought still to remaine. Hee seized on all delinquent estates, almost in the taking of Hereford, raysed what money hee pleased to great summs, gott 2 or 3000 ti. by dead pay of his regiment in Kent, and divers others wayes, and I am confident he hath given in a very false account, and I beleive hee hath receved when hee was Govenour of Hereford and comanded in Kent as much monyees as his pay did amount unto, never the less hee hath 1800 ti. charged upon the Excise, and 750 ti. out of Gouldsmithes Hall, besides hee sould the Castle of Hereford which cost him about 130 ti., being a garrison, for 600 ti. to Sir Robt. Harlow, on purpose that one Coll. More a creature of the said Sir Robert should comand it. Coll. Massey hath much enriched himselfe by the warre, for after he came from the voyage against the Scottes (when the Scotts first invaded England when the Papists army went against them some eight yeares since) in which expedicion the said Massy was made Capt. of Pyoneeres by Nicholas Davenant, poet Davenant’s brother: I say after which voyage hee had not 12d. some time in his pockett to pay for his dinner, the said Nicholas Davenant being now in London at the Feathers in Longe Aker, as is thought now att this present expecting a comand from Massey. This Massy did raise vast summes of money by his warantts out of our Herefordsheire, Glocestershire Worcestershire & Wiltshire by way of contribucion, and by ceasing of all delinquents persons and estates, releasing them for money, besides the selling of all the Gent[emen] and Comanders which was taken at Highnam by Sir William Waller, being 2 or 300 (he receuing for said Kts. as Sir Hen. Lingen, Sir Tréver Williams, and others 500 ti. speice, then 300 ti. and 200 ti. speice which raised to vast summes of money) the releasing of which caused the garrisons in South Wales to the great prejudice of the well affected in those partes, besides the selling of Mr. Dutton the Knight of Gloucestershire, and others prisoners of note when they were taken, as Sir Richard Ducy, Barronett Tracy and
many others; one tax he ceased Gloucestershire was 17000l. for 3 moneths, besides the said Massey had vast sumes of money from the House of Parliament, and the impost of currants from the Custome House which a Committee of Gloucester received for him, and other great summes hee often received as from the Lord of Essex, besides many prizes that was taken upon the River Severne.

That Sir R. H. hath a thousand pounds in his hands, of one Charles Price a delinquent, and will not deliver it, and hath bought one Mr. Howes his estate, a delinquent which hath been in armes.

* Charge against Mr. Thomas Smith. *

January 4th, 1649.

The heads of a Charge to a sermon preached by Mr. Tho: Smith at Lancaster parish church, out of the 2d Epistle of Petter, the 2d chap: and the 2d verse.

From which he colected this observation, that every[one] that denies a fundementall doctrin of fayth and after con[futation] ... or admonition obtainstly maintaine it.

And now coming to lye downe Antechrist, and what it was like, and heresey to be a pernicious destracion.

1. He compared heresey to a canker that did eate the eyes and flesh till at last did consume to the verey bone.

2. He compared it to an overflowing flood that drives away heapes of sand and stones, and indeed nothing is able to with-stand it.

3\textsuperscript{v}. To foxes that devours the little plants or vines of Christ, for as foxes is subtile soe is hereticks.

4\textsuperscript{v}. To wolves being of a tearing and devouring nature, soe hereticks rent both Church and State.

* See p. 157.
5v. To grinding Marchants that through covteousnesse make marchandiz of poore soules.

6v. To spaunes of the Divill, or like a spaune of the Divill in a spirituall liknesse which walketh about the City catching soules.

7v. To doges which are of a snarling nature.

8v. To Divills or like to Jezabells, the daughters of the Divill being a spirituall bewitching soules.

9v. To cheaters as in that once famous Citty, which one can scarceely goe into but they shall have their pockett pick't, if not their throates cutt, meaneing the Citty of London, where the Parliament and Army resides, haveing their mindes darkened through heresy, denying the Lord that bought them.

I have bin shewing you what they are like, and now I will come to shew you who they are.

(1) Such as leave the truth, and are of this part Independant, and soe to Anabaptize, and then to Antenominisme, and then to meare nothing as they were before.

And that there was such a tolleracion now that every one might follow after his owne lusts, and his owne wayes. I thinke contrary to the lawes of mann, and I am sure contrary to the lawes of God, for if Paul had had might according to his good will, hee would have had them all cutt off that troubled Israel, or the Church of Christ, as Mr. Smith said.

(2) I count those damnable hereticks that would not have their children baptized, or such as would not have a Sabboth or a 7th part of tyme for God's Worship, or that pull downe free Grace and sett up free will, or that preach the law without the Gospel, or the Gospel without the law.

(3) I tearme such damnable hereticks as make seperacion from the ancient Church of England, under what pretence so ever of scandall, untried without seeking to bee reformed before the said seperacion, nor ought to leave one Church with lawfull Church ordinance, and to goe to another, both equally scandalous, nor
ought you to depart from that Church, though never see confusedly disordered, till they bee humbled, and I question whether then or noe; for wee have had two great plagues, namely the sword and pestilence, but now that plague of these heresyes is come which is the worst of all, which destroys both body and soule.

Soe if heresy bee thus tollerated, then judge whether or noe wee bee not all turning hereticks. But now I will come to lay downe some caution to prevent heresy.

(1) I desyre you not to take up your Religion quickly, nor to change with the tymes, but to learne your principles of catichisme, for now is the tyme coming that heresy is soe great, that they may come to question you in your principles of Religion.

(2v) Being a people of itching eares which loves to heare novilyyes, and to heare new doctryne, but not allowing old Scripture phrase to prove it with; therefore I adjure you, as a Minister of Christ, to stand for your old principles, for if you now loose that opportunity, you never are like to have it againe; for I am not ashamed to confess my selfe one of the scattered tribe of Levy, but I will never turne heretick while I live.

Likewise in his prayer before sermon hee prayed, that if the Kinge were alive that hee might bee restored to his former dignity and honour, and if dead, that his blood may not be layd to the charge of this Kingdome.

And further wee are informed by a very honest man, that the said Tho: Smyth said there would bee noepeace till the Scotts came into the Kingdome to suppress the Independants and Sectaries armye, and alsoe further said, if they came into England hee would joyne with them, and that the Mallitia of Lancashire was the honestest army in the Kingdome, for they would stand for the Presbyterian Government.

And thus having credible information that the aforesaid Mr. Smyth have preached this doctryne in divers publique places, and likewise in many private discourses, though often admonished by
divers of his owne friends and constant hearers, which wee have bin informed of. Therefore wee humbly conceive him nott fitt or safe to preach to seduce the people, but to remayne in restraynt till hee have cleared himselfe of what is charged against him.

Signed by the Officers of Lancaster Castle.

General Counciill 5 Jan. 1648 att Whitehall.

Elizabeth Poole who came from Abington call’d in.

Eliz. Poole.

Having bin by the pleasure of the Most High made sensible of the many grievances of this land, and of the great trust putt into your hands, I have had some cause indeed of jealousies least you might (through the manifold temptations which will easily besett you) betray your trusts. I know I speake to some amongst you that can judge what I say. I have heard [that] some of you [are busied] uppon that which is called, The Agreement of the People. ’Tis very evident to mee, that the Kingly power is faune into your hands, and you are intrusted with it that you might bee as the head to the body. Now therfore if you shall take that uppe as an Agreement of the people, I must humbly present this to your thoughts. For itt seems to mee to bee [intended by the Agreement] that you shall give the power out of your owne hands; whereas God hath intrusted itt with you, and will require itt of you how itt is improved. You are his stewards, and soe stewards of the guift[s] of God in and uppon this Nation. Wherfore I should humbly desire that itt might bee faithfully improved of you; and lett noe jealousies or feares that might suggest themselves to you, or apprehensions in respect of persons whatsoever they are, [prevail]
in you to lett goe your trusts. Further another snare on the other hand will meete you: that you beare away above measure. Butt I am afraid of this alsoe, that you loose your Nobility for feare of what Parliament might say, or people might say, or other judges might say, or such as men have their eyes uppon you. I know itt hath bin the panges (?) of some of you that the Kinge betrayed his trust and the Parliament their's; wherfore this is the great thinge I must present unto you: Betray nott you your trust.a

I have yett a[nother] message to declare, which itt's very possible may bee very strangely look't uppon; butt in the law of the Lord I present myself to tender itt, and lett itt finde acceptance as itt is.

(Gives in a paper.)b

Col. Deane.
I must desire to aske one question: whether you were commanded by the spiritt of God to deliver itt unto us in this manner?

Woman.
I beleive I had a command from God for itt.

Col. Deane.
To deliver this paper in this forme?

Woman.
To deliver in this paper or otherwise a message.

a She being afterwards asked by some of the chief officers; Whether she conceived they were called to deliver up the trust to them committed either to Parliament or people? She answered, No, for this reason it being committed to their care and trust it should certainly be required to their hands, but take them with you as younger brethren who may be helpfull to you. *A Vistor*, p. 2.

b Against the King's execution.
Col. Deane.

And see you bringe it, and present it to us, as directed by his spirit in you, and commanded to deliver it to us?

Woman.

Yea Sir, I doe.

After Debate she was call'd in againe.

Com. Generall.

The Counciell desires to heare [from] you a little further what you say [as] to these 2 thinges. 1. What doe you hold forth to us as the demonstration of the witenesse to us, that this that you have deliver'd to us is from God, and from God given in to you to bee deliver'd to us? The next thinge [is, as to] that particular which you speake of concerning the Kinge: whether you intend itt against his triall or bringing to judgement, or against his execution only?

Woman.

That hce is due to bee judged I beleive, and that you may binde his hands and hold him fast under.

Com Ireton.

What would you hold forth to us as the demonstration or

"Our Counsels ran all for the following of Providence by present dispatch, and will not endure any mediations; no, nor hear again of Ireton's proposals, that it were perhaps safer to have the King live prisoner for to dispose him a while to abandon his negative, to part from Church lands, to abjure the Scots, etc." Royalist letter Jan. 8, 1649, Carte, Original Letters, i., 202.

Ireton appears to have tried to make use of Mrs. Poole's vision to support the policy he had been urging.

"She was asked, whether she spake against the bringing of him to triall, or against their taking of his life. She answered, Bring him to his triall, that he may be convicted in his conscience, but touch not his person." A Vision, p. 6.
witness that wee should take notice of, that this that you have deliver'd to us to bee read is from God, from him given in to you, and from you to bee deliver'd to us?

Woman.

Sir, I know not, but that that is there will beare wittnesse for itt self, if itt bee consider'd in the relation that Kings are sett in for Governement, though I doe not speake this to favour the tyranny or bloodthirstinesse of any, for I doe looke uppon the Conquest to bee of Divine pleasure, though I doe not speake this—God is not the supporter of tyranny or injustice, those are thinges hee desires may bee kept under.

Col. Rich.

I desire to know whether that which is the will of God is not concordant with naturall reason?—and are refined and purified from itt's heate of which wee know because wee know nothing of itt's fall, but—Whether itt bee the will of God that any thinge in point of Governement should bee inconsistent with the most essentiall being for which itt was ordain'd? Now if then any outward thinge, and [any] state and power and trust [may be forfeited if it is abused], if itt bee not the will or the minde of God that any man impowred or intrusted for the publique good, for the Governement sake should bee tyrannous to the governed for the wellbeing of which hee was sett in the chaire for, then whether for the highest breach of trust there cannott bee such an outward forfeiture of life ittself, as of the trust itt self?

She argues in her message to the Council that they are not to take the King's life. "Vengeance is mine I will repay saith the Lord . . . Stretch not forth the hand against him. For know this, the conquest was not without divine pleasure, whereby kings came to reign, though through lust they tyrannised; which God execrath not but judgeth; and his judgements are fallen heavy, as you see upon Charles your Lord." P. 6.
Woman.

If these thinges bee mistaken by mee and found out by you, soe
God may be glorified I shall bee satisfied.


That which was desired to know of the Gentlewoman was, [whether
she said] That this message was dictated to her by the spiritt, and by
the spiritt presented to this Councill. Now if itt bee this way of
demonstration or reason as Col. Rich speakes to [it] will admitt
of dispute; butt if itt bee only from God, God doth nott send a
messenger butt that there may bee an impression uppon their hearts
[that are] to receive itt. Now that which was proposed to
Mrs. Poole to know [was], what demonstration or token shee can
give that itt is from God; for either itt must bee from extraordinary
Revelation from God to you, and from you to us, or else there
must bee somethinge of argument and reason to demonstrate itt to
us. Now there is nothing of reason in itt, and if itt bee from God
the Councill would bee glad to heare what outgoinges there are in
that particular ?

Woman.

For the present I have noe more to say then what is said
therin.

Mr. Sadler.

I doe desire that I may aske heere 2 questions 1. I thinke you
have indeed answer'd to the first already, butt perhaps I doe nott
understand you fully, whether itt bee intended [only] to preserve
his life, [and] nott att all against his Triall ?

The 2d whether you doe offer this paper or from the Revelation
of God ?

Woman.

I saw noe vision, nor noe Angell, nor heard noe voice, butt my
spiritt being drawne out about those thinges, I was in itt. Soe farre as it is from God I thinke itt is a revelation.*

Col. Whalley.
In case uppon the Kings Triall that very filthy thinges, murther and all the great crimes that can bee imagined, [shall be proved against him, and] that hee should bee found guilty, then must hee nott die?

Woman.
That Hee will direct you in wisedome, I have presented my thoughts.

Major Barber.
By the favour of this Counciell, I would move one question: whether that the spiritt doth give in to her bee, that this King after judgement must [not] die, or that noe Kinge in the world after judgement may die; and if soe, why itt should bee the minde of God that upon judgement and question hee should nott die rather then any other kinge.\(^b\)

Mrs. Poole.
Why surely thus, itt appeares to mee that the Kinge is the highest in subordinat[ion] to God, in respect with the relation over the people His trust he hath betrayed—that I have often bin speaking of, and the charge and care thereof is fialne uppon you. Butt I speake in relation to the people. A Head once sett off.\(^c\)

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* This last sentence is attributed by the MS. to Sadler, but is clearly part of Mrs. Poole's answer to his question.

\(^b\) MS. "another kinde."

\(^c\) The sense of her argument, according to the pamphlet, was that the King is to the people as the husband to the wife. The husband is head of the wife (Episcope, r. 23), and therefore apparently may be put under restraint but not cut off. She quotes the case of Nabal.
Col. Rich.  

I desire to bee satisfied in one question more. A Triall of the person that may bee is meete and is just, and hee is capable of being judged by men. Now the question is, whether or noe, [in case] hee being nott convinc't that those that were intrusted for the Judiciall power are the proper Judges, and seue when hee [should make] answers pro and con hee stands mute and will nott answer —the question is whether that will hinder the power of judgemen't?

Mrs. Poole.  

I understand itt nott.

Com Cowling.  

I have heard mention since I came of two men, Joseph and Moses. The one was a greater provider for the wellbein'g of the people, and the other did as much in delivering the people when they were nott well [used]. I desire that as Moses you will nott bee sev full of punctillious as to looke upon the old Constitution, wherin they have bin upon us 34 yeares and they could fall upon noe other forme butt the beastly forme of E[gypt]. [The Jews did] and the

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* This speech, though given in the MS. at the end of the debate on Mrs. Poole's message, has absolutely no connection with it at all. These debates, as I conclude from a number of signs and other indications in the MSS., were taken down in shorthand on loose sheets of paper at the time, then put up in bundles, and not transcribed or copied into the folio book at present containing them until many years later, probably not till 1662. Under the circumstances it would not be surprising if a speech were sometimes inserted in the wrong place. This speech may very well belong to the debate of Jan. 6, or to that of 13 Jan. Cowell apparently urges the Council not to seek to give up their power to Parliament, as they proposed to do by the Agreement, but to keep the government in their own hands. Like the Israelites, he argues, the English people have come out of the house of bondage. Just as the Israelites bankered after the gods of Egypt and set up a golden calf, so the army are making a mistake in too punctiliously adhering to the old Constitution, and striving to set up government by parliaments again.

b He perhaps said, "wherein these burdens have been upon us 300 or 400 years."
best they brought forth was a calfe. Now this I should offer to 
you: Take heede how you sticke unto that Constitution without 
[leaving] which you are nott able to forme a way by which every 
man may enjoy his owne.

Whitehall 6 January 1648.

General Councill.

Debate concerning the setting a period to this Parliament by the 
last of Aprill.*

Arguments.

Com. Generall.

That itt will bee a greater securitie in case the Army should bee 
forced to remove, when the ill-affected partie may come in againe.

Itt will give much satisfaction to the people, in regard of their 
expressing their desires nott to sett' uppe themselves butt their 
resolves for a future Representative.

Lieut. Generall.

That itt will bee more honourable and convenient for them to 
putt a period to themselves.b

Commissary Generall.

If the Parliament should vote a day for their dissolution without

a The first article of the original Agreement was:

"That to prevent the many inconveniences apparently among from the long 
continuance of the same persons in authority, this present Parliament be dissolved 
upon, or before, the last day of April in the year of our Lord 1649." Lilburne, 
Foundations of Freedom, p. 4. In the agreement as presented on Jan. 20, 1649, 
this article was adopted with merely a couple of verbal alterations; viz. "supreme 
authority," "end and dissolve." In the third article the first Thursday in May, 
1649, was fixed as the date for the election of the new Parliament. In Oct. 1647, 
the army demanded a dissolution by Sept. 1, 1648. See vol. i., p. 364.

b "Them," i.e. the Parliament. Cromwell says on 12 Sept. 1654: "I pressed the 
Parliament, as a member, to period themselves;—once and again, and again, and ten 
may twenty times over" (Carlyle, Speech III.). "So willing were we, even very tender 
and desirous if possible, that these men might quit their places with honour" 
(Speech I).
the Agreement, all the indeavours will bee used for Parliaments to come in the old way; but if men finde there is noe avoidance of this Parliament butt by this Agreement, there is nothing soe much likely to keepe men's hands off from opposing the Agreement. The people may think if they oppose this Agreement they oppose the ending of this Parliament.  

Lieut. Generall.
Then you are afraid they will doe [so]?  

Com Generall.
If the generality of people could see the end of this Parliament, [they] would bee for the opposing of any thinge of this kinde; or would waite for the expiring of that to looke for a succession of new Parliaments in the old way and old forme of a Kinge ageth. Nothing of more advantage to this Parliament then to end it by the Agreement with safeitie [to itself], without prejudice to future Parliaments.

Att Whitehall.

Generall Council. 8 Jan. 1648.

Mr. Erbury.

Uppon the 3d Article, The last Article, That every man beleives his God of all Nations.

a This last sentence is added below as a separate speech of Ireton's, but seems clearly to be part of this.

b i.e. Oppose the Agreement.

c A life of William Erbury is given by Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, ii., 75, ed. 1721. Wood says he was a chaplain in Essex's army, "and therein he sometimes exercised himself in military concerns, but mostly in those relating to his function, whereby he corrupted the soldiers with strange opinions, Antinomian Doctrines, and other dangerous errors, and by degrees fell to grosser opinions, holding universal redemption, etc., and afterwards became a Seeker, and I know not what."

d The debate is evidently on the 3rd clause of the ninth article (concerning religion), which runs thus in the Agreement presented on Jan. 20; "That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, however differing in judgment from the
Coën Ireton.

Those that doe not own Jesus Christ as a 2d person from the Father, yet if you ask them acknowledging the man Jesus Christ as the person through whom God hath revealed himself, whether they have this faith in Jesus Christ?

Debate upon the last wordes. Soe as they abuse not this Libertie [to the civil injury of others or actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts.]

Mr. Erbury.

If any man doe offend in relation to the civill injury of others, hee is punishable by the lawes.

Upon the 4th Article concerning religion. To what purpose will you give that libertie to the Jewes and others to come in unlese you grant them the exercise of their religion?

doctrine, worship or discipline publickly held forth, as aforesaid, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of their faith and exercise of religion, according to their consciences in any place except such as shall be set apart for the public worship; where we provide not for them, unless they have leave: so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others or to actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts. Nevertheless it is not intended to be hereby provided, that this liberty shall necessarily extend to popery or prelacy."

"Monday, Decem. 25. Notice was given of what passed in the Councell of Mechanick at Whitehall on Saturday, where they voted a toleration of all religions whatsoever; not excepting Turkes nor Papists nor Jewes." Pragmatisches, Dec. 19-26. On the toleration of the Jews see Carte, Original Letters, ii., 233. On Jan. 8, 1649, a petition was presented to Fairfax and the General Council from Johanna Cartwright and her son Ebenezer Cartwright, inhabitants of Amsterdam, for repealing the act of banishment against the Jews, "and that they may be again received and permitted to trade and dwell amongst you in this land, as now they do in the Netherlands." This was printed in 1649 under the title of The Petition of the Jews. 4to.

About the same time a negotiation was set on foot between the Catholics and Independents. The Catholics were to support the new government on the promise of a free exercise of their religion in England. See Carte, Original Letters, i., 206, 216, 219-223; Clarendon State Papers, ii., 544.

b The Perfect Diurnal, under Jan. 8, says: "The Generall Councell of the Army intended to perfect the Agreement this day, if the sitting of the Commissioners for the trial of the King in the Painted Chamber had not prevented them."
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

Whitehall, 10 Jan. 1648.

Generall Council.

Debate concerning the 9th Article, The Magistrates appointing Ministers. a

Capt. Butler. b

Truth, and light and knowledge has still gone under the name of errors and heresies, and still they have put these Esau's garments upon Jacob's back. And in that regard (that for the most part truth and light go under the name of error and heresy) wee shall give occasion to our Adversaries to rail against us in every pulpit; and [they will] make it their work not to discover truth and preach sound doctrine, but to rail against honest men.

a On Jan. 10 and Jan. 11 the discussion is evidently on Article 9, Clause 1, of the Agreement of Jan. 20: "It is intended that the Christian religion be held forth and recommended, as the public profession in this nation, which we desire may by the grace of God be reformed to the greatest purity in doctrine, worship and discipline according to the word of God; the instructing of the people thereunto in a public way, so it be not compulsive; as also the maintaining of able teachers for that end, and for the confutation or discovery of heresy, error, and whatsoever is contrary to sound doctrine is allowed to be provided for by our Representatives; the maintenance of which teachers may be out of a public treasury and we desire not by tithes. Provided, that poverty or preiacy be not held forth as the public way or profession in this nation."

b The second clause ran: "That to the public profession so held forth, none be compelled by penalties or otherwise; but only may be endeavoured to be won by sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation." The third clause is quoted on p. 171, note

William Butler of Northamptonshire, afterwards one of Cromwell's major-generals, and throughout his life a great advocate of liberty of conscience. In 1653 he presented to the Committee for the Propagation of the Gospel a paper on behalf of toleration, containing four questions, the second of which illustrates the argument of this speech. "Whether it be not the will or counsel of God that there must be heresies, yea, damnable heresies, that such who are approved may be made perfect, and whether it be not the pleasure of God that the judgment and condemnation of such false teachers and heretics be left to Himself?" Mason's Life of Milton, iv., 893.
Coën. Generall.

You agree [to allow them to preach against beliefs], if you doe butt say they must instruct the people as well concerning what is truth as what is false. I would know what latitude you give them to raile [against persons] by this, or that?

A use for satisfaction of conscientious men in those wordes. By our denying [the magistrate] compulsive power or restrictive power to [suppress] errors and heresies, wee doe allow they should bee opposed with spirituall weapons.

Capt. Spencer.

Wee are now about an Agreement, and as if the power were in our owne hands, butt if wee labour for libertie [for ourselves], lett us give it to others that are as deare to Christ as wee are. Lett them preach what they will, they cannott touch mee only they touch mee in my purse.

Whitehall, 11 Jan. 1648

Generall Counciull. a

Mr. Erbury.

Question uppon the matter concerning Religion. Whether they doe by that goe about to sett uppe a State Religion? b

Men should bee call'd before they can teach publiquely.

a The Perfect Disarmall gives the following account of this day's proceedings: "Thursday last the Generall Counciell of Officers sate at Whitehall. The Agreement of the People as it was fully concluded of was read: and it was referred to some officers to nominate some other trustees for the making the divisions in the several counties for elections, besides the Lord Grey, Sir John Danvers, etc. Also that two petitions should be drawn up in the name of the Counciell to the House; the one for the taking off of Tythes; and the other for the repealing of the statutes for the banishment of the Jews in regard it was not hold fit to mention them in the Agreement.

b By the first section of Article 9 of the Agreement. The question of the existence of an Established Church was one of the chief causes of division amongst the Independent party. It led to the dissolution of the Little Parliament in 1653, and produced a permanent breach between Cromwell and many persons, officers of the army and Independent ministers, who had hitherto been his strongest supporters. See Masson, Life of Milton, iv., 513-518.
Mr. Erbury.

Made a longe speech declaring his dissent to the Agreement; setting forth that whilst we were in a way of putting downe of authority wee had the power of God going alonke with us: but as it was with the Parliament in [imposing] the Covenant, that which they look't for to bee for agreement proved to bee a great disagreement amongst the Nation, soe [with us] this [Agreement would prove] to bee an Hellish thinge, and altogethe tending to disagreement; and though hee likes the greatest parte of that Agreement, yett the last [Article] as in relation to religion, is that which will doe much hurt.

Com. Ireton.

Answer to itt. a

That itt was nott to advance themselves [they offered this Agreement to the nation], butt [as] such a settlement as might bee equally good for all; and when wee did hold this forth without any inforce- ment upon any, meerly tendering [it] to them as our utmost essay in this kinde, then itt hath surely itt's proper effect in itt's testi- monie to the kingedome of our indeavours in that kinde; and that effect I cannott butt expect from itt, because itt is a duty wee are

a The first twenty lines of Ireton's speech substantially anticipate the explanation of the Agreement given to Parliament in the "Humble Petition of the Army," presented with it. *Old Parliamentary History*, xviii., 516-519. That document says:

"To prevent misunderstanding of our intentions therein, we have but this to say: 'That we are far from such a spirit, as positively to impose our apprehensions upon the judgments of any in the kingdom, that have not forfeited their freedom, and much less upon yourselves.... We humbly desire, That whether it shall be fully approved by you and received by the people, as it now stands, or not, it may yet remain upon Record before you, a perpetual witness of our real intentions and utmost endeavours for a sound and equal settlement; and as a testimony whereby all men may be assured what we are willing and ready to acquiesce in; and their jealousies satisfied or months stopt, who are apt to think or say, we have no bottom."
led too for avoiding a just offence, and the preventing those evills amongst men that may ensue upon that offence. Butt indeed if ever wee shall come to use forcible impulsions to bind men uppe in this Agreement; and shall soe sett it uppe as the necessary thing without which the kingedome cannott bee, or soe sett it uppe as that from which wee would promise good things to the kingedomes, with a neglect or deniall, or diminution of God, or of his power, then I thinke wee shall incurre (when wee doe come to that end) the same blame as hath bin in the inforcement of the Covenant.

Butt truly, I shall not trouble your Lordshippe to speake [of] the vast differences both in religious and civill respects that are betweene Covenants of that kinde that that was, and such as this is; I shall say this only in generall: that this businesse of this Agreement is more of the destructive nature to all covenants and to all authorities\(^a\) then itt is of the confirming nature to any. Except itt bee in that last clause of the non-resistencie of the peoples future Representatives by force of Armes.\(^b\) Itt is the contrary to [that, rather] the throwing downe of all destructive power then the erecting of any. Nay, I am confident that itt is not the hand of men that will take away the power of Monarchy in the earth, butt if ever itt bee destroyed, itt will bee by the breaking forth of the power of God amongst men to make such formes needessee. Butt the nature of this [Agreement] is, that uppon that ground [that] till God doe soe breake itt there will bee some power exercised, either by a voluntarie dispensation of the power from the people, or by the sword—since in the meane time there will bee some [power], that all the effect of this Agreement is noe more butt as restrictions uppon that power. [We agree as to that power] that itt shall not bee in the hands of a Kinge; itt shall not bee in the hands of Kings or Peeres, or in the hands

\(^a\) MS. "Agreements."

\(^b\) The tenth Article, quoted on p. 186.

\(^a\) MS. "then."
of Commons, butt [in the hands] of such as are chosen [by the people]; and nott in their hands [perpetually], but [only] for soe many monethes as they are chosen; and that there shall bee a new election of another [Representative once in two years]; and for elections, that they shall nott bee in Corporations, butt [in] more equall [divisions]. And for the power [given to the Magistrate], itt gives [him] noe power, butt what the supposition of a Magistracie or a Commonwealth doth imply in itt selfe. The businesse of this Agreement is rather a limiting his power. In time they shall nott sitt soe longe. In the matter they shall nott have power to doe in those things that wee reserve from them; and one thinge is a reservation of all other thinges that are in this Agreement which are foundations of libertie. And truly if any man will justly finde fault with this Agreement, as itt is passing from us—to deliver the Nation from oppression, and to settle such a Governement, as there must bee such a Governement—if any man will take any just exception, itt will bee a shewing that wee did nott take away enough of power. The whole Agreement is the taking away of any [undue power], itt is nott a setting uppe of power where there is none, butt itt is a taking off of power, a paring off of those unnecessary advantages which power in this Kingdome formerly had, and is still apt to have, whereby itt may oppresse. Now if itt bee blamable in anythings; itt is in that itt does nott take away more; and if there were somethinge else wherin power should bee abridg’d, if wee bee unanimous to take away thus farre wee may have patience one towards another till God satisifie us in that alsoe. Under that notion uppon which in my understanding this Agreement doth passe from this Councill, I doe nott understand that itt does come under that sence that Mr. Erbury hath given of itt; and to that purpose itt will bee best to consider the termes

* i.e. You can argue if you like that we have not sufficiently diminished the power of future governments, but you cannot fairly argue we are setting up new powers.
upon which wee putt it forth, and there was a declaration to that purpose to bee drawne to publish to the Kingedome.

Mr. Erbury.

One word, that I might not bee mistaken [as to] the destruction that I speake of. Itt is nott minded or thought in my heart to destroy any mans person, noe nott to destroy the person of the Kinge, soe his power bee downe. I doe nott looke uppon mens persons or destroying of that power of the Magistrate that is now. The Parliament are a power by whome men may act according to the appearance of God in them. I doe nott looke uppon itt [as a power to be destroyed], neither doe I speake any thinge of that kinde; butt [I speak of] the destroying of those oppressive principalls both in powers and persons, and in courts and lawes. Those [are] thinges that have bin complained of and petitioned [against] by the poore country to the Parliament. The Parliament would never heare them. Many thousand Petitioners have petitioned [first] the Parliament, then the Lord Generall, that they would please to rectifie them; cries against unjust lawes, against tythes, [against] many unrighteous thinges crept uppe amongst us heere, amonge Committees, Receivers of monies. God was with you to take away the oppressions of men, and nott the powers of men,—nott to take away Magistracie, butt to take away those oppressions that lay before you and in your view, to remove them in the power of God.

I conceive the settlement of the Nation is properly to remove those thinges that are [the causes the nation is] unsettled. The things that trouble the Nation are these. I doe nott finde they are any wayes unsetled about Govenement, butt they are unsetled about those oppressions that lie uppon them. I conceive the removing of these is a setting of them;* butt I conceive this [Agreement] will bee a meanes to unsettle them, acting the Nation

* "them," i.e. the nation:
that should bee settled by the worde of God. Now if God would
toe worke and act by his people of this Army as to remove those
things that unsettle them, they would agree, butt this would unsettle
them to see all thinges putt into this frame. For my parte I doe
thinke that a dozen or 24 may in a short time doe the kingdome
as much good as 400 that sitt in the Parliament in 7 yeaeres may
doe, and theryfore that which I would have is to [remove those
thinges that] unsettle them. b

Commissary Ireton.
I thinke not that burthens are the causes of unsettlement, or
the begininges of unsettlement, butt [that] the begininges
of unsettlement are the controversies about power, where the
power was. We finde this, that all the fixing of power
to persons hath clearlie tended to the increasing of jealouses
amongst men, and soe to unsettlement. Because that men as men
are corrupt and will bee soo. Theryfore there is probably nothing
more like to tend to a settlement then the clearing of power,
which formerly hath bin soo much in dispute, and the taking away
that controversie of those severall Competitors to the Legislative
power of the Kingedome, Kinge, Lords, and Commons. If itt please
God to dispose the hearts of the people to [the] Agreement, that in it
they c may take away [that controversy], and soe taking away power

a The order of the clauses has been altered.
b Erbury wants to have an immediate removal of the grievances of the nation
affected by means of a committee of a few officers and “faithful persons.”
c Erbury, to use a modern phrase, demanded social reforms, and refused to be
satisfied with improvements in the machinery of government. The Agreement had
specified 400 as the number of members to sit in future parliaments. The proposal
to entrust power to a small body appears again in 1653. Cromwell and his fellow
officers urged the Rump “to devolve their trust over to some well-affected men such
as had an interest in the nation and were known to be of good affection to the
Commonwealth, which we told them was no new thing when this land was under
the like hurryburries.” (Carlyle’s Cromwell, Speech I). So too Lambert, after
the expulsion of the Rump, “moved that a few persons not exceeding the number
of ten or twelve might be trusted with the supreme power.”

d M.S. “to Agreement in it that they.”
from men to oppresse the people, and nott leaving power hereditarie in men is some meanes of settlement. Butt if wee thinke meerly that burthens to the Nation are beginners and are the continuers of unsettlement, or to thinke to take away burthens without some-thinge of settlement of another nature that is of clearing of things that are in controversie—Wee cannot limit God to this, or that, or other way; butt certainly if wee take the most probable way according to the light wee have, God gives those things [their success]. That if itt please God these things should take, and bee received in the Kingdome—Things that doe tend to these effects, to the clearing of the controversies that have bin about power and the like, are [things] tending to settlement, and this is a probable way to bringe itt to that. Whether God will bringe itt to passe that or the other way is a secret in his will, and is further then what is revealed to him, lett him [to whom it has been revealed] speake itt.

Mr. Spencer.

Mr. Erbury speake[s] of taking off burthens. This Agree-ment doth tend to the power, either the power that is now in the Parliament or the Army, and this Agreement doth leade us to that power to take away that.

Mr. Erbury.

There is as just a power now [in this Army] by which you may act in appearance, as in other following Representatives. This [Army] is call'd now from a just power to remove oppressions. I doe nott speake of Armies and such things, butt there are oppressions hidden in and corrupt things that may bee removed [by] the power of God if itt appeares in them.*

Sir Hardr. Waller.

That all that putt itt off to your hand does a great [dis]service.

* Erbury's argument is that the Army is as lawful an authority as any of the Parliaments to be called under the Agreement.
Sure there is att this time a very great dissagreement in the world and in this Kingdome, and if there bee nott neede of an Agreement now, there never was since the sons of men were upon earth. If all of them a bee like't except some particulars, and if they are nott like't the whole must bee left out, I thinke itt will bee hard. Itt hath bin already said itt must bee offer'd to the House before itt comes from them as their act. I am sure there needes somethinge to goe out from you. You promised itt in your Remonstrance. Wee are now gott into the midst of January. Whether every man does nott see that thousands and tenn thousands of men are sencelesse? You have lost two monethes. Itt is nott only necessary that you passe this from you in regard of time, but that the Agreement—I shall desire itt may bee putt to the Question whether itt shall goe out or noe.

Capt. Joyce.

I desire a worde or two for satisfaction, having bin att a distance for 3 monethes, because itt is desired itt may bee putt to the Question. I begge [to be heard] concerning two thinges which are very much debated in the Agreement: concerning the Magistrates power over men conscientiously fearing God, whether or noe they ought to have any thinge to doe in that thinge: and the other, whether the Magistrate shall have power to punish any man contrary to a law, or without a law.

I have somethinge to speake further: concerning the contending about the power which was the cause of the controversie. I beleive itt is so still, and I am sure itt is the [cause of the] jealousy that is begotten in God's people. God's people they are that have jealousy now att this time over the other. Some say the power is in your Excellencie and the Councill; and some in the Councill when they are there goe to putt itt off to others, namely the men att Westminster, or the Parliament soe called; which for my parte I can

* "All of them," i.e. all the articles of the Agreement.
hardlie soe call itt. Therefore I must intreate your Excellencie, whome the Lord hath clearlie called unto the greatest worke of righteousnesse that ever was amongst men, that your Excellencie and the Councill goe nott to shifte off that [work] which the Lord hath called you to. For my parte I doe verily believe, that if there were nott a spiritt of feare uppon your Excellency and the Councill, that hee would make you instruments to the people, of the thinges that hee hath sett before you. Itt is that confidence I have, and itt is uppon sufficient ground; because God hath said hee will doe those thinges by his people, when they beleive in him. They by beleif [shall] remove Mountaines, [and do] such thinges as were never yett done by men on earthe; and certainly if I mistake nott, the spiritt is now to break forth, soe if itt were nott feare in us, wee should nott bee disputinge amonge ourselves. Some are, studyinge to please men, I shall instance that partie of men called Presbyterians.* I dare nott lay itt as a charge, wee doe nott soe much study to feare the Lord our God who is able to satisfie them, and God hath soe farre satisfied some better than wee can. Wye hold forth the lives of Christians as being fill'd with the spiritt of Jesus Christ—Soe I say that all that wee now seeme to bee jealous over each other is about power, and truly itt is for want of the power of God that wee are jealous over one another.

* "The Lords met this day in Court, and adioyned till to-morrow morning.
"Some of the most rigid Presbyterian Ministers desired (in respect some Officers of the Army had formerly desired a meeting with them, to dispute the Legality of their present proceedings, and having failed the said Officers at that time) that his Excellency would be pleased to give Order for some Officers to give them a meeting this Afternoon, at three of the clock at his Excellencies own house; which granted, they met accordingly, none being admitted to come into the Room, but such as were appointed to dispute the business. Some general Arguments were then insisted on for about two or three hours. The Officers of the Army prett for particulars to be insisted on, to the end they might come to the depth of the Arguments, and a clear satisfaction therein: the Ministers desired another time for that business, which was granted accordingly. The Officers desiring a day weekly to argue particulars with them." The Moderate, Jan. 9-16, 1649.
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

For the other [thing as to which] I have nott received satisfaction (as Mr. Sprigge said once att this Question *) iff wee should nott out of goodwill tell the Magistrate plainly that hee had noe power in the thinges of God either compulsive or restrictive. I beleive that God will yett visitt you once more, though I beleive that shall nott kepe itt away, butt lett us bee children unto God, shewing our love unto the Father. I begge that in the name of him I doe nott begge this in my owne name, and in my owne strength. Nott butt that I can trust the Lord. I beleive hee is about to turne some of our swordes into ploughsheares, and to [bid us] sitt still and behold his workes amongst men, and this is the day wherein hee is answering unto that great worke, and that wee should nott soe much indeavour to give away a power that God hath called us unto, or to contend about itt, butt to putt that into your hearts which is in our hearts.

Col. Harrison.

I thinke that it would bee in order to the Gentleman's satisfaction that spoke last, that this [letter] that is in Question before your Excellency bee read; because there are many that have nott read itt since some alterations bee made in itt.

That I doe beleive there are few heere can say that it is in every particular to the satisfaction of their heart, that itt is as they would have itt; butt yett that there are few heere butt can say there is much in one or other kinde [is so]. I thinke that Gentleman that spoke last speakes the minde of others, butt wee finde Jesus Christ himself spoke as men were able to beare. Itt is nott a giving power to men, only while wee are pleading [for] a libertie of conscience there is a libertie [to be] given to other men. This is all the libertie that is given. That if the best Magistrate were that ever were from the worde of God gives the ground of, or the most able men that wee can expect, itt is butt such a libertie given that such a Magistrate can give libertie to one to dispense the

* Page 84.
things of God. Itt is feared, that wee may nott have such Magistrates because wee have nott had them, nor have them now, nor the men to preach. Now if the Magistrates bee nott such as wee have dispensing the things of edification[?] which should bee true. Though I looke uppon itt to bee the truth of God and itt is nott to mee to bee [proved] that the Magistrate should nott have power in these cases, butt since itt is my liberty, itt is my libertie to parte with that which is my right for a weake Brother, and I can beare itt as my owne.

For the Agreement in the whole. I thynke itt hath bin acting uppon the hearts of many of us, that itt is nott an Agreement amongst men that must overcome the hearts of men; itt shall nott bee by might, nor by strength, butt by his spirit. Now this Agreement doth seeme to mee to bee a fruite of that spirit. That since God hath cast very much uppon your Excellency and those that waited uppon you in the Army, that wee would hold forth those things (a setting of that or any thinge which might bee of concerne to others) that wee would nott make use of any opportunity of this kinde—That wee would nott serve them as they have bin served, or as they would serve us, butt that there might bee some conviction that God is in us—For itt is nott a principle of man, when wee have brought downe such men that would have kept us under, to give them a libertie, butt itt is more of God, to putt them into such a condition especially as to things of civill concernement.

* MS. "nott."  
* itt," i.e. the weaker brother's burden.

Harrison's speech should be read with the address prefixed to the Agreement of the People, which he paraphrases in parta. *Old Parliamentary History*, xviii., 516-9. "We resolved," he says, "that since God had put this power in our hands we would put on record our views of what the terms of the settlement of the nation should be, but that we would not attempt to impose our private views, and 'settle this or that or anything which might be of conceruement to others;' nor would we make use of the opportunity to perpetuate our own dominion and keep power in our own hands. On the contrary we resolved to return power as soon as possible into the hands of the people and their representatives in parliament, and content ourselves with merely recommending our scheme of settlement."
that we neede not seeke ourselves, that we will trust God and
give them uppe in a common current againe. That hath bin an
Argument [of] very much [weight] with many why things of
this kinde might bee proposed. Though this hath stucke, that the
Worde of God doth take notice, that the powers of this world shall
bee given into the hands of the Lord and his Saints, that this is
the day, Gods owne day, wherein hee is coming forth in glory in
the world, and hee doth putt forth himself very much by his
people, and hee sayes in that day wherein hee will thresh the
Mountaines hee will make use of Jacob as that threshing instru-
ment. Now by this wee seeme to putt power into the hands of
the men of the world when God doth wrest it out of their hands;
butt that having bin my owne objection as well as [the objection
of] others, itt had this answer in my heart.

1. That when that time shall bee the spriitt of God will bee
working to itt, and hee will worke on us soe farre that wee are [to
be] made able in wisedome and power to carry through things
in a way extraordinarie,\(^a\) that the workes\(^b\) of men shall bee answer-
able to his workes; and finding that there is nott such a spriitt in
men, "Itt is only to gett power into our owne hands," "that
wee may raigne over them," "itt is to satisifie our lusts," "to
answer the lusts within" us,\(^c\) butt rather that itt was in our hearts
to hold forth somthing that may bee suitable to [the minds of] men.
That present reproach uppon us doth call uppon us to hold forth
somethings to the Kingdome, and this was all of Argument that
did come downe to itt, soe that that objection was answer'd. First
to answer that objection, and secondly to take away that reproach.
Some that feare God and are against us uppon other grounds.
They thinke, that our businesse is to establish ourselves. Now
hoping there will appeare much of God in this. That by this wee

\(^a\) The position of this clause has been altered.
\(^b\) MS. "wordes."
\(^c\) These words given in inverted commas represent the opinion of worldlings on
the motives which had led the Army to seize power.
doe very much hold forth a libertie to all the people of God, though yett itt may soe fall out that itt may goe hardly with the people of God. I judge itt will doe soe, and that this Agreement will fall short. I thinke that God doth purposely designe itt shall fall short of that end wee looke for, because hee would have us know our peace. Our Agreement shall bee from God, and nott from men; and yett I thinke the hand of God doth call for us to hold forth [something] to this Nation, and to all the world to vindicate that profession that wee have all alonge made to God, [and] that wee should lett them know that wee seeke nott for ourselves butt for men.

[Orders to the Army during the King's trial.]

Yow are upon sight hereof, to give strict command to the severall Troopes of your Regiment, in or about London, that the officers doe keepe close to their charges, and the souldyers to their dutyes respectively, and that none of the officers or souldyers doe come to Westminster hall, or any the Courts adjoyneing thereto, untill the trystall of the Kinge bee fully finished, save at, and for such time, as they shall by order bee upon duty there, under payne that every officer offending contrary thereunto shall loose his place, and every souldyer see offending shall bee otherwise severely punished by a Councell of Warre. And every officer in his place is lawfully to see to the observance hereof as hee will answer the neglect at his perill. Given under my hand January the 20th 1648.

To Majour Blackmore or the chiefe officer present with the Lt. Generalls Regiment.

* The Perfect Diurnal says, under 13 Jan, “This day the General Councell of the Army met at Whitehall, with an intention to have subscribed the Agreement, but (some other affairs intervening) it was put off till Monday, against which time a Declaration to be published with the Agreement then read, was ordered to be in readiness.” The Declaration was passed on Jan. 15 and the Agreement presented on Jan. 20. Rushworth, vii., 1591, 1592.
The like order to every Regiment of horse or foote now in or about the Towne. And to Capt. Allen or the Cheife officer of Col. Inglesbyes 3 companyes.

With this postscript to the severall Regimentes of horse, (viz.) Yow are to give strict orders, that the officers of your respective troopes during the said tryall, doe cause all the horses belonging to the troopes, while they are in their quarters, to bee saddled all the daie time, and the souldyeres to bee in readinesse with their pistolls and armes, suddenly to mount if there shalbee occasion, and all to bee in like readinesse in the night tymes alsoe, save such as shalbee come off the guarde but the day before, and that a speciall watch bee keept upon the horses in the respective quarters.

And this postscript to Col. Dean's, Majour Generall Skippon's, Col. Cookes, and the Lord Generall's Regiments of foote, (vizt.):

Notwithstanding any thinge in the late orders for the putting out of new men entertaunied since their comeing to London, yow may retayne soe many of them as to make up your Regiment to that establishment, (vizt.) 800 men besides officers, if it were not soe many at your comeing to the Towne.

The Declaration of the Officers belonging to the Garrison of Lancaster Castle &c.

To prevent misunderstanding of, concerning the imprisoning of Tho: Smith Minister upon 2 sermons preached at Lancaster Church, being an eare witnesse to the same. Feb: the 8th 1648.

To remove the evil thoughts and pernicious opinions that some may have of us, and to give satisfaction to every impartial spirit, that what we have done to him was not done as to a preacher of the Gospell, but to an incenderary of the people to new commotions tending to the disturbance of the peace of the Kingdome, as it may
appeare that it was not intended out of malice, or out of any intentions of ours to stopp or silence the mouthes of the publique ministers for preaching the Gospell of Jesus Christ, nor would usurpe that tyrannicall authority which they themselves desires to imprison, banish, or brand any in the cheek with the letter B, upon those who out of conscience cannot submitt to the forme of doctrine, to which we reffer you to a catichisme or pamphlett latly sett forth by some of their owne freinds, and presented to the Honorable House of Commons by Mr. Bacon and Mr. Tate, both of them Members of the House. And also we doe declare, that it was soe farr from any intentions or intrest that we had of our owne that we should have been silent, had we not had reall desires of peace towards the Kingdome, and that formerly we have found many Ministers of this County too active in stirring the people both in and since the late warr, and railing against the army which God hath soe often crowned with deliverances, insisting [i.e. inciting] people against that army of sectaries as they are called, and now against both Parliament and Army.

And that Mr. Tho: Smith hath some times said that we should have noe peace till the Scotts came to supprese that army of Sectaries, and being asked what he intended to doe if they came, he replyed that he would ioyne with them; soe that we could be noe longer silent spectaours of perpetuall ruine and destruction intended to the peace and settlement of this poore Kingdome, which we have soe long endeavoured with the loss of soe much precious time and blood in hazarding our lives and fortunes for the same, and indeed thinking nothing too deare soe that we might purchase peace, truth, and justice, which we hope God will crowne us at last withall.

But finding the people in this country like tinder ready to receive every sparke of discretion sowne or cast amongst them, we conceive it our duty in discharging of that trust committted or reposed in us, to labour by all possible meanes to supprese or crush the cockatrice egg lest it break forth into a serpent.
And least it should begett a predgedist opinion of any for what wee have done, we doe realy declare, that it was out of our reall and good intentions to the Kingdomes peace and happinesse, and the love that we beare to the truth, and humbly conceives that we were in duty bound to doe no less then what we did.

And had it not happned in such a nick of time, we conceive it had not ben soe dangerous, being done as we conceive inrarely in affront to the authoritie which God hath sett up in this Kingdome, and hath made them instruments of, or displayers of the sceptor of justice and righteousnesse in our Kingdome, which we have soe much longed and desired after.

And we humbly conceive, that such doctrine or such matter contained in his sermon was neither pertinent nor fitt to be delivered to such people or at such a time, unlesse it were for the elivating or kindling of the fire which formerly was scarily put forth.

And likewise the said Mr. Smith hath said in his discourse, being asked what he thought of those that he did so much raile against as hereticks, or whether they were deare in the sight of God or noe, to which he replyed he thought noe, for neither Independants nor Anabaptists or Brownists or Seekers are deare in the sight of God; contrary to Paul’s opinion against those that did eate herbes and those that did not eate, for he did not say to the eaters of herbes that they were not precious in the sight of God, and to those who out of conscience could not eate, that they were precious, or likewise in observing of dayes, but if ye eate, eate to the praise and glory of God, and if you observe a day, keep it unto the Lord, and not for debate or strife as many doe. For as Mr. Smith confesseth himselfe that hee had often preached these sermons, though not withstanding he had bin often admonished by honest and godly men, which would gladly doe him what lawfull favour they could, and is of his parishoners, and they say also that it is noe lesse then what they expected long or this to befall him.

And thus presenting these few lines with the matter contayned in his sermons to be annexed to this, and desires that every
unpredgidesst or impartiall spiritts to judge of, and desire not to judge any thinge till all things be waied in the balance of equitie, and soe knowing and finding truth, you may the better be inabled to stopp the mouth of all gainesayers.

Signed by us the Officers of Lancaster Castle.

THO: Rippon.
WM. Warnoll.
Joh: Metcalfe.
Robte. Gollie.
FRAN: Angleby.
George Smith.

[General Council of Officers at Whitehall. 22 Feb., 1648.]

The first thinge in debate att this Councill was the removing the present burthen of free quarter in many places in this Kingdome, and the prevention of itt for the time to come, upon which the Generall produced a petition lately presented to him from the officers and soouldiers of his Excellencies Regiment of Horse, which was read and approved of by the whole Councill; and it was further agreed, that

Sir Hardresse Waller. Major Barton.
Comptroller of the Ordnance. Major Creede.
Col. Lilburne. " Zanchy.

or any thre of them, should bee a committee to consider of the particulars of the said petition, and to prepare a draught against the next Councill of such thinges as might bee presented from them to the Parliament, both for the easing the burthens of the
Commonwealth as to free quarter, &c., and for provision of such things as are due to the army, the committee to meete to morrow morning in the chamber where the Councill now sitt.

They are alsoe in particular to minde the committee for the army to make uppe the accounts of the army since the 15th of January, 1647.

A printed petition was alsoe now produced, which is dispersed in the severall Regiments of the army; uppont perusal wherof itt was urged by some of the Councill, that divers persons nott of the army did indeavour to seduce and divide the souldiers by such petitions and other wayes; wherupon after debate itt was agreed [that] Col. Cooke, Col. Goffe, Capt. Browne should goe to Mr. Rushworth, and that by them a proclamation should bee drawne uppe to issue out in his Excellencies name, and by his command to bee read in each regiment att the head of each troope and company; and these following heads are agreed to bee inserted, as:

That there bee noe clandestine contrivances or private meetinges held by any officers or souldiers of the army to the disturbance therof by promoting petitions or otherwise.

The reason to bee given, that some evill, scandalous, and cashiered persons are found out to bee privily working some discontent in the army; to assure them that things are now in consideration in relation to the Commonwealth and army, and that the right of petitioning is nott, nor shall bee att all hindred or disturbed; and therfore if any troope or company doe finde themselves any way aggrieved they may petition, butt they are to observe these rules:

That every regiment petition distinctly.

That they bee first offer'd to the Captaine of the troope or company, and then to the chief officer in the regiment, and from him to the Generall to bee presented to the Parliament, and in case the officers should refuse them, to present itt to the Generall themselves, &c.

Especiall care to bee had in drawing uppe this proclamation.
And because there is not in the Articles of Warre any direct or positive power given to punish such persons as breed division in the army, and yet are not of it, it was agreed that Col. Whalley and Col. Hewson should goe to the Lieut. Generall and Commissary Generall to morrow morning, and in the name of the Councill desire them to move the Parliament for some expedient in this case, and that some severe punishment (such as they shall thinke fitt) may bee inflicted upon any that shall dare to indeavour to breed any discontent in the army, and (if itt bee approved) that they may bee subject and liable to such punishment as a sooldier of the army should bee in the like case. And because the first head in the petition from His Excellencies regiment is that all persons may be called to an account for publique monie, itt was agreed on by the Councill, that the two Colonells above-mentioned, and Col. Scrope and Capt. Zanchy, doe to morrow morning alsoe attend the Lieutenant Generall and Commissary Generall, and in the name of this Councill desire them to present to the Parliament an Act which is drawne for taking the accounts of the Commonwealth, and hath bin severall times perused by some eminent Members of Parliament and approved of, and that itt may passe the Parliament as soone as may bee in respect of the great consequence of itt, and the many expectations that are uppon itt, and besides that itt will raise good summes of money hitherto concealed and nott accounted for."

Itt was now alsoe reported to this Councill, that divers sooldiers in their march through severall Counties towards Ireland doe much harasse and plunder the Country, soe much that the inhabitants are forced to forsake their dwelling houses, and some almost undone by them. Heerupon itt was agreed that a speedy order bee issued out in his Excellencies name, to require the officers and sooldiers of his army that quarter in or neere such place, to be assisting to the people of the Country

*See Commons' Journals, vi., 149,*
for their relief against the outrages and violence of any soldiers in their march or otherways."

Agreed alsoe, That a generall Councill shall bee held uppon Thursday next the 29th instant, and soe every Thursday following, whilst the army is in this Towne, or soe often of the Generall shall thinke fitt.

*Whitehall, March 1, 1648. Att the Committee of Officers for forces & garrisons.*

Nothing done but a consideration of the Petition for the Generall Councell.

* A Proclamation by his Excellency the Lord General for the regulating of soldiers in their march to Ireland.

Whereas it is credibly reported, that divers soldiers in their march through several counties towards Ireland have and do still harrass, plunder, and act great violences and insolences in the countrey, to the great injury of the people and dishonour to the army, notwithstanding the power by a former proclamation given to the countrey to suppress and secure them so doing: I do therefore hereby require all officers and soldiers of the army under my command, that do quarter in or near such places, to be ayding and assisting to the people of the country, for their relief against the outrages and violences of any such soldiers, in their march or otherwise. Provided that it is not intended hereby, that those engaged for the Irish Service be discouraged, disturbed, or interrupted in their march and orderly quartering. Given under my hand and seal in Queen Street this 17 day of March, 1648.

T. FAIRFAX.

*The Moderate, March 18-20, 1648.*

* In the Clarke MSS. here follows a copy of the petition presented to the general and council of the officers by certain soldiers demanding the re-establishment of the representative council of agitators which had existed in 1647. It is printed in *The Hunting of the Foxes from New-Market and Triples Heaths to Whitehall by five small Beagles (late of the Armie); or the Grandee-Deceivers unmasked, that you may know them.* Directed to all the Free-Commons of England, but in especial to all that have and are still engaged in the Military Service of the Commonwealth. . . . Printed in a Corner of Freemone right opposite to the Council of Warre, Anno Domini 1649. This pamphlet is reprinted in the *Somers Tracts,* ed. Scott, vol. vi., p. 44. The petition is there (p. 54) signed by five soldiers, viz., Robert Ward, Thomas Watson, William Sawyer, Simon Graunt, George Jellis.
Whitehall, 8 March, 1649. At the Committee of Officers for forces &c.

The businesse of Duke Hamilton &c. debated.

Three others have their names appended to the Petition as given in the Clarke MSS. viz. Richard Rumball, John Benger, Thomas Harbye. The examinations of Grant, Ward, Watson, and Jelies are printed in the Hunting of the Foxes. Richard Rumball, or Rumbald, rose later, obtained a commission in the army. In the summer of 1669 he was lieutenant in Col. Facker's regiment of horse. After the Restoration he became a maltster, and occupied Rye House in Hertfordshire. He took a prominent part in the Rye House Plot, was to have led the attack on the King's person, and was finally executed at Edinburgh in 1685 for his share in Argyle's rebellion. Rumbald had only one eye. "Him, therefore," says Sprat, in his History of the Rye House Plot, "as their most daring captain, and by reason of a blemish in one of his eyes, they [the conspirators] were wont in common discourse to call Hannibal." (A true account and Declaration of the horrid conspiracy to assassinate the late King, Charles II., ed. 1696, 8vo, part i., p. 69; part ii., p. 53.) On his death see Burnet's Own Time, iii., 32, ed. 1833.

The Perfect Diurnal, under Thursday, March 1, gives the following account of the proceedings of the Council of Officers: "This day the General Council of the Army sate in Whitehall where they past a petition to present to the House. . . ."

[The petition was presented March 2; the heads are printed by Whitelocke, Memorials, iii., and in the Old Parliamentary History, xix., 53].

"His Excellency produced at this council a letter delivered to him that day, subscribed by 8 troopers of several regiments, the effect of it was to assert the soldiers' right to petition without their officers' consent, expressing much against the Council of State and High Court of Justice, which was ill resented by the officers, and each officer present being called per poll, declared their disfavouring and disapproving of the said letter, as tending to divide and disunite the Army. And 5 of the 8 troopers ordered to be committed to custody till they were cleared by Court Martial."

The five soldiers were tried on March 8, 1649 "and after a long debate they were found guilty upon the Fifth Article of War, concerning justices moral, viz.: "That no man shall use reproachful nor provoking words or act to any, upon pain of imprisonment and further punishment as shall be thought fit to be inflicted upon enemies to discipline and service." And four of them sentenced to ride the horse, with their faces to the tails, their swords broke over their heads, and to be cashiered the Army. . . . The fifth taken was discharged upon confession of his being misled, and to return to the regiment."--Perfect Diurnal,
Major Blackmore.

That the High Court of Justice had taken it into consideration, and had examined the business fully, and that it was not proper for the Council of War to consider of it, and to take notice of it.

Col. Scrope.

That civil wars were not of the same nature with other wars.

M. Disbrow.

That we had acted in obedience to the Parliament, and if we did act only as soldiers why did we give them into their hands? Our Engagements were to serve the visible power of this Commonwealth, not to serve our own wills or our own judgments to spare any.

When the public enemy had a public force in the Kingdome we were winck’t att by the Parliament in the marching by such townes, but when that was done our work was to take them. As for Goring and Capell and those, we were putt uppon it. Goring and Capell were left to mercy.

Major Blackmore.

That the Parliament had approved of the manner of my Lord Graye’s taking of him, and that notwithstanding the Articles with Major Generall Lambert hee should bee tried.\(^a\)

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\(^a\) *i.e.* the hands of the Parliament.

\(^b\) A full account of the trials of Hamilton, Holland, Capel, Norwich, and Sir John Owen is given in a volume amongst the Clarke MSS. (Worcester College MSS., vol 70.) Clarke was one of the witnesses, and probably took down the proceedings himself. Major Blackmore, of Cromwell’s regiment, and Captain Spencer, of Harrison’s, were amongst the witnesses. The question now discussed in the Army Council was whether the Council should mediate with the Parliament for the lives of all or any of the persons condemned. It was specially urged that the articles given by Lambert to Hamilton involved an assurance of life to Hamilton, and should be made good by the Army.
Capt. Chillendon.
That it hath bin pleaded this 5 weekes day, and that wee must lett it alone, and whether itt would nott bee dishonourable to try them?

Sir Hardresse Waller.
'Tis true you went to take delinquents and when you could take them itt was well, butt when you give them conditions [you ought to see that the conditions are observed]. Did Lambert send worde to him that hee had noe power to give him his life? Would any man give uppe 2,000 Horse without some assurance?

Col. Barkestead.
That there could bee noe proceedinges without evidence.

Capt. Pitson."
The Articles are made good. I alsoe broke prison out of Oxford. I went out of the prison, butt did nott breake prison."b

Capt Spencer.
That hee was confident hee had Articles. That when the Generall had vile persons in his hands, hee conveyed them to Oxford, and other places out of the power of the Parliament.

Lt. Byefild.
That hee e. tooke Capt. Blackwell's Lieutenant, and did freely release him without any ransome, and to shew his cause was nott against Englishmen, butt according to the ends of the Declaration. That if itt had bin declared to him that his life should nott have

*a* Pitson seems to refer to the fact that Hamilton had escaped from prison at Windsor. He was recaptured in a few hours, and it was alleged against him that he had broken his parole to the governor, Col. Whichcote.

b* Parole?*
bin assured itt had bin more for his advantage [to have fought it out to the death]; hee had nott bin tainted in his bloud and his estate sequestred.

Major White.
That wee did nott mediate before wee knew hee would bee sentenc’t to death, butt now wee know itt wee doe mediate for itt.

Lt.-Col. Goffe.
The consideration of the providence of God that hath appeared to us for the bringing of us thus farre. These men have all of them past the triall of such as wee have cause to judge are godly and conscientious men. They are satisfied in judgement and conscience that these men ought to die as such as are guilty of that innocent bloud that hath defiled this land.

Capt. Merriman.
That the Articles of Pembroke give them Quarter, leaving them to the mercy of the Parliament. This gives them quarter without any reservation.

Capt. Clarke.
That the faith and honour of the Army was engaged,

Col. Whalley.
That Major Generall Lambert writt, that hee did nott intend hee should bee reserved from the power of the Civill Magistrate. They finde itt cleare that the Generall was nott impowred to give him life against the Civill authorytie.

Col. Barkestead.
That Col. Lilburne had declar’d in Court upon oath, that they did nott intend to keepe him from the justice of the Parliament.
Hamilton himself said, that hee thought his clothes would serve him as longe as hee lived.

Major Carter.

That hee was sorry in the first steppe to justice they should have soe many blockes in their way.

That God never afforded us an opportunity for us to doe justice till now. The Declarations did manifest [that the war] was against sectaries, which was godly men. That many thousands had bin slaine, wee lost as much precious blould the last summer as in many years before. Lett us looke [to it that] soe much blood bee nott spilt as water uppon the ground. That godly men were their judges; [they were judged] by men meetest to judge them. Since wee shall goe quarrell att all the passages of providence. That I doe nott know a companie of men living that should keepe closer to itt, if wee should nott.

Capt. Baynes.

That hee did wonder they should call this businesse in Question. They have pleaded itt in severall places.

They have pass'd their judgement uppon those Articles. I doe wonder that Col. Hewson (who was one of the Commissioners) should debate itt againe.

Capt. Tomlins.

That which the High Court hath done is either just or unjust. If wee must debate what is just, then lett us goe to Question for all the rest as well as for him.

Capt. Spencer.

The Generall hath written a lettre for two of them.

After the two Questions putt Mr. Peter moved, that the Generall might have a meeting on Sunday next in this roome, to have itt further debated.

* MS. "dayes."
Right Honorable.

Upon credible informacion [that] William Thompson pretending himselfe a Captain, and to have authorety from mee and the Councell of the army, hath with a party of men, by that pretended power, committ several misdemeanours of high nature and dangerous consequence, in breaking open the dores of the dwelling house of one Mr. Littleton at North Okendon in the County of Essex, in the night tyme, fyreing a pistoll, and drawing theire swords upon the servants and people there, thrust them out of dores, carried them away prisoners, and tooke away some goods; the particulars of all which passages I suppose yow will bee fully acquainted with by Mr. Littleton. For which being apprehended upon examinacion founde to bee noe souldyer, itt was thought fit not to procede against him at a Court Marshall, and therefore hee was delivered over to the Civill Magistreate, who as I understand hath bound him with suretyes to answer the same at the next Assizes to be hould[en] for the said County; and hath since his inlargment inveagled divers souldyers of the army who attempted to comitt the like misdemeanours at the same place. My Lord, both I, the Councell, and all others of the army, doe disavow and detest, the giving of any such authority or power to the said Thompson, or any other person whomsoever, for acting any things of such nature, and therefor desire that something exemplary may bee done, not onely to deterr others from comitting any thinge of the like nature upon any such pretence, but alsoe for vindicacion of the armye.

[T. FAIRFA.]

[March 1649.]

* MS. "pretended."
* The Perfect Diurnall, under March 15, 1649, reporting the proceedings of the Council of the Army which met on that day, says: "Report was made from the Court Marshall by the Judge Advocate concerning the miscarriages of Mr. Thompson
Generall Councill. Whitehall, 23 March, 1648.

Itt being for the businesse of Ireland itt was propounded by Col. Whalley, Sir Hardresse Waller, and other officers, that the Lt. Generall would declare himself, whether hee would goe or noe?

The Lieutenant Generall answer'd: That as to will he was uppon the appointment of the Parliament ready to submitt.

That the worke was a greate worke, and would require more of the will and mindes of men to carry itt on, necessary and convenient supplies.

8 Regimentes of Foote and 3000 Horse.

The Council of State hath by these Gentlemen returned this answer, which in effect was to represent mee Commander in Cheif.

in Essex, and of his putting a man out of possession by a company of disguised persons with false hair and beards, that he was turned over to the Civill Magistrate, and Lieutenant Colonel Lilburne and one Harris offer'd to be his bayle." William Thompson had been originally a corporal in Col. Whalley's regiment, but was cashiered for his scandalous and disorderly conduct in autumn, 1647, and was for a time imprisoned at Windsor. He then published, possibly with help from John Lilburne, a pamphlet called England's Freedom Soldiers Rights, or the just declaration, plea, and protestation of William Thompson, a free Commoner of England unjustly imprisoned at Windsor, 14, Dec., 1647. Allowed to go to London on parole he was found stirring up sedition, and was arrested by Cromwell, and sent back. See The Kingdom's Weekly Post, March 2-9, 1648; and also a pamphlet called A Vindication of Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell and Comn. Gen. Ireton against a libel signed by one Thompson, by A. C., dated March 7, 1648, E 431-18. Other notices of Thompson are contained in The Discoverer, 4to, 1649, pt. ii., pp. 7, 19; England's New Chains, 1649, p. 8; The Prisoners Mournful Cry, 1648; and The Justice of the Army vindicated, 1648. Thompson was killed in May, 1649, having headed the rising of the Lovelists which was suppressed at Burford. See Whiteocke's Memorials, iii., 57.

I told them alsoe my will could nott butt bee subject to those that were over mee, barely consider’d as matter of will; yet inasmuch as this businesse is of soe great importance as it is, it was fitt for mee in the first place to consider, how God would incline my heart to itt, how I might by seeking of him receive satisfaccion in my owne spiritt, as to my owne particular. Nott that I would putt any termes uppon the State in relation to myself, butt that I would bee glad to see a freenesse and a clearnesse in my spiritt to the worke. And a second consideration was, that if their Lordshippes did thinke, that the naming of a Commander in Cheif might bee some satisfaction to persons, to Officers and soldierys to goe, that itt was very fitt for mee to have a little consideration to that in relation to them, that I might nott bee an occasion by any interest of mine to improve that interest to draw men over and nott to bee well satisfied concerning a just and fitting provision for them before they went. And in the last place, the worke being soe weighty, I did thinke that itt would require many thinges. I had had noe serious thoughts of the businesse, and therfore for mee to give an answer, that they might give the Councill an answer, that they had nott only made a Commander in Cheif, and that itt was accepted by him, I did thinke fitt that they should returne back to them [to ask that I might have time to consider of the matter].

That I having taken time till the beginning of next weke, I hope noe resolution will bee expected from mee before that time. I doe confess, my Lord, I should desire, that this businesse of Ireland I might nott goe uppon itt out of any personall respects whatsoever; and I would have personall respects farre from this Army. I doe notth thinke that God hath blest this Army for the sake of any one man, nor has his presence bin with itt upon any such ground; but that presence and blessing that God hath afforded this Army, itt hath bin of his owne good pleasure, and to serve his owne turne. That presence and blessing that hee hath
afforded us has bin for his owne name sake, because hee would doe amongst the sons of men what seemed good in his eyes for the bringing of his glory and purpose to passe; and uppon this score has this Army undertaken all that it hath undertaken in the presence of God.

Itt matters nott who is our Commander in Cheif if God bee soe; and if God bee amongst us, and his presence bee with us, itt matters nott who is our Commander in Cheif. Truly I doe beleive that God hath soe principled this Army that there is none amongst us that if God should sett us out any man wee should come to this, to [refuse to] submitt to one another in this for the worke’s sake. Therfore I would that I might thynke of this: what is this businesse of Ireland, what are our considerations in relation to England, to Scotland, to freinds heere or there, or enemies any where? And if wee, taking considerations of that kinde and seeking directions from his guidance, answer the best guide that hee shall give to us—And therfore I shall bee bold to offer to you some thoughts of mine, and some considerations which perhaps will best serve to ripen your resolutions as to this undertaking, that soe you may undertake it * from the Lord.

You know how itt hath pleased God to beate downe all your enemies under your feete, both in this Kingdome and the Kingdome of Scotland; and you have with simplicitie of heart made this opposition to those enemies uppon those honest and religious grounds that itt is fit for godly and honest and religious men to propose to themselves; and God hath brought the warre to an issue heere, and given you a great fruite of that warre, to witt: the execution of exemplary justice uppon the prime leader of all this quarrell into the three Kingedomes, and of divers persons of very great quality who did co-operate with him in the destruction of this Kingdome. Truly, notwithstanding you have brought this worke to this issue, yett itt seemes your worke is nott at an end. You have yet another enemy to encounter with, and freinds to stand by, [and] the interest you have sought for yett further to make

* MS. "undertaking."
good; to the end you may bee able to resist those that have bin heertofore your enemies, and are still your enemies, and are more enrag’d, and are not only natt warn’d by those examples and those witnesses that God hath witnessed for you, butt they are a removed at a further distance, [and are] joyn’d together in stronge combination to revive the worke heere againe—that is certainly in the Kingdome of Scotland, [and] in the Kingdome of Ireland. In the Kingdome of Scotland, you cannot see well take notice of what is done, nor of this that there is a very angry hatefull spiritt there against this Army, as an Army of Sectaries, which you see all their papers doe declare their quarrell to bee against. And although God hath used us as instruments for their good, yett hitherto they are natt sensible of itt; butt they are angry that God brought them his mercy att such an hand; and this their anger (though without any quarrelling of ours with them) will retourne into their owne bosomes; for God did doe the worke without us, and they that are displeas’d with the instruments, their anger reaches to God and natt to [his instruments.] b You see they have declared the Prince of Wales their Kinge; and indeavours are both heere and there with that partie to doe what they can to co-operate with them to cause all this worke to retourne againe, and to seeke the ruine and destruction of those that God hath ordain’d to bee instrumentall for their good.

And I think you are natt ignorant that a great partie heere does co-operate in the worke, and [that] their spiritts are imbitter’d against us, though they might know that if God had natt used this poore Army instrumentally to doe what they have done, they c had natt had a being att this time. Butt such is the good pleasure of God as to leave them to the blindnesse of their mindes.

I must needes say I doe more feare—nott that I doe thinke there is a ground to feare itt will bee—but as a poore man that desires to see the worke of God to prosper in our hands, I thinke there is more

"a Position of words altered. b MS. "him." c they, i.e. the English Presbyterians."
cause of danger from disunion amongst ourselves then by any thinge from our enemies; and I doe nott know any thinge [that is a] greater [danger] then that, and I believe and I may speake with confidence, till wee admire God and give him Glory for what hee has done. For all the rest of the world, Ministers and profane persons, all robbe God of all the Glory, and reckon itt to bee a thinge of chance that has befalne them. Now if wee doe nott depart from God, and disunite by that departure, and fall into disunion amongst ourselves, I am confident, wee doing our duty and waiting uppon the Lord, wee shall finde hee will bee as a wall of brasse round about us till wee have finished that worke that hee has for us to doe. And yett nott to bee sensible that this [is God's work] is the [cause of the] rage and malice of our enemies. . .

I wish that they may see their error (those that are good amongst them), and repent; butt certainly this wrath of theirs shall turne to their hurt, and God will restraine the remainder that itt shall nott hurt us.

In the next place wee are to consider Ireland. All the Papists and the Kinges partie—I cannot say all the Papists, butt the greatest partie of them—are in a very stronge combination against you, and they have made an union with those Apostate forces that were under Insiquene, and the Confederate Catholiques of Ireland, and all that partie are in a very stronge combination against you. The last letters that the Counciill of State had from thence doe plainly import, that Preston has 8,000 Foote and 800 Horse, that Taaf has as many, that my Lord Clanrikard has the same proportion, that my Lord Insiquene and my Lord Ormond has a matter of 3,000 Foote and 800 Horse, that these are all agreed and ready in conjunction to root out the English interest in Ireland, and to sett uppe the Prinoc of Wales his interest there likewise, and to indeavour as soon as they can to attempt uppon our interest in Leinster and Ulster and Conaught. In all which provinces wee have an interest, butto in Munster [we have] none
att all; and though that interest wee have in these three provinces itt is nott soo [in]considerable, [yet]\(^a\) if these Confederate forces shall come upon them, itt is more than probable, without a miracle from heaven, [that]\(^a\) our interest will easily bee eradicated out of those parts. And truly, this is really believed: if wee doe nott indeavour to make good our interest there, and that timely, wee shall nott only have (as I said before) our interest rooted out there, but they will in a very short time bee able to land forces in England, and to putt us to trouble heere. I confesse I have had these thoughts with myself that perhaps may bee carnall and foolish. I had rather bee overrun with a Cavalerish interest [than] of a Scotch interest; I had rather bee overrun with a Scotch interest then an Irish interest; and I thinke of all this is most dangerous. If they shall bee able to carry on their worke they will make this the most miserable people in the earth, for all the world knowes their barbarisme—not of any religion, almost any of them, butt in a manner as bad as papists—and you see how considerable therin they are att this time. Truly itt is [come] thus farre, that the quarrell is brought to this state, that wee can hardly returne unto that tyranny that formerly wee were under the yoake of, which through the mercy of God hath bin lately broken, butt wee must att the same time bee subject to the Kingdome of Scotland, or the Kingdome of Ireland, for the bringing in of the Kinge. Now itt should awaken all Englishmen, who perhaps are willing enough bee should have come in upon an accomodation, but [see] now [that] hee must come from Ireland or Scotland. This being soo, I would nott have this Army now soo much [as] to looke att considerations that are personall—whether or noe wee shall goe if such a Commander goe, or such a Commander [do not go], and make that any parte of our measure or foundation—butt lett us goe if God goe. If wee bee still in our calling, prosecuting that cause that hitherto wee have engag'd in, and [if] the opposing those enemies bee a

\(^a\) MS. in each case reads “butt.”
parte of that cause (wherein we desire that there may be noe personal respects in it), and if wee bee satisfied in our judgements and consciences that Hee is in itt, that you would lett this bee your motive. And I doe professe itt as before the Lord of Heaven, and as in his presence, I doe nott speake this to you that I would shifte att all from the command, or in any sneaking way or in any politique [way] lead you to an Engagement before I declare my thoughts in the thinge. Whether I goe or stay [is] as God shall incline my heart to. And if you undertake itt uppon these grounds, I am confident there will nott bee soe much dispute amongst us, who shall goe as who shall stay. My meaning is, you will—every honest heart that sees a freedome of their wayes will rather bee whetted on, out of love to God and duty to God, to goe where hee may doe him most service, rather then stay. I say except itt bee that God doe cast [hindrances] in men's wayes by necessity of relations, or laying any law uppon mens hearts, and [other obligations] besides that may otherwise hinder them. I doe nott speake this as thinking butt that hee may bee as honest a man that does desire [to stay as he that desires to go], [but as thinking that] doing service to God, and giving Glory to God will bee the best motive to this worke. Aye, itt will bee much better to have considerations of this kinde then to lay this as the foundation, who shall command in cheif. For my owne parte, though the Counciill of State hath putt that uppon mee, yett I have desir'd them to give mee till Tuesday to give in my answer. [I desire you therefore now] to give your resolutions as to the particular Regimentes that are to goe, and to state what other demands in that kinde you will make for your going, that may iasble those to goe, and to have a subsistence when they goe.

8,000 Foote, 3,000 Horse, and 1,200 Dragoones.

SirHardresse Waller.

Made some Objections. That hee thought the worke would nott

* MS. those.
* MS. to goe or stay.
goe forward till itt bee knowne whether the Commander in Cheif named will goe or nott.

Cromwell.

I offer this: That the Army doe move for such provisions as may bee fitt for honest men to aske; and if you goe uppon that account, I thinke my resolution will bee knowne before yours, and that will bee properly in the nature of things; itt will bee best and fittest for you to consider of that first, if there bee a designed parte of the Army to goe as ther will probably.

I hope wee are such a Generation of men, I am sure God soe bindes us about as with a garment—therefore wee are to looke one uppon another as if itt were our owne case, all of us being readie to doe itt; and therfore I thinke in order to your proceedinges itt will bee better to consider who shall goe, and what is due to him, and to provide for him as to the point of Arreares, and of provision what will serve for honest men to carry on the worke.

And truly this will spend as much time as Tuesday next comes to.*

Col. Hewson made a learned speech, and instead of addressing himself to his Excellency b said, An't please your Majestie.

Committee of Officers appointed by the General Councill.
Whitehall, 24 March, 1648.

After God had bin earnestly sought all the day by fasting and prayer, lettres to the Lieutenant Generall were first read.

* "March 23. This day the Council of the Army met again and named two officers of every regiment of horse and foot of the Army, and divers garrisons of the Kingdom to meet the next morning, to seek God, together with what advice to offer to the General concerning the expedition for Ireland, and to make a report to the Council Monday next by three of the clock in the afternoon. The Lieutenant General is to give in his answer to the Council of State on Tuesday next, whether he will go for Ireland or not.—The Moderate, March 20-27, 1642.

* C.e. Fairfax.
Heads of the Lettres to Col. Jones.

Noe Declaration to bee made; itt were to redargute the Parliament.

Col. Whalley.
That these thinges bee offer'd:
1. That their accounts bee stated, Debentures given, and a sufficient security given.
The impowering the Commander in Cheif that goes over soe to capitulate with the Enemy as to conclude a peace; and that noe ill termes bee impos'd upon him, as either to eradicate the Natives, or to divest them of their estates.
The consideration of those. The names that you would propose in relation to the Army.
To desire Sir Robert Kinge or such other Gentlemen as they shall please to call to them to their assistance in the modelling of the propositions.
To
Major Generall Mitton. Col. Reynolds.

As to the stating of provision, and all those encouragements to make them fitt to goe, the having of Magazines on the English side, the naming of the Navy att whose dispose that shall bee.
8 Regiments of Foote,
6 Regiments of Horse, and
A Regiment of Dragoones.

* Here follow extracts from Ormond's letter of March 9, 1648, to Col. Michael Jones, and fragments of Jones's answer of March 19. Both letters having been printed in full these summaries are omitted. For the letters, see Milton's Poem Works, ed. Bohn, vol. II, 170-174.
A great Debate in relation to lotts. Urg'd by Sir Hardresse Waller, that a lott was nott to-bee us'd unless where the businesse could nott otherwise bee determined.

Col. Cooke offer'd that some might bee appointed as a Committee to consider of some such men.

Itt was urg'd, that [in the case] of Matthias and Barnabas, that there were butt two men, that the Apostles could have chosen one of them two, yett they chose to cast lotts.*

[The Council of State to Lord Fairfax.]

My Lord,

By the narrative inclosed your Lordshippe will bee informed of what relation hath bin made to this Councill of a disorderly and

* March 26 [?] The Counsel of the Army sat at Whitehall, and the Committee appointed Saturday last, to propose some particulars for the encouragement of those that shall engage for Ireland made report thereof to the General Counsel, upon debate whereof the Counsel sat all day and most part of the night. The propositions reported were many.

(1.) That such as shall go shall have three moneth's advance of their pay, and one moneth's advance of their arrear.

(2.) Their accounts to be audited, and security given for them, and to be paid at a certain time, when the Parliament shall appoint.

(3.) That in case they shall be slain in the service, their next kindred or friend may receive the same by will or assignment.

(4.) That shipping may be provided for their transportation, and provisions made ready with expedition.

(5.) That there may be a Court of Admirality constituted at Dublin, or elsewhere in Ireland, that so the men of war may not be troubled to lose so much time as to their prizes.

These with many other were reported by the asd Committee; and if the Counsell approve hereof then to be by them transferred to Parliament for their approbation.

The Moderate, March 29-27, 1649.

April 20. This day lots were drawn by the officers of the Army for the service of Ireland; the regiments whose lots did fall to go, were, of horse, Commissary Generall Ireton's, Colonel Scroop's, Colonel Hewson's, and Major General Lambert's; of foot, Colonell Ewer's, Colonel Cook's, Colonel Hewson's, and Colonel Dean's; of Dragoons, Major Abbott's, Capt. Mercer's, Capt. Fulcher's, Capt. Gardiner's, and Capt. Bolton's troops.

The Moderate, April 17-24, 1649.
tumultuous sort of people assembling themselves together not farre from Oatlands, at a place called St. George's Hill; and although the pretence of their being there by them avowed may seeme very ridiculous, yet that conflux of people may bee a beginning whence thinges of a greater and more dangerous consequence may grow, to the disturbance of the peace and quiett of the Commonwealth. Wee therfore recommend it to your Lordshippes care that some force of horse may bee sent to Cobham in Surrey and therabouts, with order to disperse those people soe mett, and to prevent the like for the future, that a malignant and disaffected partie may nott under colour of such ridiculous people have any opportunity to randez-vous themselves in order to a greater mischief.

Signed in the name and by order of the Councill of State appointed by auctoritie of Parliament.

JOHN BRADSHAW, President.

Derby House, 16 April,
1649.

For the right honorable Thomas Lord Fairfax, Lord Generall.

Information of Henry Sanders of Walton uppon Thames.

Informeth, That on Sunday was sennight last, there was one Everard, once of the army butt was cashiered, who termeth himself a prophett, one Stewer and Colten, and two more, all living att Cobham, came to St. George's Hill in Surrey, and began to digge on that side the Hill next to Campe Close, and sowed the ground with parsenippe, and carretts, and beanses. On Munday following they were there againe, being increased in their number, and on the next day being Tuesday, they fired the Heath, and burn't at least 40 roode of Heath, which is a very great prejudice to the Towne. On Friday last they came againe, betweene 20 and 30, and wrought
all day att digging. They did then intend to have two or three ploughes att worke, but that they had not furnished themselves with seede corne, which they did on Saturday att Kingston. They invite all to come in and helpe them, and promise them meate, drinke, and clothes. They doe threaten to pull downe and levell all parke pales, and lay open, and intend to plant there very shortly. They give out, they will bee four or five thousand within 10 dayes, and threaten the neighbouring people there, that they will make them all come uppe to the hills and worke, and forwarne them suffering their cattell to come neere the plantation, if they doe they will cutt their legges off. Itt is feared they have some designe in hand.\footnote{The chief pamphlets on the Diggers are (1) “A Watchword to the City of London and the Armie” by Jerrard Winstanley, 1649. (2) A letter to the Lord Fairfax and his Council of War... delivered to the General and the chief officers on Saturday, June 9, 1649. Reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, viii., 586, ed. Park. The true Leveller’s Standard; or the State of Community opened and presented to the sons of men, by William Everard, 4to, 1649. On April 20, 1649, Everard and Winstanley had an interview with Fairfax. An account of this interview is given in Whitechapel’s Memorials, iii., 18, extracted from The Moderate or some other newspaper. See also the papers printed on pp. 215-224, post.}

HENRY SANDERS.

16\textsuperscript{th} April, 1649.

[Captain John Gladman to Lord Fairfax.]

Sir.\footnote{From Mr. Pepys’s MSS. This letter is slightly abridged.}

According to your order I Marched towards St. Georges Hill and sent foure men before to bring certaine intelligence to mee; as they went they mett with Mr. Winstanlie and Mr. Everard (which are the cheife men that have persuaded those people to doe what they have done). And when I had enquired of them and of the
officers that lie at Kingston, I saw ther was no need to march any further. I cannot heare that there hath bee more above twentie of them together since they first undertooke the businesse. Mr. Winstanlie and Mr. Everard have ingaged both to be with you this day: I believe you will be glad to bee rid of them againe, espeshially Everard who is no other then a madd man. Sir, I intend to goe with two or three men to St. Georges hill this day, and perswade these people to leave this imploymet if I can, and if then I see no more danger then now I doe I shall march back again to London to morrow. . . . Indeed the business is not worth the writing nor yet taking notis of: I wonder the Council of State should be so abused with informations. . . .

JO. GLADMAN.

April 19, 1649.
Kingston.

The Committee of Wilts to Sir Henry Mildmay.

Winton, 19 April, 1649.

Sir,

Since your being here wce have had many more complaints come unto us of the ill carriage of Coll. Martins Regiment in this County; among others this day divers honest men of Whitchurch and places adjacent by this inclosed peticon express their deep sense of the greate oppression and outrages done upon them very lately by those soldiers; our earnest desire is you would be pleased to communicate their peticon to his Excellencie, it being in reference to our late letter written to the Councell of State on the behalf of this miserable County. Because you were lately upon the place, and therby an eye and care witness of the insufferable violence and oppressions this County yett laboureth under, and signed that letter to the Councell of State, wee thinke fitt to intreate your
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

effectual and speedy care herein; whereby you will exceedingly oblige the whole County in generall, and in particular.

Your humble servants

RO. WALLOP
ROB. REYNOLDS
JO. HILDESLEY
R. ————
WILLIAM WITHER.

Winton, 19 April, 1649.

Col. Monck to Lord Fairfax.

May it please Your Excellency,

I am soe deeply obliged to your Lordship for your noble favours, and the good opinion that you have bin pleased to conceive of me, that I am transported with joy that I have the happines to bee intituled one of your Lordships servants, whereby I may have occasion to manifest my affection. I know itt is the least part of my duty and service to give your Lordship an account of affaires heere. The Scots who were lately under my commaund are now involved into very high distempers amongst themselves, occasioned

* This letter, which is accompanied by a petition from the inhabitants of Whitchurch, is from Mr. Popham's MSS. Parliament had voted on 2 Feb., 1649, that the horse under the command of Col. Marten should be made up to a full regiment, but probably in consequence of this and other complaints the vote seems not to have been acted upon. Commons' Journals, vi., 129. The officers probably had originally commissions like that of Captain Rice, whose commission from Marten is printed on p. 56. Amongst the Clarke Papers there is a list of officers of this regiment for whom commissions were desired, Feb. 1, 1649, viz.: Capt.-Lient. William Yates, of Marten's own troop; Capt. William Ware (commander of the troop lately Rice's); Capt. Richard Fochull, of the Wilts troop; Capt. Greenwood, of Derbyshire; Capt. Dolphin, of Nottingham; and Arthur Evelyn, for his own troop. The regiment was evidently intended to be made up from what were termed the "loose troops" raised in different counties, and not forming part of any regiment, and Evelyn was probably to be its major.
by their descent from this service. Sir George Monro is advanced into their quarters, and is sate downe before Colrane with 4 regiments of Irish foote, and 300 horse of Ormond's party, the Lord of Ardes holding complianc with him, but all the rest of the regiments and troops of the Scotts forces are marched to oppose Monroe. Sir Robert Steuart hath ben very active since his arivall comanding the leaguer before Derry, but I receaved intelligence this day that the Scotts have drawn off their siege before Derry, but upon what occasion I cannot informe you, only I conceive ther is some agreement concluded betwenee Sir Cha: Coote and them.\* I understand that the supply intended to be transmitted hither are ready for transportacion. I hope there is some horse ready amongst them, which is much wanted here. Coll. Jones is drawn into the field, and I am ioyned with him; wee lye in the way to stoppe Ormond from advancinge towards Dublin. Inchi-queene is ioyned with him, which makes him too stronge in horse for us, the daily distractions that happen in the North prevents the well affected party there from joyninge with us, or sending horse to aid us, soe that I hope your Lordship will send a supply of horse hene speedily to enable us to cope with them, and then I doubt not but your Lordship will receive a good account of our endeavours, which shall bee wholy imploied to advaunce the service for the interest of England. I desire that your Lordship will honor mee with your comands which I will faithfully observe to the utmost power,

My Lord, Your Excellencies
most faithfull and most humble servant

GEORGE, MONRO.\*

For his Excellency Lord Fairfax,
Lord Generall of all the forces in the Kingdome of England.

\* An agreement was concluded between Coote and O'Neill, 23 May, 1649.
\* This letter is not dated, but it is inserted amongst news-letters dated June, 1649, and was probably written either early in June or towards the end of May.
To his Excellency the Lord Fairfax and the Counsell of Warre
the Brotherly Request of those that are called Diggers sheweth

That whereas wee have begun to digg upon the Commons for a
livelihood, and have declared to your Excellency and the whole
world our reasons, which are four. First, from the righteous law
of Creation that gives the earth freely to one as well as to another
without respect of persons. Secondly, by virtue of yours and our
victory over the King, whereby the enslaved people of England
have recovered themselves from under the Norman Conquest;
though wee doe not as yet enjoy the benefitt of our victories,
nor cannott soe long as the use of the Common land is held
from the younger bretheren by the Lords of Mannours, that as
yet sitte in the Norman chaire, and upholde that tyranny as if
the kingly power were in force still; and a third reason that moved
us to digg was the perswasion of our hartes that the Parliament
and Army would make good their bargaine with us; for you
promised that if wee would adventure person and purse to recover
England from under that Norman oppression you would make us
a free people, and you have obtained the victory by your owne
and our assistance, and there is nothing wanting from you to us
but makeing good your bargaine to us, for by the law of reason and
contract wee have bought our freedom of the Parliament and Army,
who have the power of the sword in your hands, by our blood,
taxes, and free quarter. And wee are perswaded of your faithfull-
ness to us for two reasons. First, your promises, which as you are
Gospell professours wee expect you will make good, and soe give us
our freedome, which wee have dearely paid for, and you have received
our moneys the fruits of our labours. Secondly, your Covenant
to God, unto whome first wee kept fasting dayes, and praised him to
help and deliver this oppressed Nation, and then after any victory
over our oppressour Charles you apointed daies of thanks-giving
unto God. Now in the third place, God expects from you and the Parliament to performe your Covenant in deede and worke as well as in words, and let the oppressed goe free unto whom you promised freedome; and though you have fought for it, yet wee have paid for it, and soe have purchased that same freedome with you, that is that wee may live in the earth without poverty; for (fourthly) wee digg upon the Common to make the earth a common treasury, because our necessity for food and rayment require it.

Now Sirs, divers repulses wee have had from some of the Lords of Mannours and their servaunts, with whome wee are patient and loveing, not doubting but at last they will grant liberty quietly to live by them; and though your tenderness have moved us to bee requesting your protection against them, yet wee have forborne, and rather waited upon God with patience till bee quell their unruly spirits, and of prosecuting Sauls to make them righteous Pauls; and in regard likewise the soldiers did not molest us, for that you tolde us when some of us were before you, that you had given command to your soldiers not to meddle with us, but resolved to leave us to the Gentlemen of the Country and to the law of the Land to deal with us; which wee were satisfied with, and for this halfe year past your soldiers have not meddled with us.

But now Sirs, this last weeke upon the 28th of November, there came a party of soldiers commanded by a cornet, and some of them of your owne Regiment, and by their threatening words forced 3 labouring men to helpe them to pull downe our 2 houses, and carried away the wood in a cart to a Gentlemen’s house who hath bin a Cavaleer all our tyme of wares, and cast 2 or 3 old people out who lived in those houses to lye in the open field this cold weather, (an action more becominge the Turks to deal with Christians then for one Christian to deal with another); but if you inquire into the business you will finde that the Gentlemen that set the soldiers on are enemies to you, for some of the cheere had hands in the
Kentish rising against the Parliament, and wee know, and you will finde it true if you trust them so far, that [they] love you but from the teeth outward.

Therefore our request to you is this, that you would call your soldiery to account for attempting to abuse us without your commission, that the Country may know that you had no hand in such an unrighteous and cruel act. Likewise wee desire that you would continue your former kindnesse and promise to give commission to your soldiery not to meddle with us without your order, and wee shalbee very thankful to you and remayne

Yours and England true borne sonses and frends.

JOHN HEYMAN
AN: WREN
HEN: BARTON
JO\^N COULTON
ROBERT COSLER
JOHN PALMER
JACOB HEARD

in the behalfe of
others called the
Diggers.

To my Lord Generall and his Councell of Warr.

Sir,

I understand that Mr. Parson Platt with some other Gentlemen, have made report to you, and the Councell of State, that wee that are called Diggers are a riotous people, and that wee will not bee ruled by the Justices, and that wee hold a mans house by violence from him, and that wee have 4 guns in it, to secure ourselves, and that wee are drunkards, and Cavaliers waiting an opportunity to helpe to bring in the Prince, and such like.

Truely Sir, these are all untrue reports, and as false as those which Haman of old raised against sincere harted Mordecai to

Camd. Soc. Vol. II. 2 F
incense Kinge Ahasuerus against him. The conversacion of the diggers is not such as they report, wee are peaceable men, and walke in the light of righteousness to the utmost of our power. Our enemies have sent divers tymes to beate us, and to pull downe our houses, yet wee never gave them bad language, nor resisted againe, but tooke all their abuses patientely, waitinge upon God till hee make their harts quiett, that wee may live in peace by them; but truely the same things which they falsely report of us, wee and all the people round about us, can and would prove to their faces, if yow should call us face to face, some of them were always Cavaleers, and had a hand in the Kentish risinge, and were cheife promoters of the offensive Surry petition; but wee doe not speake this to ripp up old quarrells, neither doe I desire to mention their names, least yow should thinke wee were enemies; for truely it is our desire to conquer them with love, though they much abuse us that have always bin your freinds, as the enemy themselves, if they were face to face, can say not otherwise.

Now Sir, the end of our digging and ploughing upon the common land is this, that wee and all the impoverisht poore in the land may gett a comfortable livelihood by our righteous labours thereupon; which wee conceive wee have a true right unto, (I speake in the name of all the poore commoners) by vertue of the conquest over the King, for while hee was in power hee was the successour of\(^a\) William the Conquerour, and held the land as a conquerour from us, and all Lords of Mannours held tytle to the common lands from him; but seeing the common people of England by ioynt consent\(^b\) of person and purse, have caste out Charles our Norman oppressour, wee have by this victory recovered ourselves from under his Norman yoake, and the land now is to returne into the ioynt hands of those who have conquered, that is the commounours, and the land is to bee held noe longer from the use of them by the hand of anye whose those\(^c\) will uphold the Norman and kingly power still; and if noe, then was that are

\(^{a}\) MS. "over."  \(^{b}\) MS. Possibly "consent" or "consort."  \(^{c}\) See.
impoverished by sticking to the Parliament and you, shall loose
the benefitt of all our taxes, free quarter; and blood, and remayne
slaves still to the kingly power in the hands of Lords of Mannours,
which wee have cast out of the hands of Charles.

Therefore wee poore oppressed Commoners claime freedome in
the common land, by virtue of the Parliaments promises and
engagement, and of the armies actinge; for wee did beleive and
rely thereupon, being as wee conceive it a firme bargaine betweene
you and us; for you and the Parliament in effect said to us, 'Give us
your taxes, free quarter, excise, and adventure your lives with us
to cast out the oppressour Charles, and wee will make yow a free
people', therefore by the law of contract as wee expected was
firmly made and confirmed on our part by performance, wee
claime this freedome to enjoy the common land for our livelihood,
for wee have bought it by our bloud and money.

Secondly, wee claime this freedome by equality in the conquest
over the Kinge, for the Parliament told us what they did they did
it for the safety and peace of the whole nation, the army told us
they fought not for themselves, but for the safety and peace of the
whole Nation, and yow and wee ioyned our forces togeather to
procure our freedome, and have obtayned it; therefore if there bee
a spoyle of the common land to be gathered, as there is, it is to bee
equally devided betweene yow that went to warr, and wee that
stay'd at home and paid you, that is, as the Gentry have their
inclosure free to themselves, soe wee the poore impoverisht com-
moners claime freedome in the common land by vertue of this
conquest over the Kinge, which is gotten by our ioynt consent.

Thirdly, wee know that England cannott bee a free Common-
wealth, unless all the poore commoners have a free use and benefitt
of the land; for if this freedome bee not granted, wee that are the
poore commoners are in a worse case then we were in the King's
dayes, for then wee had some estate about us, though wee were
under oppression, but now our estates are spent to purchase free-
dome, and wee are under oppression still of Lords of Mannours tyranny; therefore [unless] wee that are poore commoners have some part of the land to live upon freely, as well as the Gentry it cannot bee a common wealth, neither can the kingly power bee removed soe longe as this kingly power in the hands of Lords of Mannours rules over us.

Now Sir, if you and the Counsell will quietly grant us this freedome, which is our owne right, and sett us free from the kingly power of Lords of Mannours, that violently now as in the Kings dayes holde the commons from us, (as if wee had obteyned noe conquest at all over the kingly power), then the poore that ly under the great burden of poverty, and are always complayning for want, and their miseries increased because they see noe meanes of releife found out, and therefore cry out continually to you and the Parliament for releife and to make good your promises, wilbe quietted.

Wee desire noe more of yow then freedome to worke, and to enioy the benefitt of our labours—for here is wast land enough and to spare to supply all our wants—but if yow deny this freedome, then in righteounes see we must raise collections for the poore out of the estates, and a mass of money will not supply their wants; because many are in want that are ashamed to take collection money, and therefore they are desperate, and will rather rob and steale, and disturb the land, and others that are ashamed to beg would doe any worke for to live, as it is the case of many of our diggers that have bin good housekeepers; but if this freedome were granted to improve the common lands then there would bee a supply to answer every ones inquiere, and the murmurings of the people against yow and the Parliament would cease, and within a few yeares wee should have noe beggers nor idle persons in the land.

Secondly, hereby England would bee enriched with all commodity with in it selfe which they each would afford; and truely
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

this is a stayne to Christian religion in England, that wee have soe much land ly wast, and soe many starve for want; and further, if this freedome bee granted, the whole land wilbee united in love and strength, that it a forraigne enemy like an army of ratts and mice come to take our inheritance from us, wee shall all rise as one man to defend it.

Then lastly, if yow will grant the poore comoners this quiett freedome to improve the common land for our livelyhood, wee shall rejoyce in yow and the army in protecting our worke, and wee and our worke wilbee ready to secure that, and wee hope there will not bee any kingly power over us, to rule at will and wee to bee slaves, as the power has bin, but that you will rule in love as Moses and Joshua did the Children of Israel before any kingly power came in, and that the Parliament wilbee as the Elders of Israel, chosen freely by the people to advise for and assist both yow and us.

And thus in the name of the rest of these called Diggers and Commonours through the land, I have in short declared our mynde and cause to you in the light of righteousness, which will prove all these reports made against us to bee false and destructive to the uniteing of England into peace.

Per me Gerrard Winstanley for my selfe and in the behalfe of my fellow Commoners.

December the 8th,
1649.

[The Diggers Song.]

You noble Diggers all, stand up now, stand up now,
You noble Diggers all; stand up now,
The wast land to maintain, seeing Cavaliers by name
Your digging does disdain, and persons all defame
Stand up now, stand up now.*

* From vol. xviii. of the Clarke MSS., in Worcester College Library; undated, but, from the accompanying papers and internal evidence, clearly written in 1649.
Your houses they pull down, stand up now, stand up now,
Your houses they pull down, stand up now.
Your houses they pull down to fright poor men in town,
But the gentry must come down, and the poor shall wear the crown.
Stand up now, Diggers all.

With spades and hoes and plowes, stand up now, stand up now,
With spades and hoes and plowes stand up now,
Your freedom to uphold, seeing Cavaliers are bold
To kill you if they could, and rights from you to hold.
Stand up now, Diggers all.

Theire self-will is theire law, stand up now, stand up now,
Theire self-will is theire law, stand up now.
Since tyranny came in they count it now no sin
To make a gaole a gin, to sterue poor men therein.
Stand up now, stand up now.

The gentrye are all round, stand up now, stand up now,
The gentrye are all round, stand up now.
The gentrye are all round, on each side they are found,
Theire wisdom’s so profound, to cheat us of our ground.
Stand up now, stand up now.

The lawyers they conjoyne, stand up now, stand up now,
The lawyers they conjoyne, stand up now,
To arrest you they advise, such fury they devise,
The devill in them lies and hath blinded both their eyes.
Stand up now, stand up now.

The clergy they come in, stand up now, stand up now,
The clergy they come in, stand up now.
The clergy they come in, and say it is a sin
That we should now begin, our freedom for to win.
Stand up now, Diggers all.¹

¹ Three of the Diggers, Henry Bickerstaffe, Thomas Star, and Jeramid Winstanley, were brought before the Court at Kingston for trespass in digging.
The tithe they yet will have, stand up now, stand up now,
   The tithes they yet will have, stand up now.
The tithes they yet will have, and lawyers their fees crave,
And this they say is brave, to make the poor their slave.
   Stand up now, Diggers all.

'Gainst lawyers and gainst Priests, stand up now, stand up now,
   Gainst lawyers and gainst priests stand up now.
For tyrants they are both even flatt against their oath,
To grant us they are loath, free meat, and drink, and cloth
   Stand up now, Diggers all.

The club is all their law, stand up now, stand up now,
   The club is all their law, stand up now.
The club is all their law to keep men in awe,
But they no vision saw to maintain such a law.
   Stand up now, Diggers all.

The Cavaleers are foes, stand up now, stand up now,
   The Cavaleers are foes, stand up now;
The Cavaleers are foes, themselves they do disclose
By verses not in prose to please the singing boyes
   Stand up now, Diggers all.

upon St. George's Hill, and infringing the rights of Mr. Drake, the Lord of the Manor. Winstanley was sentenced to pay for fine and law costs £11 9s. 1d.; Bickerstaff was imprisoned for three days, and Winstanley's four cows were seized. "They took away," he complains, "the cowes which were my livelyhood, and beat them with their clubs, that the cowes heads and sides did swell, which grieved tender hearts to see: and yet these cowes never were upon George Hill, nor never digged upon that ground, and yet the poore beasts must suffer because they gave milk to feed me." He adds that the "parish priest, and the Surrey ministers, and terry wasse too they are, that have set up a lecture at Cobham for a little time, to preach down the Diggers, have bid the people neither to buy nor sell with us, but to be at us imprison us or banish us."—Watchword to the City of London.
To conquer them by love, come in now, come in now,  
To conquer them by love, come in now;  
To conquer them by love, as itt does you behove,  
For hee is King above, noe power is like to love.  
Glory heere Diggers all. *

[Charles Fleetwood and others to Colonel John Downes. b]

Sir,
Wee doe understand, that Capt. Deane is to be imploied by the Commissioners appointed by the Parliament for Ireland, and therfore doe recommend to your thoughts for that place Mr. Clarke, who hath long served the Army, and who hath bin longe acquainted with most businesse that hath pass'd betweene your Comittee and this Army, whose diligence and readinesse in that way and faithfulnessse to the publique service wee have had good experience of, and wee doubt nott but many of your selves alsoe;

* These verses are probably by Winstanley, who inserts similar compositions now and then in his pamphlets. To his Law of Freedom in a Platform he prefixes the following lines:

"In thee O England is the Law arising up to shine,
If thou receive and practise it, the crown it wil be thine,
If thou reject and still remain a froward son to be,
Another land wil it receive, and take the crown from thee."

And on the title-page of his Watchword to the City of London he writes:

"When these clay bodies are in grave, and children stand in place,
This shewes we stood for truth and peace and freedom in our daies;
And true born sons we shall appear of England that's our mother,
No Priests nor Lawyers wiles t' embrace, their slavery we'll discover."

b This letter and Kympton Hilliard's letter on the next page are from Mr. Popham's MSS.
THE CLARKE PAPERS.

your kindnesse to him heerin will bee a very good obligaçon unto

Your humble servants

CHARLES FLEETWOOD.
EDW. WHALLEY.
MATT. THOMLINSON.
GEORGE MONCKE.
R. OVERTON.
WILL. GOFFE.
HEN. WHALLEY.
C. FAIRFAX.
E. GROSVENOR.
WILLIAM DANIELL.

Edinburgh
19th octobris
1660.

For our honoured freind Col. John
Downes, in the chaire of the
Committee for the Army.

[Kimpton Hilliard to Mr. William Clarke].

Dear Brother,

Although I have beene in towne about this sennight, yet I
protest I have not had the leisure of writing to you; the Governor
commanded the Major (who hartily desires to be remembered to
you) and my selfe hisher about perfecting our muster rowles, which
have bee imploied mee that it was a burthen is now become facile
through much use of it. I showed Major Harding your letter
which I received yesterday, wherein you promise to send his
commission as captain by the next, for which hee thanks you, and
wee have one request more to you, for John Beere, storekeeper and
master gnaner in Weymouth. I shall take care to gett your
money for them. I am from my hart sorry for Mr. Moss, his wife is rann like a woman distracted, poore hart, she is a miserable wretch, and will not admit any thing that's comfortable to be receaved by her. Men having not higher aymes then themselves, and those too high when they end in earth, bringe desolation. I could wish that wee may yeild ourselves to bee conquered by the spirit of love and humility that will teach us moderation in all our actions, especially in those things that concerne our selves, when nature and flesh onely will bee boundlesse and immoderate; they are blessed that live upon the good testimony of Jesus Christ, waiting or daily attending how they shall bee guided rather then to seeke to guide our selves. When wee thrust ourselves forth into the world with thoughts wee can never bee satisfied enough with it; if we did but think we that trust in it shall perish with it, surely it would make us not to love (?) our owne ruine; every nature desires mixture with its great element, even soe wce with the world, as if wee had not a portion, nor did not desire to partake of the never failing condition of glory; 'tis very comfortable to live humbly prudently, and moderately, and still to waite for a more perfect manifestation, that soe wee may bee acted through all fleshly darke dispensations into the true light that whosoever walkes in it their foote will not stumble. It is noe small joy to us here to heare that you and honest Mr. Hatter (to whom I pray kindly remember mee) escept a danger soe neare; I hope it willbee a warneing to you hereafter; you see 'tis ill trusting such cruel men whose desires are after the blood of the righteous, and Kaine like, because their formall sacrifice can not be accepted, know not how to vent that rage which dominates in them, but by killing innocent and harmlesse Abell, but certainly their fall is nigh, their rage and cruelties are soe great.

For newes I shall not undertake to trouble you with, but leave it to my brother Malbott; onely thus much, being by chance upon the water not knowing it to bee the Lord Mayor's day, I met his Lordship and all in companies in severall barges attending him.
to Westminster, and on the head of every barge new colors with
the commonwealth armes, which now they begin to both see and
taste. I profess wee are soe tender of you and the Commonwealth
in our parts that a little dogg dare as well pluck a lyon by the jaw
as any man in the least to speake in the derogation of you, soe
loved are you in any of our spirits that if you are wounded wee are
wounded, if you are healed wee partake of it; this sympathye in
affection must dwell in the hart of the upright, 'tis a companion to
them, and they must delight in it. I am loath to trouble thee in
this important affaire in which the Lord Almighty guide you, but
mythinks I could ever lett forth my soule to thee; thy deare wife
was in such an extasie of joy to heare of your escaping that danger
that Capt. Pitson * perisht in shee fell into an extreame passion;
shee hopes when it shall please God to send thee home to her againe
to prevale with thee to stay with her. I have noe more but my
truest love whichshalbee at thy commaund while I am
Kympton Hilliard.

Ax Yard, the 29 October, 1650.

[Addressed]:
For my deare brother Mr. Willm. Clarke
at the head Quarters in Scotland.

[William Clarke to the Commissioners of the Great Seale.]

To the right honourable the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seale
of England.

The humble peticion of Wm. Clarke one of his Excellency
the Lord Generall Cromwell's secreaties now in
service with his Excellency in Scotland,

Sheweth,
That your petitioner having purchas'd from the State part of
S. John's Wood parcell of the late King's land, one Mr. John

* Taken prisoner by the Scots, Whitelock, iii., 255.
Collins unjustly claimes some part of that he hath purchased and paid for, and his conveyance sealed and inrolled, and for the same hath proffered a long bill in the Court against your petitioner and James Staresmore, Henry Curtis, and others, freinds and agents of your petitioner's.

That the entrest and title is solely in your petitioner and the other defendants noe wayes at all concerned herin. And your petitioner being so speciallly employed in Scotland with his Excellency in the service of the State, as wilbe made appeare by oath, humbly desires that according to the votes of Parliament, all proceeding in the said suite may be stayed untill your petitioner can attend the same, for that if it should proceed now in your petitioners absence, the same might be much to his prejudice, none being able to make good his title and intrest to the premises in question.

And your Petitioner shall pray &c.

WM. CLARKE.

2d Junij 651

[Kimpton Hilliard to William Clarke.]

Dear Brother,

Colonel Heanes regiment with six companies of Sir Hardress Waller's regiment of foote, two troopes of horse, (vitz.) Capt. West's and Capt. Margerum's, being shippt at Weymouth, on Friday.

* This letter is from Mr. Popham's MSS. In Mercurius Politicus, Oct. 30-Nov. 6, 1651, p. 1175, is a relation of the taking of Jersey, which is also printed in Several Proceedings in Parliament for the same date, p. 1690. Heane's letter, dated 27 Oct., and Blake's letter, dated 28 Oct., are also to be found in the latter newspaper, p. 1700. Heane's correspondence with Philip Carteret about the surrender of Montorgueil Castle is printed in Several Proceedings, p. 1704, and Mercurius Politicus, p. 1213. See also Mercurius Politicus, 1651, 1218, 1166, 2351. Hilliard's letter seems to have been used in compiling the official relation, but contains many additional details.

* "Margory." Mercurius Politicus.
the 17th instant at 4 in the afternoone we houysed sayle, and bended our course towards Guernsey there to take in 200 more, who were to join with us in the reducinge of Jersey Island; but we had not sayled above 5 leaues before the winde rose soe high that our open boats could not live upon the seae, that we were forst to retorne again; the 19th in the morninge we agaync set sail, and though the winde was yet high by 12 at night wee cast anchor under Sarke Island near Guernsey; the 20th in the morninge we launcht forth and steered directly for Jersey, and about 12 at noone came to an anchor in St. Wons Bay, where we lay all that day, not being able to hoyst our smale boats out of the ships to order our businesse, the winde being soe very high; the 21th wee steered round the shoare and came before St. Brelades Bay, where we dropt anchor; the day before the Eagle Frigate running nere the shoare to fyre upon the enemy received a shott which peirceth through her side, and dropped in her howld, but did noe further harm. After we had anchored before St. Brelades Bay we descried severall bodies upon the shoare, and receaved from them divers shott from a lyne on which they had planted severall guns from one end of the Bay to the other. All this while the winde continued soe high that wee were put to a stand, and could not tell what to doe; wee seeing apparent ruin to us all if the winde ceased not. About six at night wee considered that though the weather was not seasonable, and 16 sayle of our fleet left at Guernsey, our horse provisions was quite spent, soe that they must bee lost if wee either lay still or returned; and wee being willing to do the worke wee were sent about resolved to throw ourselves upon the Lord, and to morrow to endeavour to doe it; and it so pleased the Lord that within an hour after we had a calme sea and quiet weather, which gave us opportunity to fitt ourselves with such necessaries as our business required. The 22nd about three in the morning we held a Councell on board the Admirlall, where wee resolved to improve the Lord's goodnesse to us in that seasonable weather which set continued; and that morning to get on; to which purpose
there wee craved a blessing on our undertaking. About 5 that
morning wee began to boaste our men, and came round the shoare
in them to St. Wons Bay, leaveing our shipps to keepe them in
alarum at St. Brelades Bay; before our boates could get ashore the
tyde was spent, and wee forct in much danger, without bread or
beere, to lic there till the next tyde, and about 11 at night for
expedition sake wee cutt our cables and run ashore, our boates
after they were on ground drawing 3, 4, 5, 6, and some 7 feet water,
but those that were in those that drew most gott over [to] the rest and
run ashore, most middle and some neck high, so willing were they
either to live or die together. This day while wee lay in our open
boats the Elizabeth friggott came, and rid as nere the shoare as shee
could, and let fly at their colours uppon the shore, and killed one
horse and 2 men of theirs. We were noe sooner landed but the
enemy entertayned us with a desperate charge, they being a body of
horse, which our foot withstood as stoutly (our horse not being yet
landed), and after halfe an hours dispute (their horse being upp to
the muzles of our musquets) the Lord was pleased to give us the
victory, and made the enemy fly before us; after which wee drew
ourselves into a posture fit to receive them upon the sands, where
wee continued about an houre, and finding noe enemy to assault us
(only some great shott from the hills) we thus marcht a mile in
to the Island, in which time we seised 7 or 8 guns they had planted
uppon that shoare. After we had marcht about a mile there wee
continued till about 5 the next morninge (being the 23rd October,
the same day on which the bataile of Edgehill was), when wee
marcht round the shoare towards St. Brelades Bay, and drew uppon
a hill before wee came to it, whither our parties aboard brought
divers prisoners and colours. Here wee endeavoured to gett in
provison for our hungry and tyred soldiers, but before wee could
gett any (still keeping ourselves in a fighting posture) wee marcht
down to Brelade Bay, where wee found about 12 guns but their
men fledd; after which we drew upp upon a hill on the other side
this Bay in sight of Elizabeth Castle, under which hill was a fort
which had in it 2 demi culverins, which they forsook. Upon this hill wee received several great shot from a strong fort of theirs called St. Albans Tower. Here wee understood that the enemy were all fled into their 2 strong Castles, (vizt.) Mount Orguill Castle which they call the Old Castle, and Elizabeth Castle which they call the New Castle; and my Colonel being unwilling to loose time (notwithstanding his soldierys former hardshipps) marched that night to their chief towne called St. Hilarys, with his owne regiment and Capt. Wests troope of horse onely, to keepe the enemy into the New Castle, which is within muskett and halfe shott of this towne upon an Island in the sea. While wee were on our march hither the Colonel sent in a summons to St. Albans Tower (which likewise stands upon an Island on the other side of the Harbour), and gave them two hours time to send him an answer, in which time they surrendered it, upon terms to remove from thence to Elizabeth Castle, which that night they did by water. In it wee had 14 guns and a convenient place under which our shipping may ly in despite of their Castle. Our quarters being this night taken upp in St. Hilarys towne, whereby the New Castle was blockt upp. The 24th the Colonel sent Sir George Cartaret a summons, to which he returned but a scurrilous answer. This day the Colonel ordered his own regiment with Capt. Wests troope of horse to march to their Old Castle, and Major Ebzery with his 6 companies and the 3 companies from Guernsey with Capt. Margerum's troope to possess our quarters; and that night about 9 o'clock wee drew upp on a coney warren before Mount Orguill Castle, after which wee were disposd to keepe guards within muskett shott of the Castle, and the 25th the Colonel sent the Governor thereof (Sir George Carteret's brother) a summons. His answer was that hee had noe power to surrender that place. It is of it selfe very strong, were it not for a hill close by which commands it, from whence our mortar peeces (when wee have them hither) will I hope force him to deliver it. Thus hath the Lord given into your hands this brave Island with the loss of not above
3 or 4 men, and about 24 wounded, of which one is since dead. The enemy carried a cart load of dead in their New Castle, of which one was Colonel Bovill as I am informed. The enemy at our landing are reported to be about 3000, but their numbers 2 days before were reported to bee twice as many more. Since which the Old Castle called Mount Orguill Castle is surrendered. The conditions were to march away with their swords, which they did, only the Governor had with him 2 horses and the liberty of carrying away some of his goodes. The Islanders are to live peaceably at home, and have protection, and not bee troubled for any thing done during the late warr; the strangers to have passes to go into their own countries. Truely I cannot but wonder to see how the Lord doth strike these people with feare and terror that they should see suddenly deliver upp such a strong hold. It is seated very high upon a round rock, and many vaults in it cut out of the firme rock, that in my judgment 'tis neither stormable or to bee injured by mortar pieces. This is the Castle in which Mr. Prynn was prisoner. Wee had in it nere 50 guns great and smale, 5 or 6 whereof are brass, one of which is demi cannon. The New Castle is indeed a most invincible place, but the Lord Almighty is able to overcome them. This day we heare from St. Maloess in France, that upon notice given them of our fleete cominge this way, they turned all the English out of the towne, and planted 50 guns more about the towne than there was before, fearing wee would attempt them. This day I received one from you, I am glad you are well, my true love to you and my dear sister. I am well blessed bee the Lord, onely a little louzie. I am

thyne while

Kympton Hilliard.

Jersey Island, this 30th Octob. 1651.

For my deare brother Mr: William Clarke at the Head Quarters in Scotland these.
Nov. 15, 1651.

All this weeke hath bin spent in debate of the New Representative. The Judges sitting upon the benches, members of Parliament, were called in to give their vote in this greate businesse. Yesterday (after a long speech made by his Excellency to set a time for the sitting of this Parliament) these large debates came to a question, vizt. that it’s a convenient time [to declare a certain time] for the continuance of this Parliament beyond which it shall not sit, and this question being put the house was divided and carried in the affirmative by two voyces. Tuesday next is appointed to nominate the time.

Nov. 16.

Yesterday the Parliament came to a conclusion, after 6 dayes debate, to name the time, and on Tuesday they resolved when this Parliament shall end; a dreadfull vote to some who have large accounts or unworthy actions to ans[wer], for the Committees in the country begin to look about them. The House was devided at the putting of this question 49 noes 51 yeas, my Lord Generall and Lord Chief Justice St. John tellers for the yeas, Mr. Bond and Mr. Morley for the noes, and 2 latter being against it. I beleive things will draw to some conclusion and speedy settlement.

[The trial of Mr. John Erbury.]

Chequers Chamber, 8th Febr. (62).

Committee of Plundred Ministers.

Mr. Millington, Chayreman.

Present.


* "Yeares" MS.
Spectators.

Coll: Cobbett, myself, & about 4 or 500 more, 2 or 3 files Musqueteers & 2 Officers.

All other Motions layd aside & checkt.

Prisoner call'd.

Then Phelps reade how farr they proceeded last time.

Capt" Chillenden.

I heard Mr. Erbery say, That these saints are much against the sinnes of Adultery outwardly, but comitt them wholly inwardly; also a poore Ranter hes but one night in a moneth with a whore, but these saints this wel-favor'd harlott can lye with twenty betweene this and Westminster.


I think hee said Christ was a Beast.

Erbery.

Right Reverend, give mee leave to speake a word for my self.

Mr. Millington.

Stay you a while. Capt. Chillenden declare what hee said concernig Christ being a Beast.

C: Chillenden.

Mr. Phelps hath it already. Butt hee declared all the Prophettes were Beasts, soo hee came to Christ, & that hee would confound all formes etc.

Mr. Erbery.

I hope the Lord in you is judge this day.
Chillenden.

Hee said. Don’t wee see a morall man hee continues in his morality still, but your Church Members & holy men continue in sin, & the Ranters were the holyest in the nacion but their knowledge came to nothing, & that Christ was a Beast, the apostles & prophets were Beasts & knew nothing, the Saints or Church Members knew nothing, nor hee knew nothing. God in us knew all, but wee nothing, 65 Isaiah 20 etc. ‘There shalbe noe more an infant of daies’ etc. That hee knew God was coming to destroy the knowledge of all the Saints as they call themselves.

Mr. Millington.

Mr. Gray what can you say. But why appear’d you not att first sumons?

Grey.

I onely received the last sumons. It was not out of feare, favour, or affeccon.

1. Mr. Erbery called the bread of the Lords Supper uncleane bread, & hee said because it was the bread of mourners, & will yee sitt downe att the Table of whores; yee cannot discerne the Lords body lyes in Babilon.

2. Concerning Baptisme, 9 Proverbs, 17, ‘Stolen waters are sweete.’ The waters of Babilon are stolen, they are wordes of the whore. 18 Rev. 22, “And the voice of Harpers musick, etc. Yee shall have Baptisme noe more, Lords Supper noe more, preaching noe more.

3. 30 Isaiah. By removing there into Corners is ment pulpitt preachers, such yee shall have noe more; every object shall teach you, your food & rayement shall teach you.

4. That prayer was a work of God, & when the Spiritt of Christ came in the flesh it did consume, 66 Isa. Christ as a worme will consume, corode, & destroy the flesh, faith etc.
5. When Christ was nearest dissolution of his flesh then the Spiritt of prayer forsook him, hee prayed onely these few words, 'Father lett this Cupp pass,' etc. I tell you this came from the darkness of his Spiritt.

2d. Article. Mr. Phelps reads:

'That hee blasphemously preached downe the Godhead of Christ.'

Mr. Gray.

That Christ would consume our faith. I wonder what evill men see in the Turkish Alcheron. When Christ comes into your flesh, hee will make you in love with all Religions, yea Papists & all. Hee dyed the just for the unjust is mistaken, for Christ in the Spiritt will destroy your flesh that hee may bring you to God.

Luke saith hee was Crucified in the 9th houre, & John who was onely present att his death the 6th.

That Christ dyed not for pardon of sin, or [to] satisfy the Father, but [to] declare the Father's love.

Those Churches call'd Ambaptists etc. & State governments, all those formes, saith hee, God will destroy.

Mr. Millington.

What can you say Mr. Pemberton?

Mr. Pemberton.

I was att Somerett House & heard Mr. Erbury on the 8th Revelacon 1st, uppon opening the 7th scale, ' and there was silence in heaven for y'space of half an howre.' Hee said Christ was going out of all formes. 12 Rev: 1st, concerning the woeman clothed with the Sun & the Moone under her feete, [those] were the Ordinances which shold now cease. 18 Rev: [22nd], when the noise of the Harpers shalbe now
THE CLARKE PAPERS. 237

more, which was the comon preaching & singing wee now have. This
noise was hee said the musick of Babilon, & further as hee said, as
God was going out of all these formes soe that there was a more
glorious manifestacon of God coming out this day, viz't. a 3d dis-
pensacon never knowne to the Saints of old, differing from the law &
gospel Order. What saies God, remember not former things, I will
do a new thing saith God, soe are wee, as hee was perfectly one
with God soe are wee. When Christ came to suffring the Spirit of
prayer dyed in him, shewing the feebleness & confusion of his
Spiritt hereby. It pleased the Lord to bruise him, his understanding
was confounded, hee was afraid & knew not what hee said. Hee
tooke Peter & James with him because hee was afraid to goe alone;
that the darkness then was the confusion of his understanding.

And the Vaile of the Temple was rent fro topp to bottome, hee
was onely amased, for what was the Vaile but our pure flesh, our
guifts, our graces, our performances. This is the flesh of Christ, all
of them shalbe torne from highest attainments to lowest per-
formances.

Mr. Millington.

What have you to say Mr. Erbery?

Mr. Erbery.

I humbly thank this Honorable Committee for having liberty
once more to speake here before you. It is thus, I told you the
first time the power of the Lord uppon my Spiritt. I came to
London to preach onely the New Jerusalem. I confess most what
the last evidence said is true; but because I am charg'd by Capt:
Chillington [with saying] that Christ is a Beast, & that the Saints
& all men knew nothing, I knew nothing. But had I now with-
held my coming Capt. Chillington had slidde his necke out of the
collar; & for mee to say that hee was worse than a Beast, I onely
said hee was worse then a goose.*

* "Hee," i.e. Chillenden.
Mr. Millington then checkt him.

Erbery.

True I said the Churches were a welsavor’d harlott, Ezek. 30. I told the old prelatick Churches they were an old rotten whore, but these a fayre whore, but the Presbyterians call the Independent Churches whore, & the Independent call them whore againe, & I say they are all whores together. Isa. 47, that whore said, I am a Queene, but the Scripture saith she is a whore, her knowledge hath deceived her. I speake as in the presence of God, I meane nothing against the Saints, but [against] Apostates; nay it hath been preacht publickly in Blackfryers, if men would have good places they must goe into the Independent Churches.

11 Job. 12. Vaine man would bee wise, though born as an Asses Colt. 49 Psal. : 12,* man being in honor abideth not, but becomes as a Beast that perisheth, & wisest men have proved the greatest fooles.

Moses a Minister of the law, some say his face shined, but the originall renders it horned, beastlike.

As Christ to the theife on the Cross—This day shalt thou bee with mee in Paradise. God onely is wise, & that any man account himselfe soe Ile say hee is as the wild Asses Colt. Every man is a Beast. The prophett speaking of Christ, 30 Pro : saith, ‘I am more brutish then any man.’ Christ is the Glory of the Father. The word wisedome & power of God in the Father. Christ was in God from Eternity, but became man. The words in Hebrew, Adam signifies weakness or dust of the Earth, 2d Ish : man also but signifies heat. 31 Jer: A woman shall compass a man. All that appearred to Christ was in the power of the Father.

Baptisme & Lords Supper, as in the Anabaptists & Independent Churches, were not Gospel Ordinances. Baptisme of the Spiritt was by power from on high, but the apostles could not goe forth till it came, though commaundd.

* MS. 46 Gal. Several errors in the refs. to chapter and verse have been corrected.
They delude their hearers with this word teach & baptize etc. But they mince & cutt the word in halfs.

As breaking of bread among the Churches is uncleane to them it is the bread of mourners.

There was in Gospell times noe breaking of bread but by a spirituall breaking; there was formerly but one body, one bread, one Church, one Baptisme, but heere all is in a confusion; therefore Christs body is in Babilon, & one clashing against another, & now I waite when the spiritt will appeare to make us all one & convince us of our being yet in Babilon.

Mr. Millington.

Must wee have candles or withdraw ?

Some said noe candles, but deferr it till next Tewsday.

Mr. Millington.

Then lett the Company withdraw.

C. Chillenden (aloud).

He said that Christ in flesh was a Beast, & that I was worse than Balaams ass, for that spoke truth, but I a lye; consider it.

Mr. Millington.

Wee'le withdraw, [and] heare noe more now.*

*[Oliver Cromwell to Lieut.-Col. Wilks.]*

Sir,

I received your lettre, and as to the parte which concernes the collection for Marlebrough b I shall speake with Major Haines c thereaboute, by whom I expect to know what Colonell Read hath

* From Mr. Popham's MSS.  b See Preface.  c Or "Baynes."
done thereupon. The other parte of your letter a is full of very loving and kind expressions of the heartiness of your affection to me, and of your tendernes and sensiblenes of the burden of my condition; and truly it was to me very seasonable, because if I mistake not, my exercise of [that] little faith and patience I have was neuer greater; and were it not that I know whom I have beleueed the comforts of all my friends would not support me, noe not one day. I can say this further to you, that if I looked for anything of helpe from men, or yet of kindnes, it would be from such as feare the Lord, for whom I have been ready to lay downe my life, and I hope still am, but I have not a few wounds from them; nor are they indeed, in this sad dispensation they are under (being diuided in opinion and too much in affection ready to fall fowle uppon one another, whilst the enemy to be sure unite to purpose to their common destruction), in a capacity to receive much good or to minister good one to another, through want of communion in loue; soe that whosoever labours to walk with an even foote between the severall interests of the people of God for healing and accomodating their differences is sure to have reproaches and anger from some of all coarts. And truly b this is much of my portion at the present, soe unwilling are men to bee healed and attoned; and although it be thus with mee, yet the Lord will not let it bee alwayes soe. If I have innocency and integrity the Lord hath mercy and truth, and will owne it. If in these things I have made my selfe my ayme, and designed to bring affaires to this issue for my selfe, the Lord is ingaged to disowne mee; but if the worke bee the Lord's, and that they are his purposes which bee hath purposed in his owne wisdome, he will make his owne councils stand; and therefore let men take heed least they bee found feighters against him, especially his owne people. I heare things are very troublesome through the discontent of some amongst you, who will quickly bee made manifest by their fruities. And I am persuaded the

a "Of your letter" omitted.  
b "Surely."
Lord will not suffer his people always to bee deceived by such pretenders and pretences to Righteousnesse and Justice, and care not how unjustly and unrightfully they walke, not to bring forth Righteousnesse and Justice, as they pretend, but most abominable unrighteousnesse, wickednesse, impiety, and confusion upon all the world God hath wrought in the midst of us. I doe veryly suspect most guilty herein, because I finde men acting here vpon the same principles who have conceiv'd to themselves alsoe greate hopes from the devisions and discontentments amongst you, who have had such expectacions from some notable designe to bee acted in Scotland from some considerable person there, that they have formed their work here of like wickednesse and confusion to bee contemporary here; and truly it is thus they are exciting all discontented humours and persons to stir, and to goe into Armes, hauncing framed their declaracions wherein they have a singular compliance with the malignant partie, as their declaracions will manifest, wherein they gratifie them beyond what euer was done for them, by which the cavalier partie is soe encouraged that they doe accompt this spirit, principle, and motions of these men, as the likelest way to bring them into their former interest that ever yet they had, and of this we have a very full discouery. Besides we find that divers are very highly acting that interest, and are preparing great quantities of armes to that purpose, of which through the goodness of God we have made a full discouery, and the business is become soe naked and open, that indeed if all the people of God had one hearte and spirit, yet it would be all litle enough to man's b judgment to preserue the interest of the people of God. We have apprehended divers persons of quality who haue comissions from Charles Stuart and are possess of many armes to carry on their work, and in the discouery herof the Lord hath appeared very gratious to us. The Lord stablish, strengthen, and keepe your minds entire,

a "and as."

b "Many."

* 21 21 21 21
and make his people of one heart, and give them one lip; and I pray you shew your fidelity in standing by and sticking to your honest Generall Geo. Monck, who is a simple hearted man, and as you have opportunity a exhort all to doe the same; b and let the honest officers be as diligent to make peace and keepe it there as wicked men who are the instruments of Satan are busie to bring in confusion. I commit you to the Lord and rest,

Your loving friend,

Oliver P.c

[Secretary Thurloe to General Monk.]

Sir,

I suppose you will heare from other hands of the imprisonment of Major-General Harrison, Mr. John Carew, Mr. Courtney, and Colonel Rich. I will trouble you with the particular reasons and grounds thereof, and that truly not knowing how they may be represented by others. About 10 dayes since they with some others came to his Highnesse, (after that Mr. Rogers with very many of his people had been with him concerning the imprisonment of himselfe and Mr. Feake), and demanded of him that the prisoners of the Lord might be set at liberty. Whereunto his Highnesse answered them, that if they were the prisoners of the Lord they should sooner be set at liberty, but that hee was sure there was noe body in England in prison for the Lord or the gospell sake. And these two persons were soe far from being in bonds uppon any such account, that they were in prison as evil doers, as for railing,

a "At your own opportunitie."

b "soe."

c There are two copies of this letter in the Clarke MS. One is headed "Letter to Lieut.-Col. Wilkes." The variations in the two texts, when of any importance, are given in the notes. From its position amongst the other letters, it should be dated between 14 and 18 January, 1654.
reviling, telling untruthes, stirring up the people to armes, &c.,
which he said he had already made appeere to Mr. Rogers himselfe,
and could alsoe satisfie them when there was time for it; and to that
end he told them, hee should desire to speake with them at some
more convenient time (it being then too late), when he should
deale very plainly with them, and would be content to be soe dealt
with by them, and to heare what they had to say against the way
that he was now in. And soe they went away. About two daies
after his Highnesse sent to them that he would speake with them
the next day at 9 of the clocke. Harrison and Courtney promised
to come, but after it seemes they repentted, for they came not. My
Lord thinking there might be some mistake in the message, sent a
second time, haveing appointed some Christians to be present, who
might heare the discourse. But Major-General Harrison then said,
that if he had been required to come he should have been more
free, but was not free to come uppon a desire; the rest had all
notice but all refused to come. Then his Highnes summoned them
by a warrant in writing, required them to appeare before him or
the Councell uppon a certaine day to answer such things as shalbee
objected against them concerning the peace of the Nation. When
they were served with the warrant Harrison said hee would come,
but did not, nor any of the reste. Upon this contempt, and because
of the certaine information that my Lord had of there endeavours
to stir upp the people against the Government, and to seduce some
persons from there trust (and that of the greatest moment) which
they held under the State, hee sent for them in safe custody, and
they were brought hether upon Friday in the afternoone. And
because things might bee carried on in a Christian manner his
Highnesse had present, when they were called in before him and
the Councell severall sober Christians and Ministers, as Mr.
Carryll, Mr. Brooks, Mr. Cradock, Mr. Recorder, and others, some
whereof were the Irish officers, and at the desire of Major Generall
Harrison and the others, there were alsoe called in Mr. Sympson,
Mr. Bankes, Mr. Pendarvis &c. That which was first asked them
was, why they had in contempt of authoritie refused to come uppon
the summons which had bin sent; whereunto, after they had
desired to know whether there was any thing against them but
theire contempt, they plainly answered, that they could not come,
because in that act they should acknowledg the Governement,
which they could not doe, it being a Governement set up against
the will of God, and in opposition to the Kingdome of Christe, and
was antechristian and Babilonish, and they did expect that God
would power out his wrath uppon it, and those that did adheere to
it, and they did not come, least some of the dropps of wrath should
fall uppon them, and therein they obeyed the Scripture, which calls
to the daughter of Syon to come out of Babylon. Mr. Carew
added that My Lord Protector, when the little Parliament was dis-
solved, tooke the Crowne off from the heade of Christ, and put it
upon his owne. It would be too large to tell all particulars; some
of the principalls they layd downe are these. That the present
authority is not any authority, nor to bee obeyed, and consequently
armes may bee taken upp againste it. That the Magistrate which
is carnall hath no right, nor can have; and the greate objection
which they made againste this Governement was because it had a
Parliament in it, whereby power is derived from the people, whereas
all power belongs to Christ. And it beeing demaunded of them;
whether they would engage to live peaceably and not disturbe the
peace of the Nation, the[y] refused to doe it; and it being pressed
uppon them to doe it, because of the protection they had, they
denied they received any protection from the present Governement,
and that they owed theire protection enely to God, and they should
expect the same quiet protection from God if the whole army
were disbanded to morrow. This was the sume of what they
saide, and indeed it seemed strange to all that heard them. Mr.
Cradock professed hee would not for any thing he had bin absent,
saying hee could not have beleved that theire principles were such
as they did discover, and soe said every body else. After the com-
pany was with drawne the Council did offer to them, that if they
would retire into their own Counties, and promise not to come forth without leave, it would bee all that would bee expected, vizt. Major-Generall Harrison into Stafford-shire, John Carew and Courtney into Cornewell, and Rich into Kent; but they utterly refused it. And thereupon they are ordered to stand comitted, which I assure you is done of pitty to them, and some other people who are led by them, as well as for the sake of the Nation, that they may not putt things into blood and confusion, and bee made use of by the Caveliere and vile levelling party to destroy and utterly roote out all that are good and godly in the land. Before they were committed, his Highnes tould them that they were not onely comitted for the contempt, but because they had acted against the Governement and the peace of the Nation, and particularly tould every one of them what hee had against them: Major-General Harrison, that hee had not onely countenanced those who declaymed publicuely against the Governement, but had perswaded some of the lawfullnesse of takeing up armes against it; John Carew, that he had not onely done what Major-General Harison had, but endeavoured to seduce some greate officers from their trust; that Colonel Rich endeavoured to hinder the raising of the tax, and Courtney had bin in Norfolk and there perswaded the Churches to take armes, and in the West hee declared his opposicion, and saide that at London hee should finde both hands and hearts enow to overthrow this Governement. To this they made noe answer at all. Thus you have had a very long account of this businesse, which I was willing to doe to prevent misinterpretacions. And it is certaine their party will endeavour to doe it, as they do heare, and labour to perswade that all Christians are concerned in this imprisonment, when the contrary is true to one of the saints of this nation, [who] doe disowne them, and their courses, and take these things to bee the effect of wrath and envy, and judg them to bee under a greate temptacion.

Many, very many of the Churches of Christ, as well those under baptisme as others in Scotland and England, have acknowledged the
Governement in writeing under theire hands since the dissolution of
the Parliament. I know it is a trouble to my Lord Protectour to
have any one who is a sainte in truth to bee greeved or unsatisfied
with him; but he is comforted that what hee doth in these cases,
hee doth it for God's and the Saints' sake, and opposes therein that
spirritt which is of the world, which God in his Providence all
all along hath borne witnesse against, vist. that spiritt which would
impose upon the consciences of others, and breake all in peeces who
will not bear a downe to theire apprehencions. The Presbyterians b
speakes as well of the Kingdome of Christe as these men, and many
of them as holy, and I am sure much more knowing even in
spirituall things.

J. T. c

a MS. "beere."

b MS. "Presbyterrars."

c Two fragmentary letters from Thurloe's collection of MSS. in the Bodleian,
printed at the end of the Preface, further elucidate the opposition of the Fifth-
Monarchy men to the Protectorate.
APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

TWO LETTERS FROM CLARKE PAPERS IN THE POSSESSION OF MR. LEYBOURNE POPHAM.

Capt. Lieut. Ingram to Sir Thomas Fairfax.

May it please your Excellency,

It having pleased God lately to send some of his messengers to your Excellency and others in your army to intimate to your Excellency and them that he was departed from your Excellency and the army, since which tyme God hath I believe in some measure posset your Excellency and some of them with the truth thereof, as appeares by his inclining your hearts and theirs to seeke him, when providentially I was there and heard him constraine Lt. generall Cromwell to make some ingenuous acknowledgements to that purpose. I heard also the same God speaking in your Excellency (to which the testimony within you at that tyme will testify) presently after Mr. Knight had done speaking, your expressions tending to set forth your Excellencies delight in waiting upon God in that way (as it is indeed the only way, the wisest and best way), and therefore your Excellency desired some others to continue that duty, which Mr. Allen was constrained to doe, and that sweetly and spiritually; before which day and since having heard many complaine of those messages sent to your Excellency and others, tending to declare God's

departure from your Excellency and them, but not what he would have you to doe; since which tyme it hath pleased the Father to incline my heart to wayte upon him for a word of wisedome to declare to your Excellency and them (as an answer in parte to your petition then breathed up to him, that see you might be directed what God would have you doe that he might againe delight to be with you): which having receaved I was constrained (though with much weakenesse) to declare yesterday (according to that little measure of light given to me, out of the abundance of my love to your Excellency and them) at the Councill of Warre, for which I was (though a member of that Councill) commanded to withdraw, and a charge immediately drawne up against me, sentenced, and confined; whereof I thought it my duty to give your Excellency an account, being made willing to give in my reasons in writing why I spake it, my answear to the charge exhibited against me, as also to that Quere then propounded to me, vidt.: Whether I would submitt to the justice of the Generall Court Marshall, and unto the whole discipline and government of the Army (according to lawes and ordinances of warre made for this Army) at the tyme appointed by your Excellency and that Court. In the mean tyme I thought fit to declare to your Excellency (having receaved a commission from your Excellency), as parte of my answear to the aforesaid Quere, vidt.: That so long as your Excellency shall act according to your first principles (manifested in your Excellencies commission given to me), and according to the publique declarations of the whole souldiery at Triplowe Heath for Justice, Justice, (which was my particular answearse to the Commissioners before your Excellency), and according to the solemnne ingagement of the Army to which your Excellency hath given your assent, soe long I shall manifest my willingnesse to yeeld obedience to your Excellency by my future actions and my present subscribing my selfe

A faithfull servant to your

Excellency

JOHN INGRAM.

December 21
1647.

Endorsed: Capt. Lt. Ingram.
My dearest friend,

I was very short in my last, but I hope I gave you a satisfactory reason, now I shall a little enlarge, being somewhat reconciled, and give a few thoughts in answere to yours by last post. The relation of Mr. Saltmarsh (which I had more fully by Col. Overton) is very remarkable, and certainly he saw an evil in the imprisoning and punishing of men for acting not according to other mens lights, or contrary to the wisdome, reason, and policy of flesh and blood; and though I am a little unsatisfied with the keeping on his hatt etc. yet I beleive his appearance in that manner may justly give a cheque to all violent proceedings and prosecution against honest men though in some things of other judgment. As I know flesh and bloud is the ground of all difference and contention, as well among the saints as others, so I see flesh and bloud also in their late action, both in the prosecutor and prosecuted; yet I believe the sufferer shall see more glory then the other because he is nearest humility, the mortification of flesh, and the spirit of meeknes, which if that were predominant then how would the saints agree and trample downe the other powers of the world and flesh! I feare the glory of the flesh in the great saints wilbe a great gaul (and a great while yet) to the little; and though I think the time of Llevelling is not come, yet the time will come that all the enemies of Christ (and I think all flesh and bloud wilbe found in that number) shalbe made his footsteoole. And nothing satisfies mee so much concerning Mr. Saltmarsh as that I know he was a man of a meeke and humble spirit, and I am apt to think it was not pride made him keepe on his hatt, but I conceive to shew how baseley he esteemed even the greatest glory of flesh in that transportaion and extasy of spirit, and doth hint on something of prophesy that the despised prosecuted spirit of Christ shall triumph over and not be subject to the glory of the world and flesh, and his dying in this condition gives mee to draw this conclusion, that as the glory of God appears flesh decays, the more of glory, the lesse of flesh, and the one (as in him) shall overcome and destroy the other. Mr. Pownell [?]
perceive had some sight and sence with him, but the bright morning star hath not appeared so glorious on him as yet.

Concerning your prisoners being high spirited and pragmaticall, I know not who they are, nor of what spirit, but conceive they are those that are called Levellers; and if they are of the good spirit no wonder they are high, for that cannot be supprest in a prison, and he that is acted by that cannot be idle; if of the other I pitty their pride, and like not their activity; their new plea I think will not hold water, and for Thompson's conclusion to his Excellency I think it did proceed from an evil spirit such as I would have discouraged and destroyed.

I perceive the heads of the Army are now employed chiefly about getting security and satisfaction to the ouldeury in point of arrears and disbanding supernumeraries. Arrears are good when they can be gott, but I think disbanding is not seasonable; it may doe good in one way in easing the Countries burthen, but more hurt another in giving occasion to great enemies to plott and act (according to their principles of ignorance and malice) the destruction of freedom and justice. Thers more need of union then the other, and surely could the comon enemy divide he would rule. I am more for strict discipline to prevent oppressions and complaints then disbanding, as affaires stand; and, as I said once before, had wee guided our reynes right wee needed not have feared so sudden a dismounting for another to take the saddle that perhaps may gal'd the horse worse. I received yours yesterday by Mr. Cadwell, for which great paynes I am truly thankfull, and very glad to heare of the great harmony in the Officers at the Castle the late fast. I observe the harmony sprung from humility and yeilding of high spirits; love and agreement must needs followe meekenes and humility. I am glad Col. Rainb[orowc's] former services and late humility have gayne so good an aspect. I received one of the Scotch declarations and cursorily read it over, and shall give thee my present apprehensions. In the generall I think they have proudly and pragmatically medled with what they had nothing to doe; and though they pretend something of joynt interest, yet it is no older then the Treaties, and I think there is nothing there to bind this kingdom to doe nothing without them; though I feare they were a little too
hard for us, and gott ground and advantage upon us by those Treaties. The late vote of the house of Commons hath given them a notable nipp, and they felt it, for you see they winch in the latter end of their declaration. I doe not discomend their policy (though I doe their honesty) in endeavoring to gett a joint interest, no otherwise then I would discomend a beggar from endeavoring to become a Lord, or one that lives upon long cale to gett roste meate, and I beleive they would very gladly fight for it, if they thought they should overcome, but I think this large expression of their anger (though they are very cuning in their anger) will make us a little more to eye them.

In particular—

I value not their reasons for a personall Treaty. And though there be not so much cause to fear the King's power now, as when hee had an Army, yet the kingdome is as farre from settlement, and as free from disturbance as ever, but they would faine have him there to make the other step into Scotland, that they might gett the other £200,000. They are very angry Religion is not made the first proposition to the King, and say wee ought to builde the house of God before our owne. The house of God is like to be well built by such masons and carpenters as they are; they surely will never measure with a straight line and rule, nor lay the stones with faire colours, and the foundation with saphires etc. Uniformity, discipline, rooting out sects, blasphemy, heresy, destroying all but their owne opinions way and practice is their language; is this the language of the Lamb or the Beast? What a stirre doe they keepe about the Covenante, as if all were lost unles the black tribe be kept up, and how cunningly doe they prosecute the advantage they gott upon this kingdome in its lowe estate? Oh what an eyesore is that Army to their interest and designes, whome they are so angry at, and would so faine have disbanded. You see what names they give; if they can once prevayle to take away your power, have at your coates. Not a bitt of toleration or favour ile warrant you. Doe you see how they jeare the Parliament, saying they tolerate all sects and heresies, and after all protestations &c. give no more then a toleration to the Presbyterian Government, their great Diana. How mightily doe they plead for the King (cuning Karles) for their owne ends more then love. And what have they to doe with the militia
of England or London, they must be judge what it is fitt for us, or what wee must doe, or what have they to doe with titles of honor, Court of Wards &c. At last their desires are so unreasonable that I think they are not fitt to be taken notice of, and I think the Parliament of England need not feare their snappish laying of violation of the Treaty upon their score. I might be very long, and if I thought none would doe about to confute this booke I would doe it my self, for I think it is a very good and easy work.

The Parliament and Army are now thinking to ease the Kingdome of burthens, as free quarter, supernumeraries &c. there is a close cunning Army or Assembly that march alwaies in black in this Kingdome, which I think may goe under Supernumeraries, I hope they wilbe disbanded too with the rest; I wouder no party hath sett upon them to route them. I think their Arrenres will not be much, for their 4s. hath been duly paid them, besides their severall fatt benefices.

I find by the declaration of Parliament you last sent concerning taking off of free quarter &c. a very bad consequence in my judgment. No man must goe into any house except Tavernes &c. without the consent of the owner. Now no man will willingly entereteyne a souldier, so that necessarily the Army must alwaies lye in Innes, Taverne &c. The souldiers will not be able to live upon Inne and Taverne rates, and my thinkes of all houses in the Kingdome they should be kept out of those, or els wee shall have nothing but a drunken Army, and laid open to all disorders and mischeifs. If the Army must have constant pay and discharge quarters, they might have the liberty to quarter in private houses. I think this is the ready way either quite to destroy, or at least to bring dishonor and disorder upon the Army.

I received the Lawes and Ordinances and also the £4 18s. 4d. of Mr. Cadwell, and perceive I have but £14 of the other money, but did conceive there had been 3 moneths paid since I came away. However if Generall Lambert desire it, I pray make it up £20 for him, and trust mee till you receive more for mee. I perceive Sir William Constable hath Generall Lamberts Regiment given him; though he is willing to submitt to it yet he hath now no regiment, nor any other place of benefitt, for hee hath received none since he came into these parts. Wee have
little stirring here. Some late orders of the Council of War, are made concerning quartering and regulating the Army here, and I have sent some by Mr. Cadwell; I could have sent the one last week, but thought it not worth the sending. The Commissioners left here in the Generall's absence are Colonel Bethell, Colonel Bright, Colonel Thornton, Lieutenant-Colonel Goodrick and Major Rookey, likewise Colonel Lilburne and Colonel Overton are named though not present. Three make a quorum.

Tis time to end, I am
Thine owne
T. M.

York, 29th December, 1647.

Commend my service to Mr. Wragg and bid him take heed of falling into the fire. Capt. Wisdome is now going towards you, he is yet destitute of a place. I pray be his assistant while he stays there as much as you can. Forget mee not to Mr. Hatter and all the rest of my friends.

Endorsed: Mr. Margetts. Dec. 29, 1647.
APPENDIX B.


THE LEGAL FUNDAMENTAL LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

Although Oliver had his hands full with Poyer, Goring, Holland, Hamilton, and Langdale the last year; but especially with the general odium that was then in both houses against him, upon the notable impeachment of his Major Huntingdon, August 2, 1648, and I then by my absolute freedom was a little up, and could have at my pleasure been revenged of him, if I had so pleased either by divisions in his army, which was easily then in my power; or by joyning in impeaching him with Major Huntingdon; which I had matter enough to do, and was earnestly solicited to do it again and again, and might have had money enough to boot in my then low and exhausted condition to have done it, yet I scorned it, and rather applied my hand to help him up againe, as not loving a Scotch Interest (then likely to swallow us up) as is very well and fully known to his present darling, Mr. Cornelius Holland, and also to Colonel Ludlow, and Mr. Thomas Chaloner, with other Members that I could name; and which was demonstrated to himself by a Letter I sent him by Mr. Edw. Sexby, whom on purpose I procured to go down to him; the true copy whereof thus followeth:

Sir,

What my Comrade hath written by our trusty bearer, might be sufficient for us both; but to demonstrate unto you that I am no staggerer from my first principles that I engaged my life upon, nor from you, if you are what you ought to be, and what you are now strongly reported to be; although, if I prosecuted or desired
APPENDIX.

revenge for an hard and almost starving imprisonment, I could have had of late the choice of twenty opportunities to have paid you to the purpose; but I scorn it, especially when you are low, and this assure yourself, that if ever my hand be upon you, it shall be when you are in your full glory, if then you shall decline from the righteous ways of Truth and Justice: which, if you will fixedly and impartially prosecute, I am

Yours, to the last drop of my heart bloud,  
(for all your late severe hand towards me),

JOHN LILBURN.

From Westminster this 3 of August  
1648, being the second day of  
my Freedom.

Which Letter etc. as I have been told by the Bearer, was not a little welcome to him.  

But his dealings with me now manifest that Proverb to be very true, viz., Save a thief from the Gallows, and for your requitall he will be the first shall hang you. But to this I shall say no more but what the Spirit of Truth saith in Prov. 17, 13. That he that rewards evil for good, evil shall not depart from his house.

And being at liberty, not liking in the least the several juglings I observed in divers great ones in reference to the personal Treaty, and that there was nothing worth praising or liking thought of or presented by the Parliament in reference to the People's Liberties or Freedoms (especially considering their late large expences and hazards for the procurement of the settlement of them) I was compelled in conscience to have a hand in that most excellent of Petitions of the 11 of September, 1648, which (I am sure) was no small piece of service to Cromwel and his great Associates; though his Church-men now my chiefest Adversaries, durst not joynt with it, nor own it for very fear. And having been in the North about my own business, where I saw Cromwel, and made as diligent scrutinies into things about him, as I could, which I then to myself judged, savoured more of intended self-exalting, then anything really and heartily (of what before I had strongly heard of him) to the through-advancement of those things that were worthy to be accounted indeed the Liberties and Freedoms of the Nation.
And being come to London, my self, and some other of my friends, by two messengers, viz., Mr. Hunt, one of Cromwels creatures, and another sent a message down to him to Pomfret, to be delivered to himself, and to debate it with him, and bring his express answer back again speedily: the effect of which message was,

That to our knowledge God hath caused him to understand the principles of a just Government, under which the glory of God may shine forth by an equal distribution unto all men.

That the obtaining of this was the sole intended end of the Wars: and that the War cannot be justified upon any other account, then the defence of the people's right unto that just Government, and their freedom under it.

His answer to which message by Mr. Hunt was principally directed by the Independents; some of whom appointed a meeting at the Nags-head Tavern by Blackwell Hall at Mrs. Wilson's, and invited Mr. Wildman and myself, etc., thither, whether we went accordingly, and where we met with Colonel Tichburn, Col. John White, Dr. Parker, Mr. Taylor, John Price, and divers others (where we had a large debate of things, and where the just ends of the War were exactly laid open by Mr. Wildman, as ever I heard in my life). But towards the conclusion, they plainly told us, the chief things first to be done by the Army, was first to cut off the King's Head, &c., and force and thoroughly purge, if not dissolve, the Parliament. All of which we were all against, and pressed to know the bottom of their center, and in what they would absolutely rest for a Future Settlement; and I plainly told them in those words, or to this effect.

Its true, I look upon the king as an evil man in his actions, and divers of his party as bad, but the Army had cozened us the last year, and fallen from all their promises and Declarations, and therefore could not rationally any more be trusted by us without good cautions and security: In which regard, although we should judge the king as arrant a tyrant as they supposed him, or could imagine him to be, and the Parliament as bad as they could make them; yet their being no other balancing power in the kingdom against the Army, but the king and the Parliament, it was our interest to keep up one Tyrant to balance another, till we
certainly know what that Tyrant that pretended fairest would give us as our Freedoms; that so we might have something to rest upon, and not suffer the Army (so much as in us lay) to devolve all the government of the Kingdom into their wills and swords (which were two things we nor no rational man could like) and leave no persons nor power to be a counter-balance against them. And if we should do this, our slavery for future (I told them) might probably be greater then ever it was in the Kings time; and so our last error would be greater then our first, and therefore I pressed very hard for an Agreement amongst the People first, for a new Parliament, etc. utterly disclaiming the thoughts of the other till this was done. And this (I told them) was not only my opinion, but I believe to be the unanimous opinion of all my friends with whom I most constantly conversed.

At which the Gentlemen Independents were some of them most desperately cholerick: but my opinion being backed with the speeches of some others of my friends, we came calmly to chuse out four and four of a side to debate and conclude of some heads towards the accomplishment of an Agreement of the People: and (as I remember) their four were, Colonel Titchburn, Col. White, Dr. Parker, and Jo. Price; and our four were Mr. William Walwyn, Lieut. Col. Wetton, Mr. John Wildman, and myself. But John Price sent some of the company to tell us (after we were parted, and some of us drinking a cup of wine below) he would not make one, if Mr. Walwyn was one, for he had a prejudice against him. Unto which I replied, Mr. Walwyn had more honesty and integrity in his little finger then John Price had in all his body; and therefore no meeting for me, seeing John Price was so base, unless Mr. Walwyn was one, though we had but two of a side: but the business being much debated and expostulated, Mr. Walwyn and John Price both (for peace sake) were at present laid aside: and according to appointment (as I remember) all the other six met the fifteenth of Novemb. 1648, being Wednesday, at the fore-mentioned Nage-head; and there, after some debate, unanimously agreed in those words, viz.: That in our conceptions, the only way of Settlement is:

1. That some persons be chosen by the Army to represent the whole body; And that the well-affected in every County (if it may be) chuse
some persons to represent them: And those to meet at the Head-
Quarters.

II. That those persons ought not to exercise any Legislative power,
but only to draw up the foundations of a just Government, and to pro-
pound them to the well-affected people in every County to be agreed to:
Which Agreement ought to be above Law; and therefore the bounds,
limits, and extent of the peoples Legislative Deputies in Parliament, con-
tained in the Agreement, to be drawn up in a formal contract, to be
mutually signed by the well-affected people and their said Deputies upon
the days of their Election respectively.

III. To prevent present confusion, the Parliament (if it be possible)
may not be by force immediately dissolved; but that the day of its disso-
lution be inserted in that Agreement, by virtue whereof it shall be
dissolved.

IV. That this way of settlement, (if it may be) should be mentioned
in the Armies first Remonstrance.

V. That the matter of the Petition of September 11, 1648, be the
matter to be settled.

Which agreement of ours (as I remember) was immediately sent
away to the Head-Quarters at St. Albans by Mr. Hilland of Southwark,
where (as it was afterwards told us) it was very well accepted and
approved of by the great ones there; whose high and mighty Declaration
of the 16 Nov. 1648, (drawn by Ireton at Windsor, when he pretended to
lay down his Commission) against the King coming to our view, we
made divers objections against many passages in it: but especially of
divers lashes that tacitly at the beginning of it hinted at us, which we
told some of their friends could not be put in with a spirit of peace
towards us, or intention of good to the Nation, in those good things
we desired and propounded for it: But it was with many fair expressions
salved up by them, upon which we judged it requisite for some of us to
go to Windsor, to speak with Mr. Ireton the Stew-man himself; and
accordingly (as I remember) Lieut.-Colonel Wotton, Mr. Petty, Mr.
Wildman, and myself met there, and having drawn up our thoughts in
writing, we communicated them to Col. Tichburn, Col. White, Mr.
Moyer, and divers others of the Independent Party, who went with us to
the Governors house, where we met with Mr. Peters, the grand Journey—or Hackney-man of the Army; And after we had acquainted him with our minds, we delivered him a copy of our Paper, containing distinctly the Heads of what we desired, and intreated him to deliver them to Commissary Ireton, with whom we desired to discourse about them; who sent us word, at such an hour he would come to our Inn at the Garter, to speak with us about them; and accordingly he did, accompanied with a whole train of Officers; and a large and sharp discourse we had; our principall difference lying at his desire in the too strict restraining Liberty of Conscience, and in keeping a power in the Parliament to punish where no visible Law is transgressed; the unreasonableness of which was much spoken against by divers of the principall Officers with him, but especially by Col. Harrison, who was then extreme fair and gilded: And so little satisfaction had we at that meeting, from Ireton (the Armie's Alpha and Omega) that we despaired of any good from them, and were in a manner resolved to come away in haste to London, and acquaint our friends with our conceptions, and so improve our interests forcibly, as much as we could, to oppose their intended designes. But Colonel Harrison coming to us again at ten a clock, according to our desire, we had a private and large discourse with him, and fully and effectually acquainted him with the most desperate mischievousness of their attempting to do these things, without giving some good security to the Nation for the future settlement of their Liberties and Freedoms, especially in frequent, free, and successive Representatives, according to their many Promises, Oathes, Covenants and Declarations; or else as soon as they had performed their intentions to destroy the King (which we fully understood they were absolutely resolved to do, yea, as they told us, though they did it by Martial Law), and also totally to root up the Parliament, and invite so many Members to come to them as would joyn with them, to manage businesses, till a new and equal Representative could by an Agreement be setled; which the chiefest of them protested before God was the ultimate and chiefest of their designes and desires. I say, we pressed hard for security, before they attempted those things in the least, lest when they were done we should be solely left to their wills and swords; by which, we told them, they might rule over us arbitrarily,
without declared Laws, as a conquered people, and so deal with us as
the poor slavish peasants in France are dealt with, who enjoy nothing
that they can call their own. And besides we plainly told him, we
would not trust their bare words in generall onely, for they had broke
their promise once already, both with us and the Kingdom; and he that
would break once, would make no conscience of breaking twice, if it
served for his ends, and therefore they must come to some absolute par-
ticular compact with us, or else, some of us told him, we would post
away to London, and stir up our interest against them, yea and spend
our bloods to oppose them. To which he replied to this effect, It was
true in what we said; for he must ingenuously confess, they had once
broken with us and the Kingdom, and therefore acknowledged it
was dangerous trusting them upon generals again: But, saith he, we
cannot stay so long from going to London with the Army as to perfect
an Agreement, and without our speedy going we are unavoidably
destroyed: For (saith he) we fully understand that the Treaty betwixt
the King and Parliament is almost concluded upon; at the conclusion of
which, we shall be commanded by King and Parliament to disband, the
which if we do, we are unavoidably destroyed for what we have done
already: and if we do not disband, they will by Act of Parliament pro-
claim us Traytors, and declare us to be the only hinderers of settling
peace in the Nation; and then (saith he) we shall never be able to fight
with both the interest of King and Parliament: So that you will be
destroyed as well as we: for we certainly understand that Major Generall
Brown, etc. are under hand preparing an Army against us. And there-
fore I profess, I confess, I know not well what to say to your reasons,
they are so strong; but our necessities are so great, that we must
speedily go, or perish; and to go without giving you some content, is
hazardable too.

Well Sir, (said we) we have as much cause to distrust the Parliament
men, as we have to distrust you; for we know what and how many large
promises they have made to the Kingdom, and how little they have
performed; and we also know what a temptation Honor, Power, and
profit are even to those spirits that were pretti ingenious and honest
before; and when you have done your work, and got, as you pretend,
foursy or fifty of the honest members of the House to you; alas, (said we) it will be a mock power; yet they may find such sweetness and delight in their pretended power, that they may fly to your swords for their protection, and bid us go shake our ears for our Agreement, and go look for it where we can catch it. And therefore we will trust generals no more to your foursy or fifty Members of Parliament, then to you: for it's possible, if we leave the Agreement to their framing, they may frame us such a one as will do us no good, but rather make us slaves by our own consents, if signed by us: and therefore we pressed him that we might agree upon a final and absolute Judge of the matter and method of the Agreement, that so we might not spend months and years in dispute about it. And therefore we would propound this unto him, That if their honest friends in the Parliament, as they called them, would chuse four from amongst themselves, and the Army four from amongst themselves, and the independents four from amongst themselves,; we that were nick-named Levellers would choose four from among ourselves; and these sixteen should draw up the Agreement finally, without any more appeal to any other; and we for our parts, so far as all our interest in England extended, would be willing to acquiesce in, and submit to the determinations of these sixteen or the major part of them. And we would be willing the Presbyterian party should be invited, and desired to chuse four more to be of equal authority with the other sixteen; provided, they did it by the first day we should appoint to meet upon.

Which proposition he approved of extraordinary well, and said, It was as just, as rational, and as equitable, as possibly could be; and said, He doubted not but all Interests would center in it, and he engaged to acquaint them with it; and so we parted, very glad that we were likely to come to some fixed agreement for the future enjoyment of our dear-bought and hard-purchased Freedoms.

And the next morning we went to the Gentlemen Independents, that lay the next door to us, who were almost ready to horse for London, and we acquainted them with it, who liked it very well; and with whom we fixed a night for several distinct meetings in London, to chuse our respective Trustees for this work, and also appointed a day to meet at Windsor again about it, and from them we went to Master Cornelia;
Holland, who then was the chief stickler for those they called honest men in the House of Commons; and as I remember we met Colonel Harrison, Master Holland, and Captain Smith, a Member, and his son in law, in the street, and Master Holland seemed exceedingly to rejoice at the Proposition, Colonel Harrison having told him of it before, which we repeated over again distinctly to him, that so in conclusion we might not be gulled through pretense of mistakes or misunderstanding, which we were continually afraid we should meet with; so we went all together to Commissary General Ireton's Chamber, to have his concurrence, which of all sides was taken for the concurrence of the whole Army, or at least for the powerful and governing part of it; he being in a manner both their eyes and ears. So when we came to his Chamber in the Castle, he was in bed with his wife, but sent us out word by Colonel Harrison, as he averred to us, That he did absolutely and heartily agree to the foresaid Proposition, which to avoid mistakes was again repeated; so we seemed joyful men of all sides, and appointed a day speedily to meet at Windsor about it, Master Holland again and again engaging for four Parliament men, and Colonel Harrison with Commissary Ireton for four of the Army, as we Londoners had done for each of our Tribe; and so to Horse we went, and I overtook upon the Road the whole gang of Independents, with whom I discoursed again, and acquainted them all fully with the absoluteness of our Agreement, which they acquainted their friends with in London, who chose Colonel Tichburn, Colonel John White, Master Daniel Taylor, and Master Price the Scrivener; And for our party, there was by unanimous consent of the Agents from our friends in and about London at a very large meeting chosen Master William Walwyn, Master Maximilian Petty, Master John Wildman, and myself; and for the honest men of the Parliament as they were called, they had several meetings at the Bell in Kings-Street, and at Somerset house, where, as I was informed, they chose Col. Hen. Martin, Col. Alexander Rigby, Master Thomas Chalener, and Master Scot, with one or two more, to supply the places of those of them that should be absent at any time about their occasions; so when we came to Windsor, the Army men had chosen Commissary-General Ireton, Sir William Constable, and, as I remember, Colonel Tomlinson, Colonel Baxter, Lieutenant Colonel Kelsey, and Captain
APPENDIX.

Packer, some two of the which last four should always make up the number; so we had a meeting in their Council-Chamber at the Castle, where we were all of all sides present, but only the Parliament men, for whom only Col. Martin appeared, and after a large discourse about the foundations of our Agreement, we departed to our lodging, where Colonel Martin and we four nick-named Levellers lockt ourselves up, and went in good earnest to the consideration of our Agreement, but much was not done in it then, because of their haste to London, to force and break up the Parliament (which journey at all was very much opposed by Mr. Walwyn, and many reasons he gave against their march to London at all), the absolute dissolution of which, their friends in the House would no wayes admit of, although Ireton, Harrison, etc., commonly stiled it then a Parliament that had forfeited its trust, a mock-parliament, and that if they did not totally dissolve it but purge it, it would be but a mock-parliament, and a mock-power however; for where have we, say they, either Law, Warrant or Commission to purge it, or can anything justify us in the doing it, but the height of necessity to save the Kingdom from a new war, that they, with the conjunction with the King will presently vote and declare for, and to procure a new and free Representative, and so successive and frequent free Representatives? which this present Parliament will never suffer (and without which the freedoms of the Nation are lost and gone, and the doing of which can only justify before God and man our present and former extraordinary acting with and against legal authority) and so all our fighting will be fruitlesse; and this was their open and common discourse with more of the like nature; and to those that objected against their total dissolving or breaking the House (and the illegality of their intended and declared trying of the King, which also was opposed by us, till a new and unquestionable Representative was sitting) as I am able sufficiently, by plurality of witnesses, to prove and justify, yea when they were come to London, Ireton, etc., and some Members of the House (in a Chamber near the long Gallery in White-hall) had a large conference, where and to whom he stifly maintained the same to their faces, calling this purged Parliament a mock power and a mock-parliament, which Members, I believe, if there were a necessity of it, I
could produce to justify it; for I am sure one of them told me the
substance of all the discourse immediately after it happened; so that if it
be treason to call this a pretended parliament, a mock-power, a mock-
parliament, yea, and to say in plain English, that it is no Parliament at
all, then they themselves are the prime, the chief and original traytors;
and if this be true, as true it is; then there is neither legal Judges, nor
Justices of Peace in England; and if so; then all those that are executed
at Tibern, etc. by their sentences of condemnation given against them
are meerly murthered, and the Judges or Justices that condemned them
are liable in time to be hanged (and that justly) therefore, for acting
without a just and legal commission either from true Regall, or true
Parliamentary power; see for this purpose, the notable arguments in the
13, 14, but especially 15 page of the second edition of my late Picture of
the Council of State. But to return to our acting to compleat the
Agreement, all parties chosen of all sides constantly met at Whitehall
after the Army came to Town, saving the Parliament men failed only
Master Martin was most commonly there, and a long and tedious tug we
had with Commissary Generall Ireton only, yea sometimes whole nights
together, principally about Liberty of Conscience, and the Parliaments
punishing where no law provides, and very angry and Lordly in his
debates many times was he; but to some kind of an expedient in the
first, for peace sake we condescended in to please him, and so came
amongst the major part of the 16 commissioners, according to our
original agreement, to an absolute and final conclusion; and thinking
all had been done, as to any more debate upon it, and that it should
without any more ado be promoted for subscriptions, first at the Council
of War, and so in the Regiments, and so all over the Nation. But alas,
poor fools, we were meerly cheated and cozened (it being the principal
unhappiness to some of us (as to the flesh) to have our eyes wide open to
see things, long before most honest men come to have their eyes open;
and this is that which turns to our smart and reproach, and that which
we Commissioners feared at the first (viz. That no tye, promises, or
engagements were strong enough to hold the grand Juglers, and Leaders
of the Army) was now made clearly manifest, for when it came to the
Council there came the General, Cromwel, and the whole gang of
APPENDIX.

Creature-Colonels, and other Officers, and spent many dayes in taking it all in pieces, and there Ireton himself shewed himself an absolute king, if not an Empeor, against whose will no man must dispute, and then shittlecock Roe their Scout, Okey, and Major Barton (where Sir Hardress Waller sate President) began in their open Council to quarrel with us, by giving some of us base and unworthy language, which procured them from me a sharp retortment of their own basenesse and unworthiness into their teeth, and a Challenge from myself into the field besides seeing they were like to fight with us in the room, in their own Garrison, which when Sir Hardress in my ear reproved me for it, I justified it, and gave it him again for suffering us to be so affronted. And within a little time after I took my leave of them for a pack of dissembling, juggling Knaves, amongst whom in consultation ever there-after I should scorn to come (as I told some of them) for there was neither faith, truth, nor common honesty amongst them: and so away I went to those that chose and trusted me, and gave publikly and effectually (at a set meeting appointed on purpose) to diverse of them an exact account how they had dealt with us, and cozened and deceived us; and so absolutely discharged myself for medling or making any more with so perfidious a generation of men as the great ones of the Army were, but especially the cunningest of Machiavilians, Commissary Henry Ireton; and having an exact copy of what the greatest part of the fore-said sixteen had agreed upon, I only mended a clause in the first Reserve about Religion, to the sense of us all but Ireton, and put an epistle to it, of the fifteenth of December, 1648, and printed it of my own accord, and the next day it came abroad; about which Master Price the Scrivener and myself had a good sharp bout at Colonel Titchburn his house, within two or three days after, where I avowed the publishing of it, and also putting my Epistle to it of my own head and accord. And after that I came no more amongst them, but with other of my friends, prepared a complaint against their dealing with us, and a kinde of Protest against their proceedings; which with my own hand I presented to the Generals own hands at the Mews, the twenty-eight of December, 1648, being accompanied with Major Robert Cobbet, Mr. Thomas Prince, Mr. George Middlemore, Mr. Robert Davies, Mr.
Richard Overton, Mr. Edward Tench, Mr. Daniel Linton, Mr. William Bottom, Mr. John Harris, Mr. Thomas Dafferne, Mr. Tho. Goddard, Mr. Samuel Blaiklock, Mr. Andrew Dednam, Mr. John Walters, and Mr. Richard Pechel; and which was immediately printed by Ja. & Jo. Moxon, for William Larnar, at the sign of the Black-moore near Bishops gate; within two or three days of the delivery of which, I went towards my journey to Newcastle; and about five weeks after my arrivall in those parts I heard that the Generall and his Council had presented their Agreement to your House: which, when I read the title page of it, I found it to be upon the 20 of Jan. 1648, which is compleat 35 dayes after my publishing of that which is called ours.
APPENDIX C.

A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN ANTHONY MILDMA Y, ONE OF THE ATTENDANTS ON THE KING, TO HIS BROTHER, SIR HENRY MILDMA Y.

My worthy good Brother,

I am resolved to continue here one month more, to see what that time will produce, but longer I will not stay upon the terms I am now, my danger being very great and certain, and my reward uncertain: for you may very well conceive that the malignant party will be still practising against me, to make me suspected by the Parliament and their Army, hoping to remove me by that means: all other ways they practised in vain. Many things are omitted in the last declaration which I hope you will mention in the next. Some little time before the first expedition against the Scots, Ship-money and other taxes coming in slow, it was resolved by the King (at a juncto) that a regiment of horse should be presently raised, the pretence for a guard for the King's person; but there was no need of that, there being a Band of Pensioners, and the Yeomen of the Guard. The old Countesse of Devonshire paid £2,000 to Marquess Hamilton, which he was to have as a gift when this Lord Wilmot was established Commander in Chief of this regiment. If M. Haughton, an Attourney living in S. James, and one Mrs. Barrow, that lives in Cheneys in Buckinghamshire, Sir Edward Wortley, and Franco Wortley be examined, they will satisfie the Parliament that this horse guard was to be imploied absolutely to force the King's will upon the people. Sir, this day our worthy Governour and the King had some disputes in my hearing and others. In short, the King had very many bitter expressions against your proceedings and said, That any King that should do such abominable things as you did, deserv'd to have his Crown pull'd off his head. I was astonish'd to hear him say so: for formerly his opinion was, that no King could deserve to be deposed: that he was accountable to none but God: Who then should
pul off his Crown? He said, That the passing the Act to make Strafford a traitor lay heavie upon his conscience: That it was the greatest sin that ever he committed: that he was forced to do it, and if he had power, he would say as much against all the Acts he had passed this Parliament. In some of his Declarations from Oxford he expresseth with what freedome hee passed all the Acts that hee passed this Parliament, and if they were to passe, he would passe them; and now you hear he professes the contrary in the hearing of divers of us. He is the most perfidious man that ever lived; and if ever he gets power, he will make no more difficulty to hang you then I will do to eat my dinner this cold day. Our charge is great and dangerous, our attendance insupportable, did not God enable us. You know what discouragements I have, when strangers are placed before me, and, although they be honest men, yet they have not performed the service to the Parliament that I have. I was servant to King James in an honourable condition, and to this King ever since he was crowned; and your self and all that knew me must affirm, that I was ever a great opposer of tyranny and Popery. Eighteen yeers since I was sworn Gent. of the Privie-Chamber, and so continued; and now I am lesse, and must so continue, or come away. I desire your advice, without which I will do nothing.

Your Brother and Servant,

A. Mildmay.

Carisbrook,

29 Feb., 1647.

* Printed in Mercurius Veridicus, 27 April-8 May, 1649. How this letter came into the possession of the editor of a royalist newspaper does not appear, but it bears internal marks of genuineness. It is interesting as revealing the manner in which the King was watched by the agents of the Parliament.
APPENDIX D.
## List of Officers Attending at Councils

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**DIX D.**

**AND COMMITTEES, NOV., 1648—MARCH, 1649.**

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**CAMD. SOC. VOL. II. 20**
NOTES ON THE TABLE.

There is no list of attendances for December 23, and that of November 7 is imperfect. The handwriting of some of the lists is very bad, and it is difficult to be sure of the correct reading of all the names. Other persons than officers were occasionally present. On November 16 two chaplains, Mr. Floyd and Mr. Knight, were present. Knight was again present on December 14, when a number of representatives of the Levellers and Presbyterian and Independent clergy also attended, viz.: John Goodwin, Hugh Peter, Brooke, Seaman, Denne, Sprigge, Nye, Bacon, Gilbert, Parker, Collier, Walford, Estwick, Hewitt, Russell, Wollaston, John Wildman, Lieut.-Col. John Lilburne, and Lieut.-Col. Wilton. John Wildman and William Walwyn were present on December 18.

The following notes on individuals will explain the list. Capt.-Lieut. Babington is styled captain on December 21. Capt. Baker in the list of December 14 should possibly be Barker or Barber. Lieut.-Col. Bowen’s name is given in the list of November 16, but noted as absent. Adjutant-Gen. Bury is probably Captain James Berry. The two Clarkes are distinguished as of Major-Gen. Skippon’s regiment and of Sir Hardress Waller’s. A Captain Clarke is mentioned as present on December 15 and December 16, without any note to show which is meant. Captain Cromwell was probably Henry Cromwell, captain in Harrison’s regiment of horse. The name of Major Davers or Danvers appears in the list of December 14. Adjt.-Gen. Evelyn is styled major in the list of December 29. Ensign Fairbanke appears in the list of December 21, and Captain Hilsam [?]. Col. Lilburne is Robert Lilburne. Lieut. Lloyd is mentioned on February 22, and Ensign Lucas as present on November 16. Captain Merest, whose name is difficult to read, is probably the Captain Richard Merest who was Adjt.-Gen. in 1652. Captain Moore, December 29, should possibly be read Mosse. Two lieut.-cols., named Beede, or Rede, are named as present on December 18. The lists of December 18 and December 29 mention Captain Reynolds, that of December 26 Colonel Reynolds. Major Wilkes is styled Lieut.-Col. Wilkes on February 22. Cardinal Woolsey is a joke of Clarke’s. A letter dated February 15, 1651, says: “This day Mr. Wolsey, assistant to the Quartermaster-General, died.” This is probably the person referred to.—*Letters from Bowdhead Officers*, p. 10. Bannatyne Club, 1856.
INDEX.

Abbott, the, I., 158
Abbott, Major Daniel, I., 173, 176, 416, 439; II., 190, 209, 270
Abell, Major Edward, I., 153
Abingdon, L., xxiii., 105, 115; II., 150, 163, 247
Act of Indemnity, I., x., 24, 39, 59, 62, 65, 69, 72, 145, 355, 360
Adams, John, Alderman of London, L., 25, 125, 153
Adams, Joseph, I., 161, 436
Adjutators, L., 139 (see Agitators)
Agents, L., xlvii.-li., liv. (see Agitators)
Agitators—
When first elected, L., xii., xv., xxi., 3, 33, 426, 430
Dismissed to their regiments, 8 Nov., 1647, liv., lix., 412
Took part at the meetings of the Council at Windsor in the winter of 1647, lvi.
Their revival demanded, lix.
Letters to, 83-86, 92, 101, 105
Letters from, 87, 89, 158
Advice to them for managing their plans, L., 23
Declaration of, May 17, 1647, 78
Petition of, June 22, 1647, 139
Representation of, the, presented
July 16, 1647, 1, 170
A list of the Agitators elected in 1647, i., 435-9
Mentioned, I., 78, 100, 105, 108, 120, 146, 151, 163, 176, 187-8, 196, 213-4, 217, 224, 233, 249, 355, 387, 412, 426-7, 432, 441
Agitators of the Northern Army, xxxii., 131, 144
Letters to, 89, 146
Letters from, 164-6

Agitators of the Northern Army—continued.
Their charges against Gen. Poynts, 167-9

Agitators or Agents of the five regiments of horse elected in autumn of 1647, L., xlvii.; their demands, xlviii., li., 440-2; mentioned, 240, 269, 271, 277, 279, 342, 352, 354, 356

Agreement of the People, the—
The three versions of the Agreement, I., lxiv
The second Agreement of the People, presented to Parliament, January, 1647, originated by John Lilburne, II., xv.-xxii., 254-266; discussions in the Council of Officers concerning it, 71-136, 139, 147-9, 155-7, 163, 170-186
The third Agreement published by Lilburne and others, in May, 1649, I., lxv.

Alford, Major John, I., 12, 35, 62-3
Alfred, King, I., 402
Allen, Capt., I., 422
Allen, Ensign Edward, I., 32
Allen, Capt., afterward Major Francis, I., 161, 367, 437; II., 187, 270
Account of, I., 432

Allen, William, the Agitator, afterwards Adjt.-Gen., I., lvii., 78, 88, 180-1, 183, 189, 193, 199, 201-2, 213, 222, 223, 279-9, 361, 371, 376, 379, 413, 416, 488; II., 247
Allen, William, Account of, I, 430-3
Allison, Sir William, I, 166
Anderson, Henry, I, 161
Anderton, Henry, I, 436
Annesley, Arthur, I, 105; II, 157
Angleby, Francis, II, 190
Argyll, Marquis of, Archibald Campbell, II, xxxix, 44, 48
Armin, Sir William, I, 28
Army, the—
Council of War, May 29, 1647, I, 108-11
General Council of the Army, established June, 1647, I, xxxiv; ends, lviii; debates, 176-214, 226-418
General Council of Officers of the Army, I, lix; meetings and debates of, II, 54-5, 58, 71-140, 144-157, 163-186, 190-8, 200-9
Committees of officers appointed by General Fairfax, I, 216, 217, 223
Heads of the Proposals agreed on by the Army, I, xi, l-xxi, 177, 299, 328, 334, 345, 349, 368-60, 365, 390, 393-4, 399, 440
Muster-rolls of the Army, I, 18; II, 61
Proceedings of the Commissioners of Parliament with the officers of the Army, April, 1647, I, 5-15; May, 1647, I, 27-31, 32-44, 45-78
Remonstrances of the Army, Nov., 1648, II, xiv, xxvii, 54, 61-3, 68
Table of attendances at Councils of the Army in 1648, II, 270-282
Treaty between the Commissioners of Parliament and the Army, July, 1647, I, 148-150
See also Agitators and under the names of the commanders of the different regiments
Arnold, Captain, II, 270
Arthur, Thomas, I, 169
Ashburnham, John, I, xlv, xlv, 221
Ashoe, Mr., II, 72
Ashfield, Lieut.-Col. Richard, II, 65, 270
Ashford, co. Kent, I, 16

Audley, Capt., afterwards Major, Lewis, I, 10, 54, 176, 288, 331, 339, 390, 436, II, 270
Axe-yard, Westminster, II, 227
Axtell, Lieut.-Col. Daniel, II, 270
Aylesford, co. Kent, II, 14, 17
Ayres, Mr., II, 72
Ayres, Eyers, or Eyres, Col. Thomas, II, 61, 66
Ayres or Eyres, Col. William, II, 57
B., J., letter from, I, 121
Babington, Capt., II, 270 282
Bacon, Mr., II, 107, 188, 282
Baker, Capt., II, 270, 282
Bankes, Mr., II, 243
Barber, Major, II, 168
Barber, Cornet, II, 270
Bargrave, Capt., II, 40
Barkstead, Col. John, I, xxxiii, 151, 176, 437; II, 3, 19, 61, 65, 196, 197, 262, 270
Letters of, II, 12, 22
Barnard Castle, II, 21
Barrow, Samuel, physician to Charles II, marries the widow of Sir William Clarke, I, ix
Barrow, Capt., II, 270
Barrow, Mrs., II, 267
Barton, Capt., afterwards Major, Nathaniel, I, 60; II, 103, 106, 132, 156, 190, 265, 270
Barton, Henry, II, 217
Basing House, I, 396
Bastable, i.e. Barnstable, co. Devon, I, 423
Batten, Admiral, I, 422; II, 40
Baynes, Capt., II, 70, 198, 229, 270
Beale, Capt., II, 270
Bedford, William Russell, 5th Earl of, I, 431
Bedfordshire man, a, speech by, I, 251
Beere, John, II, 225
Begys, William, I, 169
Bell, Richard, II, 17
Bellière, President, French Ambassador, I, xxiv
Beltingham, Sir Henry, II, 9
Benger, Thomas, II, 194
Berkeley, Sir John, I, xli, xlv, xlv, 225, 231, 259, 423
Berkeley, Sir Robert, I, lxi
Berkhamstead, co. Herts, I, 140
Berkshire, the Commissioners of, I, 412
the Levelers of, II, 87
INDEX

Erry, or Bury, Capt., afterwards Major, James, I., 45, 151, 415, 416; II., 283
Berrick, II., 2, 8
Bethell, Col. Hugh, I., 4; II., 22, 253
Bethell, Major Walter, I., 151; II., 270
Beton, Capt., I., 431
Beverley, Thomas, I., 419
Biddles, John, I., 140
Billercaie, co. Essex, II., 26
Billers, Capt., I., 270
Birch, Col. John, charge against, II., 168
Bishop, Capt., I., 340, 383, 416
Blackfriars, II., 68
Blackheath, II., 16, 19
Blackley, Major, II., 28
Blackwell, Capt., I., 176; II., 196, 270
Blackwell Hall, II., 256
Blackmore, Major, II., 186, 195, 270
Blacklock, Samuel, I., 156; II., 266
Blethen (Blewin ?), Capt., I., 436
Bodmin, co. Cornwall, I., 422-3
Bolton, Capt., II., 209
Bond, Denis, II., 233
Booth, Sir George, letter on Pride's Purge, II., 136
Boreman, Capt., II., 65
Boswell, Sir William, II., 41
Boswell, Major, II., 153
Bottom, William, II., 256
Bovil, Col., II., 232
Bowen, Lieut.-Col., I., 151-2, 176; II., 270
Bowen, Capt., II., 270
Box, Tobias L., 79, 98, 161, 436
Box, Mr., II., 14, 16
Boyce, Mr., II., 18
Boyton, Col. Matthew, I., 131; II., 153
Bradford, Capt., II., 270
Bradshaw, Jon., I., 140
Brain, John, I., 155
Brainford, i.e. Brentford, I., 396
Braine, co. Essex, I., xxii; II., 27
Braxfield, Lord, I., xx
Bray, Capt.-Lieut. William, I., lvii., 419
Account of, I., 411
Brayfield, Capt., afterwards Lieut.-Col., Alexander, II., 142, 144, 146, 270
Account of, I., 437
Breman, or Brayman John, I., 79, 161
Account of, I., 79
Brentford, co. Middlesex, I., 396, 431
Bridge, Capt. Tobias, I., 459; II., 270
Bright, Col. John, I., 169; II., 283
Brimsley, Mr., II., 72
Bristol, I., 162
Brooke, Mr., II., 243, 282
Browne, Major-Gen. Richard, II., 260
Browne, William, I., 92
Browne, Capt., II., 190-1, 270
Browne, Major, II., 272
Bunce, Alderman James, I., 155, 221
Burford, co. Oxon., I., lix II., 290
Burgess, Capt., II., 272
Burgis, Capt. Benjamin, I., 12
Burgis, Lieut. Robert, I., 154
Council of War at, I., 110-11
Bury, Adj.-Gen., I., 416; II., 272, 282.
Buxton, Robert, II., 51
Butler, Mr., I., 25
Butler, Col. John, I., 12, 36, 82, 428
" vindication of, I., 82
" regiment of, I., xxxii., 18, 79
Butler, Major, I., 75
Butler, Capt. William, II., 173, 272
Buttersey, Thomas, I., 161
Buttersey, Thomas, I., 140, 439
Byfield, Lieut., II., 196, 282
C——, Lieut., letters from, I., 84, 85, 100, 105; see l., xvii.
Cadwell, Capt. Matthew, I., 436; II., 250, 252-3, 272
Calamy, Mr., II., 72
Cambridge, I., xxix, 25, 119, 123, 128, 161, 170; II., 29
University of, II., 28
Cambridge, Major, II., 132, 272
Campfield, Col., I., 218, 221
Canne, John, I., lvii.
Cannon, Capt. Henry, I., 161, 438; II., 54, 272
Cannon-Froome, Gloucestershire, II., 33
Canterbury, II., 16
Capel, Lord, II., xi-xiv., 132, 195; letter from, II., 28
Carbery, Earl of, II., 157
Carew, John, II., 245, 244-5
Carew, William, II., x.
Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight, prison of Charles I.—
King Charles ordered to be secured there, II., 55, 59
The King to be removed from it, II., 60, 64, 66
Carisbrooke Castle, Isle of Wight—continued.

Letter of Cromwell concerning the King's custody there, II., xxv.
Attempted escape of the King from, II., 23
Letters dated from, I., 420; II., 23
Carlisle, II., 8
Carlisle, Lady, I., xlv.
Carter, Capt. John, I., 151, 281, 368, 415-6, 437
Carter, Major, II., 135, 198, 272
Carter, Lieut., II., 272
Carteret, Sir George, II., xxv., 231
Caryll, Mr., II., 243
Caseby, John, I., 79, 92, 166
Caulfield, William, 5th Lord, I., 12, 62
Cawley, William, II., 233
Chaloner, Thomas, II., 254, 262
Chamberlaine, Lient., II., 272
Chamberlain, Mr., I., xli., 257
Chandler, Lient.-Col., II., 272
Charles I., King of England—continued.
At Holdenby, I., xxiv., 25, 59, 494
Seized by Cornet Joyce, xxiv, 118, 119, 122, 426
At Newmarket, 124
How treated by the Army, xxxi., 124, 130, 137, 139, 140
His negotiations with the Army, xlii., xlv.
His answer to the propositions of Parliament, Sept., 1647, 225
Proposed vote for no further addresses to him, xliii.
Flight from Hampton Court, 418
Gives Hammond his word not to stir from Carisbrooke Castle, 420
Attempted escape, II., 24
His removal to Hurst Castle, 57-60, 65-6, 66-7
His removal to Windsor, 132-3
His treatment at Windsor, 141-7
Orders respecting the conduct of the troops during his trial, 186
His trial and execution discussed, I., 417; II., xxx., 163-9, 201
Letter from, to Sir Thomas Fairfax, I., 187
His chaplains, I., 137, 140
His followers, I., 410
His coronation oath, I., 251, 258, 398-406

Charles I., King of England—continued.

Charles II.—
As Prince of Wales, I., xxv., 135, 175, 407, 434
Reported landing at Sandwich, II., 16
In Holland in 1648, 40-1, 43
Chase, Lient. Nathaniel, I., 22
Cheyles, Sir John, II., 43
Chelmford, co. Essex, I., xci., 100, 105, 107, 113-4, 118, ; II., 26-7
Cheshire, II., 136
Chester, I., 13
Chichester, II., 28
Childers, co. Cambridge, I., 123, 137
Chillienden, Lieut. Edmund, I., xvii., I., 71, 85, 100, 105, 161, 176-7, 210, 277, 328-9, 363, 371, 415-6, 488; II., 196, 233, 235, 237, 299, 272 (see also C——-, Lieut.)
Cholmley, Major, II., 9, 21
Cinque Porta, the, I., 127
Clauricarde, Marquis of, II., 204
Chargis, Sir Thomas, I., ix.; II., 31
Clark, Capt., II., 38, 156, 272, 292
Clark, Major, II., 6
Clark, Mr., I., 156
Clare, Capt. John, of Sir H. Waller’s regiment, I., 31-2, 161, 161, 178, 180, 187, 260, 290, 328, 363, 413, 436
Clark, Capt. Samuel, of Major-Gen. Skippon’s regiment, II., 272, 282
Clark, Col. Thomas, I., 155
Clarke, Dr. George, Judge-Advocate-General, son of Sir William Clarke, L., vii.
Clarke, Morgan, I., 426
Clarke Papen, account of, I., vii., ix., 298, 298, 298; II., vii.
Clarke, Richard, I., 161, 169
INDEX.

Clarke, Sir William, collector of these Papers, I., v.—ix., xiii., xxxi., xI., xlvi., lx., lxxvi., 5, 31; II., vii.—x., 31
Letters from, I., liv., 441; II., 227
Letters to, II., vii., ix., 1, 70, 225, 228
Clarke, William, Agitator, condemned to death but pardoned, I., lviii., 161, 279
Clothworthy, Sir John, I., 3, 107
Cobbett, Major John, I., lvii., 416, 436; II., 265, 272
Account of, I., 407
Cobbett, Lient.-Col. Ralph, I., 363, 408, 416; II., 64, 67, 141-4, 146, 272
Cobbett, Major Robert, I., 408
Coggeshall, co. Essex, II., 27
Colborne, Richard, I., 436
Colchester, siege of, II., xi., 28-39.
Colebrook, Richard, I., 161
Coleman, Major, II., 136, 190, 272
Collier, Mr., II., 72, 125, 282
Collingworth, Col., I., 169
Collins, John, II., ix., 228
Collins, Margaret, II., ix.
Combe, Stephen, I., 437
Constable, Sir William, II., 54, 56, 61, 263, 262, 272
Cook, John, I., 161
Cook, Sir John, I., 124
Cooke, Col., II., 187, 190, 208-9, 272
Cooke, Lient.-Col., II., 152
Cooke, Thomas, I., 140
Cooke, William, II., 31
Cooper, Thomas, I., 164
Corbet, Lient., II., 5
Cordwell, Mr., II., 72
Corksmash-field, I., liv., 231
Cosens, John, I., 125
Cottrell, Major, II., 25
Courtney, Hugh, II., 242-3, 245
Cowen-Garden, H., r.
Covetry, Sir William, I., viii.
Cowell, Lient.-Col. William, I., 52, 53, 80, 176, 217, 413
Cowley or Cowling, Commisary Nicholas, I., 260, 293, 300, 316, 365, 401-2, 409, 413; II., 126, 169
Account of, I., 437

Cox, Capt., I., 153
Cox, Dr., II., 134
Coxheath, II., 16
Cradock, Mr., II., 243
Crawford-Lyndsay, Earl of, II., 44, 47
Creede, Major, II., 190, 272
Cromwell, Oliver—
Appeal of the Agitators to, April, 1647, I., xii., xv.
Sent by Parliament as Commissioner to the Army, xiii.-xv.
Assures Parliament that the Army will obey its orders, xvii
Illness in Feb., 1647, xvii.
Thinks of taking service in Germany, xviii.
Discourages the movement in the Army, xix., xx.
Reasons for the change in his attitude, xxv.
His responsibility for Joyce's seizure of the King, xxvi.-xxx.
Author of letter of the officers to the City, xxxvi., 134
Opposes the desire of the Agitators to march on London, xxxix., 184, 188, 190
Opposes Marten's motion for no further addresses to the King, xliii., 228
Charges brought against Ireton and Cromwell by the Agents, xliii.-xlii.
Attitude towards the proposed Agreement of the People, Oct., 1647, xlviii.
Opposes manhood suffrage, li., 309, 411
Moves that the Agitators be dismissed from their regiments, liii., 412
Conduct at the rendezvous at Ware, liv.
The nature of his conservatism, lxxi., lxxii.
His character, lxxii.
Opposes Harrison's proposal to try the King, lxxv., 417
Suppresses a riot in London, II., 3
Establishes the supremacy of Argyle's party in Scotland, II., xiv., xiv., 42-9
Summoned to London by Fairfax, Nov., 28, 1648, 62.
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
His supposed dealings with a witch, xx.
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
His friendship with Robert Hammond, xxxv—xxvii.
His opinion of the proceedings of the Army in Nov., 1645, xxviii.
His views on Pride’s Purge and on the dissolution of the Long Parliament, xxxix., 170, 233
His attempt to save the life of Charles I., xxx.
His final approval of the execution of the King, xxxi.
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
His complaints of the divisions of his own party, xxxii., 240
His interviews with Mr. Simpson, xxxv.—xxxvi.
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
Remark on the abolition of tithes, xxxvi.
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
On the Triers, xxxvi.
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
His instructions on the manner of guarding the King, 132-3, 140-7
William Thompson’s charges against him, 200
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
His views on the expedition to Ireland, 200-7
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
His reasons for arresting Major-General Harrison, 242-6
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
Lilburne’s dealings with him in 1648, 253
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
Letters from—
To the officers of the eight regiments of horse, I., 33
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
To Speaker Lenthall, 94 ; to Col. Whalley, 140
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
To Col. Hammond, II., xxv., xxxvi., 49
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
On the burning of Marlborough, xxxvii.
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
To Col. Wibrocke, 140
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
To Col. Harrison, 142
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
To Col. Wilkes, 239
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
Letters to, I., xii., 119 ; II., 62, 254
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
Regiment of, I., 18, 71, 228, 438 ; II., 186
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
Speeches, I., 73, 177-9, 183-9, 190-3, 201, 205, 209, 211-2, 226, 229, 236, 247, 255, 267-8, 269, 274-5, 277, 279, 286, 291-3, 309, 328, 331, 336, 341, 344, 367-8, 374, 378, 411, 417-8 ; II., 200, 207
Cromwell, Oliver—continued.
Cromwell, Henry, I., 433, 438-9 ; II., 272
Cromwell, Henry, I., 272
Croeman, John., L, viii., 419
Crowder, Mr., I., 156
Crowdon, I., 429
Culpepper, Lord, II., 41
Curtis, Lient., I., 153
Cutts, Lady, I., 124
Dafforne, Thomas, II., 266
Lalbeere, John., I., 215
Dancer, Capt., II., 272
Daniell, Col. William, II., 225
Dartford, II., 22
Davenant, Capt. Nicholas, II., 159
Davenant, Sir William, II., 159
Davies, Robert, II., 265
Davis, Capt., II., 272
Dawes, Capt.-Lieut., II., 272
Day, Lieut., II., 272
Deane, Richard, Adjutant-Gen., and Colonel, I., 151, 176, 183, 217, 223, 245, 279, 281, 436 ; II., 65, 72, 75, 93, 123, 156, 164-5, 167, 209, 272
Deane, Capt. Richard, I., 161, 176, 415, 415 ; II., 156, 224, 272
Deane, Capt. Richard, I., 156, 224, 272
Account of, I., 436
Dedham, Andrew, II., 266
Delaware, Lord, Charles West, L, 105
Dene, Capt., I., 300
Dennie, Cornet Henry, L, lix.
Dennison, Capt., II., 272
Denton, Dr. William, I., xxv.
Derby House, Committee of, I., xxiii., 5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 39, 108, 114, 132, 135, 167, 163
Letters from, I., 107, 113-4 ; II., 17, 19
Letters to, I., xxii, xxiii., 115 ; II., 15, 18, 39
Derry, II., 214
Deshbrough (or Diebrows), John, Major, afterwards Col., L, 50-1, 74, 80, 108, 146, 176, 207, 216 ; II., 193, 272
Devonshire, Countess of, II., 267.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
<th>289</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dickenson, Thomas, Lord Mayor of York, I.</td>
<td>163, 165-7; II., 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diell, i.e. Dalziel, Thomas, II., 44</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diggell, Thomas, I., 79, 88, 92, 166</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diggers, the—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their suppression ordered, II., 209</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informations against, 210, 211</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pamphlets concerning, 211</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addresses from, to Fairfax, 215, 217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Their song, 221</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diggles, Quartermaster, II., 10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diotrephes, errata, II., 89</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disher, Capt. William, II., 274</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disney, Capt., II., 274</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dives or Dyve, Sir Lewis, I., xliv.; II., 132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dober, John, I., 140</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dodington, Sir Francis, II., 37</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolphin, Capt., II., 213</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorislaus, Dr. Isaac, II., 41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorner, Capt. Francis, I., 16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorney, Capt., II., 274</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorsetshire, I., 424</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dover, John, I., 161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Downes, Col. John, II., 224</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dowsett, Abraham, II., 23</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doyley, Col., I., 162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drake, John, I., 169</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drake, Francis, II., 223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinkwater, Peter, II., 138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin Castle, I., 439</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duckett, Major Charles, I., 12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duce, Sir Richard, II., 159</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan, Major, I., 421</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunfermline, Lord, I., xxv</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunstable, I., 410</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutton, Mr., II., 159</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eagle, the, a ship, II., 229</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eaton, Philip, I., 161</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebsery, Major, II., 231</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edgehill, I., 434</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh, II., 47, 52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edward I., King, I., 401</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edwars, Thomas, I., lx.-lxiii, 113, 150, 308-7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Castle, II., 231</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth, frigate, II., 230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ellis, Lieut. Thomas, I., 433: II., 274</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ely, Capt., II., 274</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emerson, Lieut., I., 438; II., 274</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engagemet, the, II., 44, 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erbury, William, II., errata, 171-2, 174-5, 178, 180, 233-9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Account of, II., 171</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essex, Robert Devereux, 3rd Earl of, I., xxxviii., 425, 451, 434</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Essex, county of, I., 27, 223; II., 20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Estwick, Mr., II., 282</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eton, II., 142</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evanston, Capt., II., 274</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evelyn, Arthur, Capt., afterward Major and Adjt.-Gen., I., 17, 96, 161, 176; II., 54, 213, 274</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evelyn, Sir John, I., xliii.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everard, Robert, I., 226, 233, 258, 276, 285, 288, 342-4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Account of, I., 285-6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Referred to as &quot;Buff-coat&quot; (?), I., 235-6, 273, 276</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everard, William, I., 419; II., 210, 211</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewer or Ewers, Col. Isaac, II., 27, 54, 57, 59-61, 209, 274</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exeter, I., 423</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyre, William, I., 419</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyres, Col. William, II., 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eyton, see Eton</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairfax, Lieut.-Col. Charles, I., 163-6, II., 22, 225</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fairfax, General Sir Thomas, afterwards 3rd Lord Fairfax—</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disbanding of his Army ordered, I., x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordered to suppress the petitions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>against disbanding, xi, 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appealed to by the soldiers, xii., xv., 89, 90, 480</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proceedings with the Commissioners of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parliament, April, 1647, 5-11.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His ill-health, 11, 101, 226, 440</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ordered to return to the Army, xiv., 93, 101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decides to adhere to the Army</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>against the Parliament, xx.-xxiii.;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orders a general rendezvous, 111; refuses</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obedience to orders for disbanding, 107, 113-6; attitude with respect</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Joyce's seizure of the King,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xxvi.-xxviii., xxxi., 122-5; interview with the King, 124; allows</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the King's chaplains access to him, 137, 140, 157; supported by the Army in the north of England; xxxii., 143-6, 163-7; marches on</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX.

Fairfax, General Sir Thomas, afterwards 3rd Lord Fairfax—continued.
London, xxxvii.—xxxix., 133; opposes a further advance; committees appointed by, 151, 216, 217, 223; appealed to by Speaker Lenthall, 218; occupies London, 220; receives the King's answer to the propositions of Parliament, 225; his answer to The Case of the Army Stated, 226; attacks made on him in that pamphlet, 356, 361; advised to send the Agitators to their regiments, 412, 413; suppresses disorders in the Army, iv., lix.; his compact with the soldiers, lv.; reorganises the Army in Dec., 1647, lvii.—lviii.
He suppresses a riot in London, II., 3, 4; marches against the Kentish Royalists, 18—30, 22; besieges Colchester, xi., 29—31.
His part in the execution of Lecas and Lisle, xii.—xiv., 35, 37.
His political attitude in Dec., 1648, 147.
His orders concerning the discipline of the Army, 1649, xxiii., 190, 198, 199.
His attendance at Councils of War during 1647—1649, I., 106, 176, 226, 418, 440; II., 73, 101, 284, 274.
His regiment of foot, I., xiv., xvi., xxxi.—xxxiii., 18, 52—54, 57, 85, 95, 96, 100, 104, 107, 111, 117, 410, 436.
His regiment of horse, I., xxiv., 18, 27, 53, 45, 50, 78, 431, 438; II., 65, 190, 211.
His lifeguards, I., xxxiii., lvii., 12, 18, 40, 95, 114, 439.

Farin, John, I., 154.
Faringdon, co. Berks., I., 423.

Farleigh, John, II., 31.
Farnham, co. Surrey, II., 141.
Farre, Richard, I., 439.
Fasson, Mr., I., 156.
Feake, Christopher, II., xxxiv., xxxvi., 242.
Ferrall, Lieut.-Gen., I., 421.
Ferrand, Capt., II., 9.
Ferrybridge, co. Yorks., I., 168.
Feversham, co. Kent, II., 14.
Field, Herbert, I., 161.
Flavious, Col. Nathaniel, I., xliii., 135, 231.
Fifth Monarchy men, I., lxxiv., 261; II., xxxii., 242.
Filkins, Lieut. John, I., 32.
Fincher, Major Richard, I., xlxi., 2, 37, 67, 82, 149, 424, 428; II., 57.
Fish, Capt.-Lieut. Robert, I., 11.
Letter from, I., 157.
His regiment, I., xiii., xlviii., 18, 35, 37, 89, 129, 166, 226, 438; II., 65.
Fleetwood, Sir William, I., 137.
Fleming, Capt., I., 60—63.
Flower, Capt., I., 436.
Flower, Richard, I., 437.
Fogge, Capt., II., 40.
Ford, Sir Edward, I., 231.
Fortescue, Col. Richard, I., 2, 12, 16, 18, 423, 428.
His regiment, I., xxxiii., 437.
Foster, Joseph, I., 140.
Fothergill, Nathaniel, I., 161.
Fountayne, Brother, pseudonym, II., 50.
Fox, Lieut. Consolation, I., 161, 437.
Foxgill, Nathaniel, I., 436.
Freeman, Capt., II., 274.
Frost, Walter, I., 115.
Fuicier, Capt., II., 209.

Gale, Capt., I., 166.
Garland, Capt., II., 209.
Garner or Garne, Lieut. Edmund, I., 161, 437.
Gascoyne, Sir Bernard, II., 32—4, 39.
Gayter, Sir John, I., 183.
Gays, Mr., I., 365.
Gereat, Sir Gilbert, I., xliii., 165, 197.
INDEX. 291

Gawen, Mr., II., 68
Gibbs, Alderman, I., 152
Gilbert, Mr., II., 124, 282
Gittings, or Gethings, Henry, I., lviii., 79, 151
Account of, I., 438
Gladman, Capt. John, I., 45; II., 120, 274
Letter from, II., 211
Gladman, Robert, I., 436
Glenham, Sir Thomas, II., 10
Glissen, Dr., II., 30-1
Gloucester, I., 93, 154, 431
" County of, II., 159
Glyn, John, Recorder of London, I., 141, 150
Goddard, Capt., II., 274
Goddard, Dr., II., 134
Goddard, Thomas, II., 286
Godfrey, Lambert, II., 17
Goffe, Capt. William, I., 25
Character of, I., lxxiii.
Goffe, Robert, II., 190
Gooday, Major Sampson, I., xxii., 12, 47, 58, 100, 111
Goodwood, Lient. Andrew, I., 40-1
Goodrick, Lient.-Col., II., 269
Green, II., 59, 41
Goring, Lord, II., 132, 195
Goodwin, John, II., 72, 74, 75, 115, 127, 130, 151, 252
Grant, Simon, II., 193-4
Graunt, Richard, I., 488
Gravener, Quartermaster-Gen., I., xxii., 176, 269, 281, 363, 416, 435 (see Grosvener)
Grovewen, I., 88; II., 26
Gray, Alderman, II., 10
Gray, James, Adj.-Gen., I., 16, 17
Gray, Mr., II., 226-6
Graves, Anthony, I., 88
Greaves, or Gravis, or Graves, Col. Richard, I., xxiv., xxvii., xxix., xxx., xxxii., 59, 113, 118, 128, 425, 427-8
Letter from, I., 434
Account of, I., 434
His regiment, I., xiv., xxiv., 18, 44-5, 59-61, 68, 81, 88, 96-7, 113, 119-20
Greenwood, Capt., II., 213
Gregson, Capt. George, I., 25
Gregson, Major, I., 176
Grime, Lieut.-Col. Mark, I., xi., 69, 70
Grimes, Capt., II., 274
Grimestone, Sir Harbottle, I., xxiii., 105
Groome, Capt., II., 274
Grosvenor, Edward, Quartermaster-Gen., II., 225, 274
Grove, Capt., II., 132, 274
Guernsey Island, II., 229
Guildford, co. Surrey, I., 226
Gwynne, Rotherway, II., 157
Hacker, Col. Francis, I., 438; II., 274
Hackett, John, II., 158
Hackett, Capt., I., 166
Haddock, Richard, II., 138
Haines, Major, II., 239
Hall, Capt. Henry, I., 41, 95
Hall, William, I., 439
Halstead, co. Essex, I., xxii.
Hamilton, James, Marquis of, II., 73, 132, 142, 194, 267
Hamilton, Col. John, II., 44
Hammond, Col. Robert, I., xi., xiv., xli., 2, 16, 19, 23, 30, 51, 64-5, 77, 80-1, 139, 217, 223; II., xxiv., 25-4, 55, 55-9
Letters from, I., 420
Letters to, II., xxv.-xxvii., 49, 53, 55, 62
His regiment, I., 173, 436
Hammond, Dr., I., 137, 140
Hammond, Lient.-Col., I., 2
Hammond, Lieut.-Gen. Thomas, I., xi., 124, 176, 183, 217, 223-4, 279; II., 56, 274
Hammond, Mr., II., 40
Hampton, John, I., lxi.
Hampton Court, I., xiv., 225, 418, 420
429
Harby, Thomas, II., 194
Hardcastle, Lieut. Hen., I., 154
Harding, Capt., II., 274
Harding, Major, II., 225
Hare, John, I., lxi.
Harley, Col. Edward, I., 3, 12
His regiment, I., xxxiii., 18, 25, 52, 58; II., 159
Harley, Sir Robert, II., 157-9
Harley, Major Robert, II., 157-8
INDEX.

Harris, John, I., 86, 114; II., 83, 209, 266
His pamphlets quoted, I., xxvi., xxviii., 355
Harris, Oliver, I., 140
Harrison, Major, afterwards Col., Thomas, I., xxxiii., xxxv., 62, 176-7, 182, 216, 415, 417, 438; II., 13, 21, 56, 61, 65, 133, 142, 145, 156, 198, 206, 243-5, 259, 262-3, 274
Speeches, I., 417; II., 92, 100, 107, 112, 159, 183, 260
Letter to, II., 140
Regiment of, I., liv., lxi., 92, 166, 458; II., 13, 66
Harrison, Mr., II., 9
Harte, John, I., 439
Harwich, I., viii
Harvey, Col., I., 2
Haslerig, Sir Arthur, I., xxx., 185, 218-19; II., 60
Hassall, George, I., 419
Hatter, Thomas, II., 70, 226, 253
Hawgood, Mr., II., 267
Hawes, Capt., II., 64, 274
Heane, Col., James, II., 283
Heard, Jacob, II., 217
Heffield, Capt., I., xxii.
Heinsby Castle, II., 28
Helyvettus sluice, II., 39
Heminges, —, I., 166
Hensley, co. Oxford, I., 431
Henrietta Maria, Queen, I., xxxv., 175, 355
Henry III., King, I., 401
Henry VI., King, I., 516
Herbert, Thomas, II., 24, 61
Herbert, Col., William, I., 12-14, 428
His regiment, I., xxxiii., 16, 52, 89
Hereford, II., 169
Herefordshire, I., 424; II., 187-9
Heron, brother, pseudonym, II., 49, 59
Herefordshire, I., 229
Hervingham, co. Norfolk, I., xxii.
Hewitt, Mr., II., 75, 282
His regiment, I., 22, 58, 155, 458; II., 65, 142
Heydon, Lieut., II., 874
Heyman, John, II., 217
Highland, Mr., I., 154; II., 258
Highnam, co. Gloucester, II., 159
Hildesley, John, II., 218
Hill, Tobias, I., 149
Hilliard, or Hillyard, Kimpton, II., x., 226, 228
Hilliard, Thomas, I., ix.
Hinchinbrook, co. Huntingdon, I., 122
Hinchman, Daniel, I., 161
Hitchin, co. Herts, I., 13
Hobson, John, I., 169
Holden, Capt., Richard, I., 176, 436; II., 107, 135, 156, 274
Rodgers, Mr., I., 142
Holcroft or Holcroft, Capt. Charles, I., 60-1, 65, 76, 77
Holdenby, or Holmby, co. Northampton, I., xxiv., 26, 58, 96, 112-3, 118, 122, 130, 128-9, 137, 140, 347, 425, 434-5
Seizure of Charles I. by Cornet Joyce, I., xxiv., xxxvii.-xxxvi., 118, 427
Holder, Thomas, II., 133
Holland, Earl of, Henry Rich, II., 29, 132
Holland, States of, II., 41
Holland, Cornelius, II., 254, 262
Holles or Hollis, Donsill, I., x., xviii., xxxiv., xxxv., xxxvi., 2, 15, 20, 26-7, 37, 85-6, 107-8, 114-5, 120-3, 169, 185, 219, 421, 435
Holmes, Capt., afterwards Major, Abraham, I., 161, 436
Account of, I., 436
Honeywood, Sir Thomas, II., 33, 27
Hooker, Lieut., I., 139
Horton, Col., Thomas, I., xxxiii., 175, 216
Account of, I., 438
His regiment, I., 347, 438
Hooings, Benjamin, II., 157
Houselaw Heath, rendezvous of, I., 280
Howard, Capt., I., 13, 17
Account of, I., 16
Howe, Mr., II., 169
Hoyle, Alderman, I., 166
Hubberton, Justice, I., 185
Hunt, Mr., II., 286
Huntingdon, I., 28, 119, 120; II., 264
Huntington, Major Robert, I., xxvii., xxviii., xlix., 55, 114, 176, 226
Letter from, I., 229
Husbands, Capt., afterwards Major,  
  Azariah, I., 57; II., 274
Hurst Castle, II., 183
 Orders for removal of the King to,  
  II., 59-61, 63-4, 66-7
Ible, Nathaniel, I., 154
Inchiquin, Lord, II., 204
Igram, John, Capt.-Lieut., II., 247
Ingoldsby, Col. Richard, I., xxiii.,  
  xxxiii., 18, 102, 114, 180, 267, 432,  
  437; II., 187
Instrument of Government, the, I., li.,  
  lii.
Ireland—  
 Proposal of Parliament to send an  
  army thither, 1647, L., x., xviii.,  
  xxii.; opposition amongst the  
  soldiers, 1-82
Misconduct of troops on the march  
  thither, II., 193
Cromwell nominated to command  
  the expedition to Ireland, 290;  
  his speech, 200-7; propositions of  
  the Army respecting the expedi-  
  tion, 208; troops selected for  
  the expedition by lot, 209;  
  Monk's account of affairs there  
  in 1649, 213
Referred to, L., 114, 117, 131, 134,  
  157, 163, 205, 414, 421-2, 425,  
  430, 432-3, 436-8
Ireton, Henry, Commissary-General—  
 Account of his political views, I.,  
  xlvi., li., lxvi., lxvii., lxviii., lxix.,  
  lx., xii.
 His share in the debates of 1648,  
  II., xii.
Speecbes of, L., 177, 179, 181, 194,  
  211, 213, 214, 252, 254, 261, 265,  
  267, 268, 274, 275, 294,  
  299, 301, 306, 310, 313, 316, 318,  
  322, 324, 326, 333, 337, 340, 345,  
  346, 349, 366, 387, 390-406, 417;  
  II., 75, 95, 96, 99, 101, 104-107,  
  109, 112, 121, 123, 127, 128, 130,  
  131, 159, 161, 165, 165, 170-5,  
  179
Letters, I., 21, 94, 99; II., 140,  
  142
His regiment, I., 18, 23, 54, 79, 438;  
  II., 63, 65, 209
Mentioned, I., xii., xviii., xix.,  
  xxvii., xxviii., xxx., xxxi., xxxiv.,  
  xxxv., xxxix., xl., liii., lvii., lxi.,  
Ireton, Henry—continued.  
  lxii., lxvii., lxx., lxxx., 2, 21,  
  22, 33, 48, 53, 57, 69, 61, 69, 77,  
  79, 94, 99, 109, 124, 143, 144,  
  145, 176, 183, 189, 216, 223, 228,  
  274, 275, 300, 316, 317, 363, 386,  
  416, 416, 421, 423, 425, 427-8,  
  438, 441; II., 3, 35-3, 54, 56,  
  61, 156, 192, 268, 259, 263-5
Ireton, Thomas, Quartermaster-General,  
  I., 293
Isod, Lieut., I., 439
Jackson, Lieut.-Col. Thomas, I., xiii.,  
  xxiii., xxxiii., 2, 13, 36, 47, 53, 57, 68,  
  70, 75, 81, 93, 106, 109, 111, 112
James II., as Duke of York, I., 209
Jellis, George, II., 193
Jews, the, I., 369-70; II., 172
Jenkins, David, Judge, I., 59
Jenkins, Capt., II., 276
Jennings, Lieut., II., 276
Jephson, Col. William, I., 107, 114-5
Jersey, Mr., II., xxxvi.
Jesop, William, I., 9, 10
Jersey, Isle of, I., xxxii., 106; II., 228
Johnson, Capt., I., 439
Johnson, Richard, I., 437
Jolly, William, I., 154
Jones, Col. Michael, II., 208, 214
Jones, Thomas, I., 88
Jones, William, I., 161
Jordan, Capt., II., 40
Joyce, Cornet George, I., xvii., xxiv.,  
  77, 106, 114, 120, 122, 124-5, 128,  
  137, 152, 207, 427, 434; II., 58, 63
Seizes the King, L., xxxv.-xxxvi.,  
  118-9, 426-7
Letters from, I., 118-9; speech by,  
  II., 181
Jubbes, Lieut.-Col. John, I., 381, 416
Account of, I., 21
Judge-Advocate, the, I., 29; II., 276
Judges, the, I., 210; II., 233
Kelsey, Lieut.-Col. Thomas, II., 54, 61,  
  167, 262
Kempson, Lieut.-Col. Nicholas, I., 10,  
  12-14
Kendal, town of, II., 9
Kendall, Thomas, I., 79, 86, 161
Kensford, near Bury, I., xxxvi., 122
INDEX.
INDEX.

London—continued.
220-2, 231, 371, 423, 427-9; IL, 256, 260, 262-3, 265
Debate of the Army on marching on London, IL, 177-211, 214-6
Letters dated from, IL, 1-3, 15, 24-5, 27, 82, 103, 116-7, 132-7, 141, 150,
155-6, 217; I., 2, 6, 11, 13,
17, 19, 22, 29, 67, 146, 209, 225, 228,
233
Lord Mayor of, IL, xxxvii., 25, 141,
226, 396; II., 3, 4
Militia of, IL, xxxviii., xl., 118,
132-4, 136, 141, 162-5, 171, 174,
179, 183-4, 198, 204, 208, 215,
218, 220-1, 396
Occupation of, by the Army, 1647,
220; 1648, II., 61, 65, 67-9
Petitions from the City, II., 85, 92
Precautions taken there during the
King's trial, II., 186
Riots in London, IL, 217-9; IL,
3-4, 11-13
Sheriffs of, IL, 141, 218, 396
Temper of the Londoners in May,
1648, II., 6
Longworth, co. Berks, II., 56
Loton, Mr., IL, 186
Loughborough, Lord (Henry Hastings),
II., 182
Loxton, Richard, I., 149
Lucas, Sir Charles, II., xii., 31-39
Ludlow, Edmund, IL, 254
His memoirs, IL, xvi., 219, 432
Lycdote, Col., IL, 276
Mabbott, Gilbert, I., ix., 5, 218; IL,
11, 226
Mabbott, Kymepton, I., ix.
Magna Charta, I., lxii., 401
Maidenhead, I., 209
Maidstone, IL, 16
Malins, Cornet, IL, 276
Mallett, Thomas, I., 169
Manchester, Edward Montagu, 2nd Earl
of, I., 39, 40, 107, 110, 156, 219, 220,
223
Margery, Capt., IL, 228, 231
Marrett, Thomas, IL, 22; IL, 71
Letters of, IL, I., 5, 20, 25, 46, 47,
70, 249
Mark, John, I., 169
Markham, Lieut., IL, xxx.
Markham, Capt. Anthony, I., 128
Marlborough, IL, xxxvii., 239
Marshall, Stephen, I., 148; IL., 72
Marten, Col. Henry, I., xliii.; IL,
56-7, 212, 262-4
Mason, Lieut.-Col. John, IL, 437; IL,
276
Mason, Robert, I., 88, 161, 436
Massey, Col., afterwards Major-Gen,
Edward, I., xxxvi., 14-5, 93, 160,
163, 423; IL., 68
Charge against, IL., 169
Master, Major William, IL, 68
Mayer, Mr., 288
Maynard, Sir John, I., 150
Mempris, Mr., IL, 156
Mennes, Sir John, IL, 41
Mercer, Capt. Charles, I., 58; IL., 209,
275
Merest, Capt. Richard, IL., 276, 282
Merriman, Capt. John, IL, 161, 176, 276,
363; IL., 4, 64, 153, 164-5, 197
Account of, IL, 439
Messervy, Capt., IL, 64, 276
Metcalfe, John, IL, 190
Mewes, the, IL., 3, 11, 18
Michell, Capt., IL, 439
Middleton, Col. John, I., 21, 422
Middlemore, George, IL, 265
Mildmay, Anthony, IL, 141, 267
Mildmay, Sir Henry, IL, 212, 267
Militia, the, I., 214, 355, 355, 411
Miller, Capt., IL, 176
Millington, Gilbert, IL, 233-9
Mills, Dr. John, IL, 22, 111
Mills, Thomas, I., 437
Mitton, Col., IL, 208
Monck, George, afterward Duke of
Albemarle, I. viii., 155, 439;
II., 48, 225
Letter from, IL, 225
Letter to, IL, 242
Cromwell's character of, IL, 242
Monmouth, I, 93
Monmouth, James, Duke of, IL, 436
Monro, Sir George, IL, 44, 214
Montagu of Boughton, Edward, 2nd
Lord, I., xxix., 118, 137-8
Montagu, Col. Edward, I., 36
Montgomery, Lord, of Ards, IL, 214
Moore, Capt., IL, 276, 282
Moore, Major Nicholas, IL, 58
More, Col., IL, 159
Morgan, Capt., IL, 276
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morgan, Col. Thomas</td>
<td>I, 220, 424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgan, Evan</td>
<td>I, 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morice, James</td>
<td>II, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morley, Mr.</td>
<td>II, 233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morris, Robert</td>
<td>I, 169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morris, Lieut.-Col.</td>
<td>II, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moss, Mr.</td>
<td>II, 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosse, Capt.</td>
<td>II, 276, 283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouldsworth, Col.</td>
<td>II, 133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount (St. Michael's Mount)</td>
<td>I, 423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Orgueil</td>
<td>II, 231-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moxon, James</td>
<td>II, 266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Much Walton, co. Essex</td>
<td>II, 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manson, or Monson, Sir John</td>
<td>II, 225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musgrave, Mr.</td>
<td>I, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Musgrave, Sir Philip</td>
<td>II, 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy, the, papers relating to</td>
<td>II, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II, 40, 62, 135, 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neal, Capt. William</td>
<td>I, 161, 176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II, 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nevill, Capt.</td>
<td>I, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newark</td>
<td>I, 423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newbury</td>
<td>I, 396, 481, 484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newcastle</td>
<td>I, 125, 128, 407, 435, 436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; Proposals of, I, xiii., 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newcomen, Quartermaster</td>
<td>I, 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robert</td>
<td>II, 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newgate</td>
<td>II, 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newman, Col.</td>
<td>II, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newman, Lieut.</td>
<td>II, 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newmarket</td>
<td>I, xxix., 118-120, 122, 125, 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; Rendevous at, I, xxxiv., 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; Engagement of Army at, I, xxxiv., iv., 335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newport, co. Hants, the treaty at</td>
<td>II, 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newport Pagney</td>
<td>II, 149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newson, John</td>
<td>I, 58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholls, Lieut. Francis</td>
<td>I, 94, 109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nickson, Anthony</td>
<td>I, 79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nixon, Richard</td>
<td>I, 437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noble, Mr.</td>
<td>I, 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norfolk, county of</td>
<td>I, xxxi., 130 ; II, xxxii.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norman Conquest, the</td>
<td>I, 215, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II, 401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Okeford, co. Essex</td>
<td>II, 199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northumberland, Algernon</td>
<td>I, 220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percy, Earl of</td>
<td>I, 423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nottingham</td>
<td>I, 150, 425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nottingham, Charles Howard, 3rd Earl</td>
<td>I, 148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II, 72, 76, 102, 111, 115, 118, 180, 282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oatlands</td>
<td>I, 481 ; II, 210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Hara, Capt. Charles</td>
<td>I, 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okeay, Col. John</td>
<td>I, 41, 83, 80, 109, 151, 176, 183, 279, 418 ; II, xxxvi., 136, 268, 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>His Regiment, I, xxxv-9, 73, 421, 425, 439 ; II, 65, 209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Neill, Owen</td>
<td>II, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange, the Prince of</td>
<td>II, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orbeil, Mr.</td>
<td>I, 156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ormonde, James Butler, Earl</td>
<td>I, 421 ; II, 58, 204, 208, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Orps, Capt. Edward, I, 14, 176, 437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osborne, Richard</td>
<td>II, 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osley, co. Yorks</td>
<td>II, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overton, Richard</td>
<td>I, 171, 257 ; II, 91, 104, 266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Overton, Col., afterward Major-Gen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>His Regiment, I, 88, 169, 437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owen, Sir John</td>
<td>II, 182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford, siege of 1646</td>
<td>I, 423</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>surrender, viii., 424 ; artillery train and magazine there seized by the Army, vii., xxii.-xxvii., 98, 114, 115, 118, 193, pamphlets printed at, 23, 86, 119 ; mutiny of Rainborough's regiment near, 105 ; mutiny of Inglodoby's regiment in 1647 there, 114 ; second mutiny in 1649, 487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxington, co. Gloucester</td>
<td>I, 431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Packer, Capt. William</td>
<td>II, 83, 91, 191, 194, 263, 276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palgrave, co. Cornwall</td>
<td>I, 482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pargett, Dr.</td>
<td>II, 194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palatine, the elector (Charles Lewis)</td>
<td>I, xxvi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmer, John</td>
<td>II, 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmer, Capt. George</td>
<td>I, 439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmer, Sir Henry</td>
<td>II, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pavlovich, hundreds of co. Cambridge</td>
<td>I, 119, 435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paradise, William</td>
<td>II, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parker, Mr.</td>
<td>II, 100, 126, 198, 284, 287, 382</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Parliament—

Votes respecting the disbanding of the Army, I., x.-xxv.; vindication of the right of the Army to resist it, xxxv., xxxvi.; treaty between it and the Army, xxxix., 148; proposal to limit its sessions to 120 days, 212; biennial Parliaments proposed, 364-5, 409; its powers to be limited and defined, 363-7, 407-8; dissolution of the Long Parliament proposed, 365; II., 170, 233, 260, 263; its powers limited by the Agreement of the People, II., 134-8, 139, 140, 147-50, 156-7; debate on presenting the Agreement to it, 175-186

Commons, House of—

Forbids petitioning in the Army, I., 1-3; orders the disbanding of the Army, 4, 20, 100; checks City petitioners, 26, 117; sends Commissioners to the Army, 20, 21, 27; report of the Commissioners to the House, 94; its votes declared unsatisfactory by the Army, 108; alarmed at the news of the Army's refusal to disband, 117; purging of the House proposed by the Army, 134, 154, 192, 306, 358; it debates about bringing the King to London, 125; threatened by the Reformadoes, 134, 138, 141; grants leave of absence to its impeached members, 141; Mr. Ward's sermon before it, 150; its hostility to the Army 137; the unsatisfactory nature of its concessions to the Army, 172; begins to purge itself of Royalists, 205; forced to recall its vote about the London militia by violence, 217-9; many members repair to the Army, 220; debates on Maret's motion for no further addresses to the King, 289-321; reforms in the election of its members proposed by the Army, 399, 365; the House to be declared the sole legislative power, 396-7, 398, 401-405, 407; letter from the Army to, Nov. 5, 1647, 416, 440; effect of defeat

Parliament—continued.

of Welsh Royalists on, II., 7; riotous conduct of Surrey petitioners, 11-12; dissatisfied with Fairfax, 29; Remonstrance of the Army to, 54; it accepts the King's concessions at Newport, 67; it is purged by Col. Pride, 68, 136

Speaker of, I., 21, 94, 110, 152, 219, 220, 231, 429, 440

Lords, House of—

Proposals for limiting their power made in 1647, I., 11; views of the Levellers concerning, ixi., lxiv.; orders Fairfax to be sent for to London, 2; release of persons imprisoned by it demanded, 173; forced to recall its votes by the London mob, 217; some lords join the Army, 229, 223; supposed engagement of Cromwell to maintain the House of Lords, 278; debates on their legislative power, 361-3, 365-7, 365, 406, 417; solution finally adopted, 407-8; the House debates the question of a general cessation of arms, II., 29

Speaker of, I., 110, 220, 429

Parr, —, I., 153

Parsons, Capt., II., 276

Paterson, John, I., 161

Paul's (Cathedral), I., 68

Pechell, Capt. Richard, II., 213, 266

Pecke, Capt., I., 438

Peckham, Capt. Christopher, I., 13, 14

Pemberton, Mr., II., 256

Pembroke, Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of, I., 24, 28, 28

Pendarvis, Mr., II., 243

Pendennis Castle, Cornwall, I., 423

Pennington, John, I., 169

Pennyfather, Capt. Thomas, I., 12

Peppitt, William, I., 154

Pepper, Capt. I., 169

Perth, Earl of, I., 109

Peter, or Peters, Hugh, I., lvii., 231, 327-9; II., xxx, 89, 196, 259

Petitions, rules concerning, II., 191

Petit, Lient.-Col., I., 152

Peters or Peaty, Maximilian, I., lxiii., lxvi., 226, 224, 227-8, 229, 294, 300, 312, 335-6, 342, 351; II., 348, 362
INDEX.

Peverell, Capt., II., 276
Peyton, Sir Thomas, II., 142
Phipps, Cornel John, I., 438
Phipps, Mr. John, II., 233
Phillips, Cornet, II., 278
Phillips, Edward, his account of William Clarke, I., viii.
Pickering, Col., John, I., 18, 43
Pierrepont, William, I., xiii.; II., 50
Piggott, Penitent, I., 154
Pile, Sir Francis, I., 152
Pilkington, Major, II., 5
Pitson, Capt. James, II., 196, 227, 276
Platt, Parson, II., 217
Pleig, John, I., 161
Pond, Thomas, I., 161
Ponsonby, Col., I., 169
Pontefract, I., xxxii., 163; II., 25, 70
Poole, Elizabeth, I., xx, 160-4, 163, 170
Porter, Cornet, II., 276
Portland, I., 83
Portsmouth, II., 58
Potis, Sir John, I., 105
Povey, Thomas, I., 148
Powell, Mr. or Major, II., 249
Poynts, John, I., 121
Poyntz, Major Gen. Sydenham, I., xxxii.-xxxiii., 4, 148, 163-9, 221
Account of, I., 121
Articles against, I., 167-9
Letters from, I., 142-6
Prentice, Ralph, I., 161, 437
Pres, Mr., I., 171
Preston, I., 439; II., 204
Pretty, Capt. Henry, I., 176, 438; II., 63, 66, 276
Price, Charles, II., 159
Price, John, II., 256, 257, 268
Prichard, Robert, I., 88
Pride, Col. Thomas, I., xi., 2, 161, 176, 217; II., 65, 276
His Furge, II., xix., xxxvi., 68, 196
His regiment, I., 437; II., 65
Prince, Thomas, II., 266
Prior, William, I., 78, 419
Pryse, William, II., 68, 233
Pudnert, Dennis, I., 161
Putney, I., xiii., xv.; II., 222, 453, 457, 479
Account of meetings of Council of Officers at, I., 226-440
Letter from, I., 226

Putney Projects, a pamphlet by John Wildman, I., xix., xlii., xliii., xlvii., 351, 353, 362
Fye, Sir Robert, I., xxxiii., 2, 12, 93
His regiment, I., xxiv., xxxiii., 44-5, 88, 97, 113, 434
Radman, John, I., 437
Radnor, county of, II., 157
Raglan Castle, I., 424
Rainsborough, or Rainborowe, Capt. afterwards Major, William, I., 35, 65, 67, 96, 109, 151, 176, 299, 320, 363, 413, 415, 458; II., 278
Character of, I., lxxiii.-lxxv.
Chief speeches of, I., 244, 271, 303, 308, 311, 320
Regiment of, I., xxiii., 18, 83, 105, 245
Rawlin, Capt. Thomas, I., 439; II., 278
Rawlinson, Capt., I., 176
Bayne Green, co. Essex, I., xii., II., 27
Bayney, Sir John, II., 14, 16
Read or Reed, Lient.-Col. Thomas, I., 52, 217, 341-2; II., 239
Reading, I., 146, 169, 217, 316, 356
Letters dated from, I., 161, 162, 214-6
General Council of the Army at, I., 176, 311-4
Reading, Mr., II., 23
Reformadoes, the, I., 163, 157, 184, 218, 230-3
Reynolds, Capt., afterwards Col. John, I., xvi., 22, 412, 435-7; II., 206, 278
Reynolds, Robert, II., 213
Rich, Col. Nathaniel, I., xx., 19, 64, 67, 71, 80-1, 100, 146, 150, 176, 190, 213, 233-4, 278, 285, 413, II., 19, 23, 24, 73, 76, 100, 158, 200, 223, 242, 243, 370
Speasor, I., 67, 74, 315, 325, 326, 328
II., 149, 199, 199
INDEX.

His regiment, I. xlvii., 18, 33, 35, 57, 79, 139, 228, 439
Rice, Capt. Symon, II., 56, 213
Richard, II., King, I., 402
Richmond, co. Surrey, I., 128, 139
Richmond, James Stuart, Duke of, I., xxxi., 137
Rigby, Alexander, II., 262
Rippon, Capt. Thomas, II., 190
Robartes or Roberts, John, 2nd Lord, I., 112
Robinson, Henry, I., 154
Robinson, Capt., II., 278
Robinson, Commissary Thomas, I., 437
Robotham, Capt. Robert, I., 12
Rochester, II., 15-6, 20
Rogers, Gideon, I., 154
Rogers, Capt., II., 278
Rogers, Major, I., 109
Rogers, John, II., 242-3
Rolfe or Rolph, Capt., afterwards Major, Edmund, I., I., 16, 161, 176, 337, 436; II., 55, 64
Account of, I., 173
Rolph, Lieut.-Col. William, I., 162
Rooke, William, I., 140
Rookery, Major, II., 253
Rosier, Mr., I., 153
Ross, Capt., II., 278
Rossiter, Col. Edward, I., xxxii., 128, 499
Rowton Heath, I., 121
Rowe, or Roe, William, II., 44, 154, 265, 782
Royston, near Cambridge, I., xxxv., 28, 130, 139
Rumbold, Richard, II., 194
Rumford, II., 24
Rupert, Prince, I., 423
Rushworth, John, Secretary to Gen. Fairfax, I., vii., ix., 8, 9, 13, 51, 45, 81, 151; II., 70, 138, 146
Letters from, I., 214, 219; II., 28, 29
Russell, Mr. II., 72
Rye House Plot, I., 486, II., 194
Ryley, scout-master, I., 220

Sabberton, Lieut., II., 276

Sadler, Mr., II., 169
Saffron Walden, co. Essex, I., xi., xiii., xv., 4, 88, 102, 425-6
Proceedings of the Commissioners of Parliament at, I., 5-15, 27
Letters from, I., 16, 19-33, 78-82, 92-4, 106-7
Meetings of officers at, May, 1647, I., 33-78, 80, 426
St. Alban's, I., xxxviii., lix., 130, 162, 192; II., 54, 258
Letter dated from, I., 132, 138
St. Alban's Tower, Jersey, II., 231
St. Breide's Bay, Jersey, II., 229
St. Edmunds (see Bury St. Edmund's)
St. George's Hill, co. Surrey, II., 210-2, 223
St. John, or St. Johns, Oliver, I., 135, 168, 219, 231; II., 233
St. John's Wood, II., 227
St. Johnston, II., 44
St. Leger, William, II., 37
St. Ouen's Bay, Jersey, II., 229
Sailes, Mr., I., 156
Salmon, Lieut.-Col. Edward, I., 55, 409; II., 166, 278
Salter, Richard, I., 161, 439
Saltmarsh, John, I., 2, 940; II., 249
Samson, Capt. Latimer, I., 182
Sandwich, II., 14, 16
Sankey, Col., I., 421
Sark, II., 229
Saunders, Henry, II., 210
Saunders, Col. Thomas, II., 278
Saunders, Major, afterwards Lieut.-Col., Robert, I., 18, 109; II., 54
Letters from, II., 57, 63, 65
Savage, Cornet, II., 278
Sawyer, William, II., 198
Say, Lord, William Fleming, II., 18, 20
Seaman, Mr., II., 72, 232
Seaton, II., 45
Sendme, Major, I., 54; II., 273
Sedgwick, Obadiah, I., 4
Sedgwick, William, I., 4
Sedley, Sir John, I., 27
Seely, Mr., I., 28
Selby, co. York., I., 168
INDEX.

Speeches, I, 207, 227, 322, 329, 377
Letters, I, 82, 85, 88
Account of, I, 83, 432
Scarborough, I, 121
Seawen, Thomas, I, 148-9
Scot, Thomas, the regicide, I, 231; II, 262
Scot, Thomas, the Leveller, I, 231
Scots, the, I, xxv., 135, 152, 260, 390, 423; II, xi., 2, 7, 42-9, 51-2, 213, 227
A Scottish army to be invited into England in 1647, I, xxiv., 127, 153, 152, 229
Temper of the Scots towards the English Independents, II, xxiv., 208, 251
Cromwell's reasons for not completing the conquest of Scotland in 1648, II, 52
Letters from Scotland, II, 42, 45, 47
Plot in the English army there, II, 241
Scotton, Lieut., afterwards Capt., Edward, I, 161, 176, 208, 416, 438; II, 278
Scroope, Major, afterwards Col., Adrian, I, xxxii., 59, 61, 68, 71, 119, 120, 151, 176, 183, 217, 273, 433; II, 25, 54, 192, 195, 209, 278
Account of, I, 439
Regiment of, I, ix.; 347
Shambrook, Lieut.-Col. William, I, 153
Sharpe, Robert, I, 169
Shaw, John, II, 31
Sheffield, Col. Thomas, L, xiv., 2, 12, 17, 26-8, 40, 42-3, 57, 64-5, 67, 76, 82, 95-6, 423
His regiment, I, xxxii., 18, 28, 33, 38, 66-7, 78, 81, 88, 112
Sheirman, Lieut., I, 439
Sheldon, Dr., I, 157, 140
Shepherd, Thomas, I, 430, 483
Sherer, Lieut., II, 378
Sherman, Capt. Thomas, II, 34
Shipman or Shipley, Lieut. Stephen, I, 161, 436
Shortes, Capt. Nathaniel, I, 13
Shropshire, I, 58
Silles, Mr., I, 156
Sittingbourne, co. Kent, II, 14, 16
Skippon, Major-General and Field Marshal Philip, I, xii.-xvi., 2, 3, 19, 21, 27-8, 30-3, 40-4, 45, 63, 61, 64-5, 69-9, 72-3, 76-8, 80, 82, 90, 99, 100, 102, 106, 113, 126, 127, 148, 162, 430; II, 187, 233-4, 278
Letters, I, 21, 32, 94, 99
Speeches, I, 29, 33, 35, 36, 44-5, 47, 49, 57, 69, 76, 78
Regiment of, I, xxxii., 18, 125, 407, 431, 436
Skinner, Capt. Augustine, II, 14
Smith, Lieut.-Col., I, 55
Smith, George, II, 190
Smith, Major Thomas, I, 56
Smith, Rev. Thomas, II, 160-3, 187
Smith, Capt., II, 262, 278
Smithfield, II, 4
Somers, Jacob, I, 436
Somersetshire, I, 424
Somers, William, I, 438
Southwark, I, 154, 220; II, 22
Southwell, Lieut., II, 278
Sparrow, Mr., I, 25
Sparrow, Capt., II, 278
Sparvise, Robert, II, viii.
Spencer, Cornet, afterwards Capt., I, 208; II, 91, 138, 174, 180, 195-6, 198, 278
Spencer, Capt., II, 10
Spong, Capt., II, 278
Sprigg, William, I, xxvii.; II, 84, 99, 183
Staines, co. Middlesex, I, 316
Stallman, Robert, I, 161
Stane, Commissary-General, I, 159, 232, 415; II, 17
Stanion, George, I, 161
Stanley, Lieut., II, 278
Stapleton, Sir Philip, I, 107, 114-5, 155-6, 150, 166, 169, 434
Stapleton, Mr., II, 73
Starrs, Thomas, I, x., 228
Staunton, George, I, 279, 439
Stirling, II, 44
Stower, —, II, 210
Stewart, Sir Robert, II, 214
INDEX.

Stiles, Capt., II, 273
Strickland, Sir Robert, II, 9
Strickland, Sir Thomas, II, 9
Stinchcombe, co. Gloucester, II, 38
Stafford, Earl of, II, 268
Strange, cornet, II, 278
Stratford, II, 24
Stuart, Sir James, II, 47
St Aubyn, Adj.-Gen., II, 208, 278
Sturgis, Roger, L, 140
Sudbury, co. Suffolk, I, xxii.
Suffolk, county of, I, 130
Suffolk, James Howard, 3rd Earl of, I, 107
Sussex, county of, petition, II, 11-12; rising in, II, 20
Swansea, co. Kent, II, 14-5
Swansea, co. Glamorgan, II, 14-5
Swansea, co. Glamorgan, II, 14-5
Swansea, co. Glamorgan, II, 14-5
Symonds, William, I, 161
Symonds, Capt., II, 278
Symons, John, II, xxxv.-xxxvii, 243
Tadcaster, co. York, I, 163
Taunton Castle, I, 33
Tate, Mr., II, 188
Taunton, L, 434
Taylor, Mr., II, 72, 256
Taylor, Capt., II, 156
Taylor, Daniel, II, 262
Taylor, John, I, 161, 435
Taylor, William, I, 78
Temple, John, I, 107
Temple, Col., II, 28
Tennant, Capt., II, 266
Tew, Mr., I, 171
Thames, the, L, 371; II, 138
Thanet, John Tufton, 2nd Earl of, II, 18
Thistleworth, i.e. Isleworth, I, 220
Thomas, Capt. Daniel, I, 56-7
Thomas, Col., III, 133
Thomlinson (see Tomlinson)
Thomson, or Thompson, William, I, ivii, 419; II, 199, 200
Thompson, Capt., I, 154
Thornborough, Timothy, I, 438
Thornhaugh, Col. Francis, I, 439
Thornton, Col., II, 263
Thurloe, John, letters from his MSS., II, xxxii.-xxxvii.
Letter to Gen. Monk, II, 243

Tichborne or Titchborne, Col. Robert
I, livi, 279, 306, 404-5, 413, 416;
II, 18, 72-3, 104, 136-6, 256-8, 262, 265, 278
Tilbury, II, 26
Tilts, Mr., I, 56
Tomlin, Capt., II, 198, 280
Tomlinson or Thomlinson, Col. Matthew,
I, xxxiii, 151, 176, 183, 217, 279,
413, 415-6; II, 14, 46, 61, 142-4,
146, 226, 262, 280
Account of, I, 439
Torrington, battle of, I, 421
Tower, the, I, 396; II, 18
Townsend, Mr., I, 156
Tracy, baronet, II, 159
Tracy, Cornet, I, 415; II, 280
Trallins, John (see Filkins)
Trapp, Anna, II, xxxiv.
Trent, River, I, 425
Trigge, Dr., I, 154
Trinity House, the, I, 161
Tripolar Heath, I, 147; II, 193, 248
Trow, I, 422-3
Tulidah, Major, afterwards Adj.-Gen.,
I, 3, 176, 178, 203, 205, 210
Turnham Green, I, 226
Tweed, River, I, 371
Twyke, Edward, I, 161, 438
Twisleton, Col. Philip, I, xxxiii, 432;
II, 21, 280
Letter from, I, 138
Tynemouth Castle, I, 126, 366, 407
Ulster, I, 433; II, 48
Underwood, Wm., I, 279, 415, 439
Unicorn, the (ship), II, 138
Uxbridge, L, xxxix, 192, 204-5

Vane, Sir Henry, jun., I, xviii., xliii.,
23, 136, 148, 168; II, 17, 50
Vaughan, Edmund or Edward, I, 161,
436
Venables, Lieut.-Col. Robert, II, 133
280
Verney, Sir Ralph, I, xxv.
Vernon, John, II, 53

Waade, Major, I, 176
Wagstaffe, Capt., II, 280
Walden (see Saffron Walden)
Waldron, John, II, 57
INDEX.

Wales, I., 60, 117, 158, 161-2, 347, 424; II., xxxiv, 6, 187.
Walford, Edward, II., 102, 282.
Walker, Clement, I., xviii.
  - Speeches, I., 339, 344-5; II., 87, 103, 180.
  - Regiment of, I., xiv., 32, 55, 83.
Waller, Sir William, I., 6, 18, 27, 114-5, 117, 223, 278.
Walley, Mr., I., 363.
Wallington, I., 114-5, 412, 424.
Wallis, Cornet Peter, I., 409, 415-6; II., 280.
  - Account of, I., 488.
Wallop, Robert, II., 213.
Walters, John, II., 266.
Walton, Col. Valentine, II., 280.
Walwyn, William, II., 257, 262, 282.
Wane, Capt., I., 154.
Wansey, Henry, II., 37.
Waustead, Co. Essex, II., 20.
Ward, Mr., I., 180.
Ward, Robert, II., 193.
Ware, Capt. William, II., 213, 283.
Ware, mutiny at, I., liv., 407, 411.
Warmall, William, II., 190.
Warren, Quartermaster, II., 280.
Warwick, Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of, I., xxiii., 9, 105, 107, 283; II., 39, 41, 42.
  - Letters from, I., 157, 222; II., 39.
Waterford, I., 422.
Waterton, Mr., I., 156.
Watson, Capt., I., 176, 439; II., 280.
Watson, Soutmaster Leonard, I., 19, 158, 218, 223, 413, 434; II., 17.
Watson, Thomas, II., 193.
Weare, Capt. William, I., 439.
Weaver, Edmund, II., 158.
Web, Mayor-Gen., I., 423.
Wedge, Major, II., 280.
Welden, Capt. George, I., 14.
Welden, Col., I., 13.
  - Welden, Sir Anthony, II., 13, 14, 18.
Wells, John, I., 439.
West, Capt., II., 228, 231.
West, Col. Francis, I., 153, 396.
Westminster regiment, the, I., 122.
Westminster Hall, II., 12, 137.
Westmoreland, county of, II., 9, 20, 21, 25.
Westrowe, Capt., II., 16, 20.
Whetton, Lieut.-Col., II., 257-8.
Weymouth, II., 283.
Whalarton, Thomas, I., 169.
  - Letters from, I., 122; II., 24, 26, 27.
  - Letters to, I., 150, 158, 140.
  - Speeches of, I., 34, 46, 58, 70, 71; II., 83, 168.
  - Regiment of, I., xlvii., 18, 79, 436; II., 65.
Whalley, Henry, II., 225.
Wharton, Philip, 4th Lord, I., 148.
Wharton, Lady, II., 29.
Wheeler, Capt., I., 436.
Wheeler, Francis, I., 161.
Wheeler, Lieut., I., 28.
Whitchurch, Col. Christopher, II., 56, 65, 141, 142, 280.
  - Account of, II., 142.
Whitacre, Lawrence, I., xxx.
Whitchurch, co. Wilts, II., 212.
White, Capt. (of the Tower), I., 158, 218.
  - Pamphlets by, I., 48, 283.
White, Col. John, II., 255, 266, 282, 280.
White, Col. William, I., 102, 182, 148.
Whitehall, II., 18, 263.
White, Capt., II., 280.
Whiting, Samuel, I., 78, 363, 486.
Wishon, i.e. Wycombe, treaty at, I., 145-60.
INDEX.

Widdrington, Sir Thomas, I., 132, 148-9
Wight, Isle of, I., 429; II., 55-9, 60, 63, 65
Wildman, John, I., xlvi., xlix., I., lii., liii., 226, 234, 240, 264-5, 276-9, 384-8, 399-4, 399-9, 403-7; II., 72, 91, 112, 256-8, 263, 282
Speeches of, I., 259-61, 352-6; II., 75, 120, 131
His Putney Projects cited, I., xix., xlii-xlii., xlvii, lviii., lxii., lxv., 351, 353-4, 362, 390, 393, 399, 406
Probable author of the Case of the Army stated, I., 354
Wilkes, Capt. Timothy, I., 155; II., 280, 282
Cromwell's letter to, II., 232
Wilkinson, Lieut., II., 280
Wilkinson, William, I., 161, 436
Williams, Roger, II., 117
Williams, Sir Trevor, II., 159
Willocke or Wilcock, Bartholomew, I., 161, 439
Willoughby, John, I., 79, 438
Willoughby, Thomas, I., 107
Wiliowby, Col., I., 156
Wilmot House, II., 136
Wilmot, Lord, II., 267
Wilson, John, I., 439
Wilson, Lieut. Ralph, I., 32
Wilson, Col., II., 280, 282
Witby House, Col., I., 221
Witney, county of, I., 424; II., 212
Windsor, I., Ivi., 219; II., 19, 258, 273
Windsor Castle, II., 263
Meetings of the Council of the Army at, I., Ivi.-lviii., 407, 411-2, 415, 432
Meetings of the Council of Officers at, II., 56, 58, 59
Orders for the removal of Charles I. to, II., 132-3, 140
Orders for the custody of Charles I. at, II., 142-7
Winstanley, Gerard, II., 211-2, 217, 291, 293
Verses by, II., 224
Wintrop, Capt. Stephen, II., 280
Wisdom, Capt., II., 253
Wither, William, II., 213
Wittam, II., 27
Woburn, I., xlii
Wogan, Col. Edward, I., xvii., 421
His narrative, I., 421-9
Wolfe, Capt., I., 176, 439
Wollaston, Sir John, I., 153
Wollaston, Mr., II., 282
Wood, John, I., 419, 438
Woodhouse, co. Wilts, II., 27
Woodstock, I., xxii., 114, 118
Woolsey, Mr. or Cardinal, I., 14; II., 71, 282
Worcester, I., 424
"Battle of, I., 407, 434
"Siege of, I., 424
Worcester, Edward, Marquis of, I., 422
Worcestershire, I., 424
Worsley, the, II., 23
Wortley, Edward, II., 267
Wortley, Francis, II., 267
Wragge, Thomas, I., 31; II., 70, 253
Wrenn, Ann, II., 217
Yate, William, II., 213
Yates, Richard, II., 5
York, city of, I., 163, 166, 169, 203, 347; II., 1, 9, 20, 25, 263
Troops sent thither, I., 347
Lord Mayor of, I., 163, 165-7; II., 10
Clifford's Tower at, II., 121, 164-7; II., 10
Letters dated from, I., 121, 142, 144, 163, 168; II., 2, 3, 20, 25, 253
County of, I., 142; II., 1, 8, 21, 70
Matiny amongst troops there, I., 142-7, 163-9
Royalist plots there, II., 1, 10
Forces raised there in 1648, II., 10, 21
Presbyterian organisation of, II., 1
Young, Captain, I., 176, 437
Young, William, I., 79, 161, 438
Zanchey, Zanche, or Sankey, Capt., II., 191, 192, 280
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