

Extracts from Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*

Clarendon's History is a composite text, made up of a text he called 'A True Historical Narration' written in exile in 1646-8, following the royal defeat in the Civil War, and a text written in 1668-70 which was a memoir of his Life, which he wrote in a second exile after his fall from power as the greatest minister of Charles II. He subsequently stitched the two texts together to form what was published in 1702-4 as The History of the Rebellion.

The Paragraph numbers are those given in the standard edition by W.D. Macray (Oxford, 1888). These texts can also be read in my Oxford World's Classics edition (Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon: The History of the Rebellion: A New Selection, 2009).

BOOK I.

These first twelve paragraphs, dated from the Scilly Isles, in April 1646, come from the opening, the Prolegomena, of The History, where Clarendon explains his purposes in writing it as an investigation into the causes of the Civil War that broke out in 1642 and the reasons for the King's defeat.

1. That posterity may not be deceived, by the prosperous wickedness of these times, into an opinion that less than a general combination, and universal apostasy in the whole nation from their religion and allegiance, could, in so short a time, have produced such a total and prodigious alteration and confusion over the whole kingdom; and so the memory of those few who, out of duty and conscience, have opposed and resisted that torrent which hath overwhelmed them may lose the recompense due to their virtue, and, having undergone the injuries and reproaches of this, may not find a vindication in a better age; it will not be unuseful, (at least to the curiosity if not the conscience of men,) to present to the world a full and clear narration of the grounds, circumstances, and artifices of this Rebellion, not only from the time since the flame hath been visible in a civil war, but, looking farther back, from those former passages, accidents, and actions, by which the seed-plots were made and framed from whence these mischiefs have successively grown to the height they are now at.
2. And then, though the hand and judgment of God will be very visible, in the infatuating a people (as ripe and prepared for destruction) into all the perverse actions of folly and madness, making the weak to contribute to the designs of the wicked, and suffering even those by degrees, out of the conscience of their guilt, to grow more wicked than they intended to be; letting the wise to be imposed upon by men of no understanding, and possessing the innocent with laziness and sleep in the most visible article of danger; uniting the ill, though of the most different opinions, divided interests, and distant affections, in a firm and constant league of mischief; and dividing those whose opinions and interests are the same into faction and emulation, more pernicious to the public than the treason of the others: whilst the poor people, under pretence of zeal to Religion, Law, Liberty, and Parliaments, (words of precious esteem in their just signification,) are furiously hurried into actions introducing Atheism, and dissolving all the elements of Christian Religion, cancelling all obligations, and destroying all foundations of Law and

Liberty, and rendering not only the privileges but very being of Parliaments desperate and impossible: I say, though the immediate finger and wrath of God must be acknowledged in these perplexities and distractions, yet he who shall diligently observe the distempers and conjunctures of time, the ambition, pride, and folly of persons, and the sudden growth of wickedness, from want of care and circumspection in the first impressions, will find all this bulk of misery to have proceeded, and to have been brought upon us, from the same natural causes and means which have usually attended kingdoms swoln with long plenty, pride, and excess, towards some signal mortification, and castigation of Heaven. And it may be, upon the view of the impossibility of foreseeing many things that have happened, and of the necessity of overseeing many other things, [we] may not yet find the cure so desperate, but that, by God's mercy, the wounds may be again bound up, though no question many must first bleed to death; and then this prospect may not make the future peace less pleasant and durable.

3. And I have the more willingly induced myself to this unequal task out of the hope of contributing somewhat to that end: and though a piece of this nature (wherein the infirmities of some, and the malice of others, both things and persons, must be boldly looked upon and mentioned) is not likely to be published, (at least in the age in which it is writ,) yet it may serve to inform myself and some others what we are to do, as well as to comfort us in what we have done; and then possibly it may not be very difficult to collect somewhat out of that store more proper, and not unuseful, for the public view. And as I may not be thought altogether an incompetent person for this communication, having been present as a member of Parliament in those councils before and till the breaking out of the Rebellion, and having since had the honour to be near two great kings¹ in some trust, so I shall perform the same with all faithfulness and ingenuity, with an equal observation of the faults and infirmities of both sides, with their defects and oversights in pursuing their own ends; and shall no otherwise mention small and light occurrences than as they have been introductions to matters of the greatest moment; nor speak of persons otherwise than as the mention of their virtues or vices is essential to the work in hand: in which as I shall have the fate to be suspected rather for malice to many than of flattery to any, so I shall, in truth, preserve myself from the least sharpness that may proceed from private provocation or a more public indignation; in the whole observing the rules that a man should, who deserves to be believed.
4. I shall not then lead any man farther back in this journey, for the discovery of the entrance into these dark ways, than the beginning of this King's reign. For I am not so sharp-sighted as those who have discerned this rebellion contriving from, if not before, the death of Queen Elizabeth, and fomented by several Princes and great ministers of state in Christendom to the time that it brake out. Neither do I look so far back as believing the design to be so long since formed; (they who have observed the several accidents, not capable of being contrived, which have contributed to the several successes, and do know the persons who have been the grand instruments towards this change, of whom there have not been any four of familiarity and trust with each other, will easily absolve them from so much industry and foresight in their mischief;) but that, by viewing the temper, disposition, and habit, of that time, of the court and of the country, we may discern the minds of men prepared, of some to do, and of others to suffer, all that hath since happened: the pride of this man, and the popularity of that; the levity of one, and the morosity of another; the excess of the court in the greatest want, and the parsimony and retention of the country in the greatest plenty; the spirit of craft and subtlety in some, and

the rude and unpolished integrity of others, too much despising craft or art; like so many atoms contributing jointly to this mass of confusion now before us.

5. King James in the end of March 1625 died, leaving his majesty that now is engaged in a war with Spain, but unprovided with money to manage it, though it was undertaken by the consent and advice of Parliament: the people being naturally enough inclined to the war (having surfeited with the uninterrupted pleasures and plenty of twenty-two years peace) and sufficiently inflamed against the Spaniard, but quickly weary of the charge of it. And therefore, after an unprosperous and chargeable attempt in a voyage by sea upon Caliz, [Cadiz,] and as unsuccessful and more unfortunate a one upon France, at the Isle of Rees, [Rhé,] (for some difference had likewise at the same time begotten a war with that prince,) a **1630** general peace was shortly concluded with both kingdoms; the exchequer being so exhausted with the debts of King James, the bounty of his majesty that now is, (who, upon his first access to the crown, gave many costly instances of his favour to persons near him,) and the charge of the war upon Spain and France, that, both the known and casual revenue being anticipated, the necessary subsistence of the household was unprovided for; and the King on the sudden driven to those straits for his own support that many ways were resorted to, and inconveniences submitted to, for supply; as, selling the crown-lands, creating peers for money, and many other particulars, which no access of power or plenty since could repair.
6. Parliaments were summoned, and again dissolved: and in the fourth year that (after the dissolution of two former) was determined with a profession and declaration that there should be no more assemblies of that nature expected, and all men inhibited upon the penalty of censure so much as to speak of a Parliament. And here I cannot but let myself loose to say, that no man can shew me a source from whence these waters of bitterness we now taste have more probably flowed, than from this unseasonable, unskilful, and precipitate dissolution of Parliaments; in which, by an unjust survey of the passion, insolence, and ambition of particular persons, the Court measured the temper and affection of the country; and by the same standard the people considered the honour, justice, and piety of the Court; and so usually parted, at those sad seasons, with no other respect and charity one toward the other than accompanies persons who never meant to meet but in their own defence. In which always the King had the disadvantage to harbour persons about him who with their utmost industry, information, and malice, improved the faults and infirmities of the Court to the people; and again, as much as in them lay, rendered the people suspected if not odious to the King.
7. I am not altogether a stranger to the passages of those Parliaments, (though I was not a member of them,) having carefully perused the Journals of both Houses, and familiarly conversed with many who had principal parts in them; and I cannot but wonder at those counsels which persuaded the courses then taken; the habit and temper of men's minds being, no question, very applicable to the public ends, and those ends being only discredited by the jealousies the people entertained, from the manner of the prosecution, that they were other, and worse, than in truth they were. It is not to be denied that there were in all those Parliaments, especially in that of the fourth year, several passages, and distempered speeches of particular persons, not fit for the dignity and honour of those places, and unsuitable to the reverence due to his majesty and his councils. But I do not know any formed Act of either House (for neither the Remonstrance or votes of the last day were such) that was not agreeable to the wisdom and justice of great courts upon those extraordinary occasions. And whoever considers the acts of power and injustice in

the intervals of Parliaments, will not be much scandalized at the warmth and vivacity of those meetings.

- 8.** In the second Parliament there was a mention, and intention declared, of granting five subsidies, a proportion (how contemptible soever in respect of the pressures now every day imposed) never before heard of in Parliament. And that, meeting being, upon very unpopular and unplausible reasons, immediately dissolved, those five subsidies were exacted throughout the whole kingdom with the same rigour, as if, in truth, an Act had passed to that purpose. And very many gentlemen of prime quality, in all the several counties of England, were, for refusing to pay the same, committed to prison, with great rigour and extraordinary circumstances. And could it be imagined, that these men would meet again in a free convention of Parliament without a sharp and severe expostulation, and inquisition into their own right, and the power that had imposed upon that right? And yet all these provocations, and many other, almost of as large an extent, June produced no other resentment than the Petition of Right, (of no prejudice to the Crown,) which was likewise purchased at the price of five more subsidies, and, in a very short time after that supply granted, that Parliament was likewise, with strange circumstances of passion on all sides, dissolved.
- 9.** The abrupt and ungracious breaking of the two first Parliaments was wholly imputed to the duke of Buckingham, and of the third principally to the lord Weston, then Lord High Treasurer of England; both in respect of the great power and interest they then had in the affections of his majesty, and for that the time of the dissolutions happened to be when some charges and accusations were preparing and ready to be preferred against those two great persons. And therefore the envy and hatred that attended them thereupon was insupportable, and was visibly the cause of the murder of the first, (stabbed to the heart by the hand of an obscure villain, upon the mere impious pretence of his being odious to the Parliament,) and made, no doubt, so great an impression upon the understanding and nature of the other, that by degrees he lost that temper and serenity of mind he had been before master of, and which was most fit to have accompanied him in his weighty employments; insomuch as, out of indignation to find himself worse used than he deserved, he cared less to deserve well than he had done, and insensibly grew into that public hatred that rendered him less useful to the service that he only intended.
- 10.** I wonder less at the errors of this nature in the duke of Buckingham; who, having had a most generous education in courts, was utterly ignorant of the ebbs and floods of popular councils, and of the winds that move those waters; and could not, without the spirit of indignation, find himself in the space of a few weeks, without any visible cause intervening, from the greatest height of popular estimation that any person hath ascended to, (insomuch as sir Edward Coke blasphemously called him our Saviour,) by the same breath thrown down to the depth of calumny and reproach. I say, it is no marvel, (besides that he was naturally [inclined] to follow such counsel as was given him,) that he could think of no better way to be freed of the inconveniences and troubles the passions of those meetings gave him, than to dissolve them, and prevent their coming together: and, that when they seemed to neglect the public peace out of animosity to him, that he intended his own ease and security in the first place, and easily believed the public might be otherwise provided for by more intent and dispassionate councils. But that the other, the lord Weston, who had been very much and very popularly conversant in those conventions, who exactly knew the frame and constitution of the kingdom, the temper of

the people, the extent of the courts of law, and the jurisdiction of parliaments, which at that time had never committed any excess of jurisdiction, (—modesty and moderation in words never was, nor ever will be, observed in popular councils, whose foundation is liberty of speech—) should believe that the union, peace, and plenty of the kingdom could be preserved without parliaments, or that the passion and distemper gotten and received into parliaments could be removed and reformed by the more passionate breaking and dissolving them; or that that course would not inevitably prove the most pernicious to himself; is as much my wonder as any thing that hath since happened.

11. There is a protection very gracious and just which princes owe to their servants, when, in obedience to their just commands, upon extraordinary and necessary occasions in the execution of their trusts, they swerve from the strict rule of the law, which, without that mercy, would be penal to them. In any case, it is as legal (the law presuming it will be always done upon great reason) for the king to pardon, as for the party to accuse, and the judge to condemn. But for the supreme power to interpose, and shelter an accused servant from answering, does not only seem an obstruction of justice, and lay an imputation upon the prince of being privy to the offence, but leaves so great a scandal upon the party himself that he is generally concluded guilty of whatsoever he is charged; which is commonly more than the worst man ever deserved. And it is worthy the observation, that, as no innocent man who made his defence ever suffered in those times by judgment of Parliament, so, many guilty persons, and against whom the spirit of the time went as high, by the wise managing their defence have been freed from their accusers, not only without censure but without reproach; as the bishop of Lincoln, then Lord Keeper, sir H. Martin, and sir H. Spiller; men in their several degrees as little beholding to the charity of that time as any men since. Whereas scarce a man who, with industry and skill, laboured to keep himself from being accused, or by power to stop or divert the course of proceeding, scaped without some signal mark of infamy or prejudice. And the reason is clear; for—besides that after the first storm there is some compassion naturally attends men like to be in misery, and besides the latitude of judging in those places, whereby there is room for kindness and affection and collateral considerations pg 9to interpose—the truth is, those accusations (to which this man contributes his malice, that his wit, all men what they please, and most upon hearsay, with a kind of uncharitable delight of making the charge as heavy as may be) are commonly stuffed with many odious generals, that the proofs seldom make good: and then a man is no sooner found less guilty than he is expected but he is concluded more innocent than he is; and it is thought but a just reparation for the reproach that he deserved not, to free him from the censure he deserved. So that, very probably, those two noble persons had been happy if they had stoutly submitted to the proceedings were designed against them; and, without question, it had been of sovereign use to the King if, in those peaceable times, parliaments had been taught to know their own bounds by being suffered to proceed as far as they could go; by which the extent of their power would quickly have been manifested. From whence no inconvenience of moment could have proceeded; the House of Commons never then pretending to the least part of judicature, or exceeding the known verge of their own privileges; the House of Peers observing the rules of law and equity in their judgments, and proceeding deliberately upon clear testimony and evidence of matter of fact; and the King retaining the sole power of pardoning, and receiving the whole profit of all penalties and judgments, and indeed having so great an influence upon the body of the peerage, that it was never known that any person of honour was severely censured in that House, (before this present Parliament,) who was not either immediately prosecuted by the Court or in evident disfavour there; in which, it may be, (as it usually falls out) some doors were

opened at which inconveniences to the Crown have got in, that were not then enough weighed and considered.

12. But the course of exempting men from prosecution by dissolving of parliaments made the power of parliaments much more formidable, as conceived to be without limit; since the sovereign power seemed to be compelled (as unable otherwise to set bounds to their proceedings) to that rough cure, and to determine their being because it could not determine their jurisdiction. Whereas, if they had been frequently summoned, and seasonably dissolved after their wisdom in applying medicines and cures, as well as their industry in discovering diseases, had been discerned, they would easily have been applied to the uses for which they were first instituted, and been of no less esteem with the Crown than of veneration with the people. And so I shall conclude this digression, which I conceived not unseasonable for this place nor upon this occasion, and return to the time when that brisk resolution was taken of totally declining those conventions; all men being inhibited (as I said before) by proclamation, at the dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth year, so much as to mention or speak as if a Parliament should be called.

13. And here it will give much light to that which follows if we take a view of the state of the Court and of the Council at that time, by which, as in a mirror, we may best see the face of that time, and the affections and temper of the people in general. And for the better taking this prospect, we will take a survey of the person of that great man, the duke of Buckingham, (who was so barbarously murdered at this time,) whose influence had been unfortunate in the public affairs, and whose death produced a change in all the councils.

This second extract describes Charles I's government in the 1630s, the so-called 'Personal Rule', after the dismissal of Parliament in 1629.

147. That proclamation, mentioned before, at the breach of the last Parliament, and which inhibited all men to speak of another Parliament, produced two very ill effects of different natures. It afflicted many good men (who otherwise were enough scandalized at those distempers which had incensed the King) to that degree that it made them capable of receiving some impressions from those who were diligent in whispering and infusing an opinion into men that there was really an intention to alter the form of government, both in Church and State; 'of which,' said they, 'a greater instance cannot be given than this public declaring that we shall have no more Parliaments.' Then, this freedom from the danger of such an inquisition did not only encourage ill men to all boldness and license, but wrought so far upon men less inclined to ill (though not built for examples) that they kept not those strict guards upon themselves they used to do; especially, if they found themselves above the reach of ordinary justice, and feared not extraordinary, they by degrees thought that no fault which was like to find no punishment. Supplemental acts of state were made to supply defect of laws; and so tonnage and poundage, and other duties upon merchandises, were collected by order of the Board, which had been perversely refused to be settled by Act of Parliament, and new and greater impositions laid upon trade. Obsolete laws were revived and rigorously executed, wherein the subject might be taught how unthrifty a thing it was by too strict a detaining of what was his to put the King as strictly to inquire what was his own. And by this ill husbandry the King received a vast sum of money from all persons of quality, or indeed of any reasonable condition throughout the kingdom, upon the law of knighthood; which, though it had a foundation in right, yet, in the circumstances of proceeding, was very grievous, and no less unjust.

148. Projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous, were set on foot; the envy and reproach of which came to the King, the profit to other men, insomuch as, of two hundred thousand pound drawn from the subject by these ways in a year, scarce fifteen hundred came to the King's use or account. To recompense the damage the Crown sustained by the sale of the old lands, and by the grant of new pensions, the old laws of the forest are revived, by which not only great fines are imposed, but great annual rents intended and like to be settled by way of contract; which burden lighted most upon persons of quality and honour, who thought themselves above ordinary oppressions, and therefore like to remember it with more sharpness. Lastly, for a spring and magazine that should have no bottom, and for an everlasting supply of all occasions, a writ is framed in a form of law, and directed to the sheriff of every county of England, to provide a ship of war for the King's service, and to send it, amply provided and fitted, by such a day to such a place; and with that writ were sent to each sheriff instructions that, instead of a ship, he should levy upon his county such a sum of money, and return the same to the Treasurer of the Navy for his majesty's use, with direction in what manner he should proceed against such as refused: and from hence that tax had the denomination of *Ship-Money*, a word of a lasting sound in the memory of this kingdom; by which for some years really accrued the yearly sum of two hundred thousand pounds to the King's coffers, and was in truth the only project that was accounted to his own service. And, after the continued receipt of it for four years together, was at last (upon the refusal of a private gentleman to pay thirty shillings as his share) with great solemnity publicly argued before all the judges of England in the Exchequer-chamber, and by the major part of them the King's right to impose asserted, and the tax adjudged lawful; which judgment proved of more advantage and credit to the gentleman condemned, Mr. Hambden, than to the King's service.

149. For the better support of these extraordinary ways, and to protect the agents and instruments who must be employed in them, and to discountenance and suppress all bold inquirers and opposers, the Council-table and Star-chamber enlarge their jurisdictions to a vast extent, 'holding' (as Thucydides¹ said of the Athenians) 'for honourable that which pleased, and for just that which profited;' and, being the same persons in several rooms, grew both courts of law to determine right and courts of revenue to bring money into the treasury; the Council-table by proclamations enjoining this to the people that was not enjoined by the law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited; and the Star-chamber censuring the breach and disobedience to those proclamations by very great fines and imprisonment; so that any disrespect to acts of state or to the persons of statesmen was in no time more penal, and those foundations of right by which men valued their security, to the apprehension and understanding of wise men, never more in danger to be destroyed.

150. And here I cannot but again take the liberty to say, that the circumstances and proceedings in these new extraordinary cases, stratagems, and impositions, were very unpolitic, and even destructive to the services intended. As, if the business of ship-money, being an imposition by the State under the notion of necessity, upon a prospect of danger, which private persons could not modestly think themselves qualified to discern, had been managed in the same extraordinary way as the royal loan (which was the imposing the five subsidies after the second Parliament spoken of before) was, men would much easier have submitted to it; as it is notoriously known that pressure was borne with much more cheerfulness before the judgment for the King than ever it was after; men before pleasing themselves with doing somewhat for the King's service, as a testimony of their affection, which they were not bound to do; many really believing the necessity, and therefore

thinking the burden reasonable; others observing that the access to the King was of importance, when the damage to them was not considerable; and all assuring themselves that when they should be weary, or unwilling to continue the payment, they might resort to the law for relief and find it. But when they heard this demanded in a court of law as a right, and found it by sworn judges of the law adjudged so, upon such grounds and reasons as every stander-by was able to swear was not law, and so had lost the pleasure and delight of being kind and dutiful to the King; and instead of giving were required to pay, and by a logic that left no man any thing which he might call his own; they no more looked upon it as the case of one man but the case of the kingdom, nor as an imposition laid upon them by the King but by the judges; which they thought themselves bound in conscience to the public justice not to submit to. It was an observation long ago by Thucydides¹, that 'men are much more passionate for injustice than for violence; because,' says he, 'the one, coming as from an equal, seems rapine; when the other, proceeding from one stronger, is but the effect of necessity.' So, when ship-money was transacted at the Council-board, they looked upon it as a work of that power they were always obliged to trust, and an effect of that foresight they were naturally to rely upon. Imminent necessity and public safety were convincing persuasions; and it might not seem of apparent ill consequence to them that upon an emergent occasion the regal power should fill up an hiatus, or supply an impotency in the law. But when they saw in a court of law, (that law that gave them title and possession of all that they had) apophthegms of state urged as elements of law; judges as sharp-sighted as Secretaries of State and in the mysteries of state; judgment of law grounded upon matter of fact of which there was neither inquiry or proof; and no reason given for the payment of the thirty shillings in question but what Concluded the estates of all the standers-by; they had no reason to hope that that doctrine or the preachers of it would be contained within any bounds. And it was no wonder that they who had so little reason to be pleased with their own condition, were not less solicitous for, or apprehensive of, the inconveniences that might attend any alteration.

151. And here the damage and mischief cannot be expressed, that the Crown and State sustained by the deserved reproach and infamy that attended the judges, by being made use of in this and the like acts of power; there being no possibility to preserve the dignity, reverence, and estimation of the laws themselves but by the integrity and innocency of the judges. And no question, as the exorbitancy of the House of Commons this Parliament hath proceeded principally from their contempt of the laws, and that contempt from the scandal of that judgment, so the concurrence of the House of Peers in that fury can be imputed to no one thing more than to the irreverence and scorn the judges were justly in; who had been always before looked upon there as the oracles of the law, and the best guides and directors of their opinions and actions: and they now thought themselves excused for swerving from the rules and customs of their predecessors (who in altering and making of laws, in judging of things and persons, had always observed the advice and judgment of those sages) in not asking questions of those whom they knew nobody would believe; and thinking it a just reproach upon them, (who out of their gentilleses had submitted the difficulties and mysteries of the law to be measured by the standard of general reason and explained by the wisdom of state,) to see those men make use of the license they had taught, and determine that to be law which they thought reasonable or found to be convenient. If these men had preserved the simplicity of their ancestors in severely and strictly defending the laws, other men had observed the modesty of theirs in humbly and dutifully obeying them.

152. And upon this consideration it is very observable that, in the wisdom of former times, when the prerogative went highest, (as very often it hath been swollen above any pitch we

have seen it at in our times,) never any court of law, very seldom any judge, or lawyer of reputation, was called upon to assist in an act of power; the Crown well knowing the moment of keeping those the objects of reverence and veneration with the people, and that though it might sometimes make sallies upon them by the prerogative, yet the law would keep the people from any invasion of it, and that the King could never suffer whilst the law and the judges were looked upon by the subject as the asyla for their liberties and security. And therefore you shall find the policy of many princes hath endured as sharp animadversions and reprehensions from the judges of the law, as their piety hath from the bishops of the church; imposing no less upon the people under the reputation of justice by the one, than of conscience and religion by the other.

153. To extend this consideration of the form and circumstance of proceeding in cases of an unusual nature a little farther:—As it may be most behoveful for princes in matters of grace and honour, and in conferring of favours upon their people, to transact the same as publicly as may be, and by themselves, or their ministers, to dilate upon it, and improve the lustre by any addition, or eloquence of speech; (where, it may be, every kind word, especially from the prince himself, is looked upon as a new bounty;) so it is as requisite in matters of judgment, punishment, and censure, upon things or persons, (especially when the case, in the nature of it, is unusual, and the rules in judging as extraordinary,) that the same be transacted as privately, and with as little noise and pomp of words, as may be. For (as damage is much easier borne and submitted to by generous minds than disgrace) in the business of the ship-money, and in many other cases in the Star-chamber and at Council-board, there were many impertinencies, incongruities, and insolencies, in the speeches and orations of the judges, much more offensive and much more scandalous than the judgments and sentences themselves; besides that men's minds and understandings were more instructed to discern the consequence of things, which before they considered not. As, undoubtedly, my lord Finch's speech in the Exchequer-chamber made shipmoney much more abhorred and formidable than all the commitments by the Council-table and all the distresses taken by the shrieves in England; the major part of men (besides the common unconcernedness in other men's sufferings) looking upon those proceedings as a kind of applause to themselves, to see other men punished for not doing as they had done; which delight was quickly determined when they found their own interest by the unnecessary logic of that argument no less concluded than Mr. Hambden's.

154. And he hath been but an ill observer of the passages of those times we speak of who hath not seen many sober men, who have been clearly satisfied with the conveniency, necessity, and justice of many sentences, depart notwithstanding extremely offended and scandalized with the grounds, reasons, and expressions of those who inflicted those censures, when they found themselves, thinking to be only spectators of other men's sufferings, by some unnecessary influence or declaration in probable danger to become the next delinquent.

155. They who look back upon the Council-books of Queen Elizabeth, and the acts of the Star-chamber then, shall find as high instances of power and sovereignty upon the liberty and property of the subject as can be since given. But the art, order, and gravity of those proceedings (where short, severe, constant rules were set and smartly pursued, and the party only felt the weight of the judgment, not the passion of his judges) made them less taken notice of, and so less grievous to the public, though as intolerable to the person. Whereas, since those excellent rules of the Council-board were less observed, and debates (which ought to be in private, and in the absence of the party concerned, and thereupon the judgment of the

Table to be pronounced by one, without the interposition of others or reply of the party,) suffered to be public, questions to be asked, passions discovered, and opinions to be promiscuously delivered; all advice, directions, reprehensions, and censures of those places grew to be in less reverence and esteem; so that, (besides the delay and interruption in despatch,) the justice and prudence of the counsels did not many times weigh down the infirmity and passion of the counsellors, and both suitors and offenders returned into their country with such exceptions and arguments against persons as brought and prepared much prejudice to whatsoever should proceed from thence. And whatever excuses shall be made, or arguments given, that upon such extraordinary occasions there was a necessity of some pains and care to convince the understandings of men with the reasons and grounds of their proceeding, (which, if what was done had been only *ad informandam conscientiam*, without reproach or penalty, might have been reasonable,) it is certain the inconvenience and prejudice that grew thereby was greater than the benefit: and the reasons of the judges being many times not the reasons of the judgment, that might more satisfactorily and more shortly [have] been put in the sentence itself than spread in the discourses of the censurers.

156. These errors (for errors they were in view, and errors they are proved by the success) are not to be imputed to the Court, but to the spirit and over-activity of the lawyers themselves, who should more carefully have preserved their profession and the professors from being profaned to those services which have rendered both so obnoxious to reproach. There were two persons of that profession and of that time by whose several and distinct constitutions (the one knowing nothing of nor caring for the Court, the other knowing or caring for nothing else) those mischiefs were introduced; Mr. Noy, the Attorney-general; and sir John Finch, first, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England.

157. The first, upon the great fame of his ability and learning, (and very able and learned he was,) was by great industry and importunity from Court persuaded to accept that place for which all other men laboured, (being the best for profit that profession is capable of,) and so he suffered himself to be made the King's Attorney-general. The Court made no impression upon his manners; upon his mind it did: and though he wore about him an affected morosity which made him unapt to flatter other men, yet even that morosity and pride rendered him the most liable to be grossly flattered himself that can be imagined. And by this means the great persons who steered the public affairs, by admiring his parts and extolling his judgment as well to his face as behind his back, wrought upon him by degrees, for the eminency of the service, to be an instrument in all their designs; thinking that he could not give a clearer testimony that his knowledge in the law was greater than all other men's, than by making that law which all other men believed not to be so. So he moulded, framed, and pursued the odious and crying project of soap, and with his own hand drew and prepared the writ for ship-money, both which will be the lasting monuments of his fame. In a word, he was an unanswerable instance how necessary a good education and knowledge of men is to make a wise man, at least a man fit for business.

158. Sir John Finch had much that the other wanted, but nothing that the other had. Having led a licentious life in a restrained fortune, and having set up upon the stock of a good wit and natural parts, without the superstructure of much knowledge in the profession by which he was to grow, [he] was willing to use those weapons in which he had most skill; and so (being not unseen in the affections of the Court, but not having reputation enough to guide or reform them) he took up ship-money where Mr. Noy left it, and, being a judge, carried it up to that

pinnacle from whence he almost broke his own neck, having, in his journey thither, been too much a solicitor to induce his brethren to concur in a judgment they had all 1640 cause to repent. To which, his declaration after he was Keeper of the Great Seal of England must be added, upon a demurrer put in to a bill before him, which had no other equity in it than an order of the lords of the Council, that, 'whilst he was Keeper, no man should be so saucy to dispute those orders, but that the wisdom of that board should be always ground enough for him to make a decree in chancery;' which was so great an aggravation of the excess of that Table, that it received more, prejudice from that act of unreasonable countenance and respect than from all the contempt could possibly have been offered to it. But of this no more.

159. Now after all this (and I hope I cannot be accused of much flattery in this inquisition) I must be so just as to say, that, during the whole time that these pressures were exercised, and those new and extraordinary ways were run, that is, from the dissolution of the Parliament in the fourth year to the beginning of this Parliament, which was above twelve years, this kingdom, and all his majesty's dominions, (—of the interruption in Scotland somewhat shall be said in its due time and place—) enjoyed the greatest calm and the fullest measure of felicity that any people in any age for so long time together have been blessed with; to the wonder and envy of all the parts of Christendom.

160. And in this comparison I am neither unmindful of, nor ungrateful for, the happy times of Queen Elizabeth, or for those more happy under King James. But, for the former, the doubts, hazards, and perplexities upon a total change and alteration of religion, and some confident attempts upon a farther alteration by those who thought not the reformation enough; the charge, trouble, and anxiety of a long continued war (how prosperous and successful soever) even during that Queen's whole reign; and (besides some domestic ruptures into rebellion, frequently into treason, and besides the blemish of an unparalleled act of blood upon the life of a crowned neighbour, queen, and ally) the fear and apprehension of what was to come (which is one of the most unpleasant kinds of melancholy) from an unknown, at least an unacknowledged, successor to the crown; clouded much of that prosperity then which now shines with so much splendour before our eyes in chronicle.

161. And, for the other, under King James, (which indeed were excellent times *bona si sua norint*.) the mingling with a stranger nation, (formerly not very gracious with this,) which was like to have more interest of favour: the subjection to a stranger prince, whose nature and disposition they knew not: the noise of treason (the most prodigious that had ever been attempted) upon his first entrance into the kingdom: the wants of the Crown, not inferior to what it hath since felt, (I mean whilst it sat right on the head of the King,) and the pressures upon the subject of the same nature, and no less complained of: the absence of the Prince in Spain, and the solicitude that his highness might not be disposed in marriage to the daughter of that kingdom; rendered the calm and tranquillity of that time less equal and pleasant. To which may be added the prosperity and happiness of the neighbour kingdoms, not much inferior to that of this; which, according to the pulse of states, is a great diminution of their health; at least, their prosperity is much improved and more visible by the misery and misfortunes of their neighbours.

162. The happiness of the times I mentioned was enviously set off by this, that every other kingdom, every other province, were engaged, many entangled, and some almost destroyed, by the rage and fury of arms; those which were ambitiously in contention with their

neighbours having the view and apprehensions of the miseries and desolation which they saw other states suffer by a civil war; whilst alone the kingdoms we now lament were looked upon as the garden of the world; Scotland (which was but the wilderness of that garden) in a full, entire, undisturbed peace, which they had never seen; the rage and barbarism (that is, the blood, for of charity we speak not) of their private feuds being composed to the reverence or to the awe of public justice; in a competency, if not in an excess, of plenty, which they had never hope to see, and in a temper (which was the utmost we desired and hoped to see) free from rebellion: Ireland, which had been a sponge to draw, and a gulph to swallow, all that could be spared and all that could be got from England, merely to keep the reputation of a kingdom, reduced to that good degree of husbandry and government that it not only subsisted of itself and gave this kingdom all that it might have expected from it, but really increased the revenue of the Crown forty or fifty thousand pounds a year, besides much more to the people in the traffick and trade from thence; arts and sciences fruitfully planted there; and the whole nation beginning to be so civilized that it was a jewel of great lustre in the most royal diadem.

163. When these outworks were thus fortified and adorned, it was no wonder if England was generally thought secure, with the advantages of its own climate; the Court in great plenty, or rather (which is the discredit of plenty) excess and luxury; the country rich, and, which is more, fully enjoying the pleasure of its own wealth, and so the easier corrupted with the pride and wantonness of it; the Church flourishing with learned and extraordinary men, and (which other good times wanted) supplied with oil to feed those lamps; and the Protestant religion more advanced against the Church of Rome by writing, especially (without prejudice to other useful and godly labours) by those two books of the late lord archbishop of Canterbury his grace, and of Mr. Chillingworth, than it had been from the Reformation; trade increased to that degree, that we were the Exchange of Christendom, (the revenue thereof to the Crown being almost double to what it had been in the best times,) and the bullion of all other kingdoms was brought to receive a stamp from the Mint of England; all foreign merchants looking upon nothing as their own but what they laid up in the warehouses of this kingdom; the royal navy, in number and equipage much above former times, very formidable at sea, and the reputation of the greatness and power of the King much more with foreign princes than any of his progenitors; for those rough courses which made him haply¹ less loved at home made him more feared abroad, by how much the power of kingdoms is more revered than their justice by their neighbours: and it may be this consideration might not be the least motive, and may not be the worst excuse, for those counsels. Lastly, for a complement of all these blessings, they were enjoyed by and under the protection of a King of the most harmless disposition and the most exemplar piety, the greatest example of sobriety, chastity, and mercy, that any prince hath been endued with, (and God forgive those that have not been sensible of, and thankful for, those endowments,) and who might have said that which Pericles was proud of upon his deathbed, 'that no Englishman had ever worn black gown through his occasion.' In a word, many wise men thought it a time wherein those two unsociable adjuncts which Nerva was deified for uniting, *imperium et libertas*, were as well reconciled as is possible.

164. But all these blessings could but enable, not compel, us to be happy: we wanted that sense, acknowledgment, and value of our own happiness which all but we had, and took pains to make, when we could not find, ourselves miserable. There was in truth a strange absence of understanding in most, and a strange perverseness of understanding in the rest: the Court full of excess, idleness and luxury, and the country full of pride, mutiny and discontent; every man more troubled and perplexed at that they called the violation of one law, than delighted

or pleased with the observation of all the rest of the charter²: never imputing the increase of their receipts, revenue and plenty to the wisdom, virtue and merit of the Crown, but objecting every little trivial imposition to the exorbitancy and tyranny of the government; the growth of knowledge and learning being disrelished for the infirmities of some learned men, and the increase of grace and favour upon the Church more repined and murmured at than the increase of piety and devotion in the Church, which was as visible, acknowledged or taken notice of; whilst the indiscretion and folly of one sermon at Whitehall was more bruited abroad, and commented upon, than the wisdom, sobriety and devotion of a hundred.

165. It cannot be denied but there was sometimes preached there matter very unfit for the place, and very scandalous for the persons, who presumed often to determine things out of the verge of their own profession, and, *in ordine ad spiritualia*, gave unto Cæsar what Cæsar refused to receive as not belonging to him. But it is as true (as was once said by a man fitter to be believed in that point than I, and one not suspected for flattering of the clergy) that 'if the sermons of those times preached in Court were collected together and published, the world would receive the best bulk of orthodox divinity, profound learning, convincing reason, natural powerful eloquence, and admirable devotion, that hath been communicated in any age since the Apostles' time.' And I cannot but say, for the honour of the King and of those who were trusted by him in his ecclesiastical collations (who have received but sad rewards for their uprightness) in those reproached, condemned times, there was not one churchman in any degree of favour or acceptance, (and this the inquisition that hath been since made upon them—a stricter never was in any age—must confess,) of a scandalous insufficiency in learning, or of a more scandalous condition in life; but, on the contrary, most of them of confessed eminent parts in knowledge, and of virtuous or unblemished lives. And therefore wise men knew that that which looked like pride in some and like petulance in others would, by experience in affairs and conversation amongst men, both of which most of them wanted, be in time wrought off or in a new succession reformed, and so thought the vast advantage from their learning and integrity an ample recompense for any inconvenience from their passion; and yet by the prodigious impiety of those times the latter was only looked on with malice and revenge, without any reverence or gratitude for the former.

This extract comes from the Life, written in 1668-70, and also covers the 1630s, but focuses particularly on Archbishop Laud, the head of the English church, and his role in causing the outburst of discontent that emerged in 1640.

185. It was about the end of August in the year 1633 when the King returned from Scotland to Greenwich, where the Queen kept her Court; and the first accident of moment that happened after his coming thither was the death of Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury; who had sat too many years in that see, and had too great a jurisdiction over the Church, though he was without any credit in the Court from the death of King James, and had not much in many years before. He had been head or master of one of the poorest colleges in Oxford¹, and had learning sufficient for that province. He was a man of very morose manners and a very sour aspect, which in that time was called gravity; and under the opinion of that virtue, and by the recommendation of the earl of Dunbar, (the King's first Scotch favourite,) he was preferred by King James to the bishopric of Coventry and Litchfield, and presently after to London, before he had ever been parson, vicar, or curate of any parish-church in England, or dean or prebend of any cathedral church, and was in truth totally ignorant of the true constitution of the Church of England, and the state and interest of the clergy; as sufficiently appeared throughout the whole course of his life afterward.

186. He had scarce performed any part of the office of a bishop in the diocese of London when he was snatched from thence and promoted to Canterbury, upon the never enough lamented death of Dr. Bancroft, that metropolitan who understood, the Church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the hands of the Calvinian party, and very much subdued the unruly spirit of the Non-conformists, by and after the conference at Hampton Court; countenanced men of the greatest parts in learning, and disposed the clergy to a more solid course of study than they had been accustomed to; and if he had lived would quickly have extinguished all that fire in England which had been kindled at Geneva, or if he had been succeeded by bishop Andrewes, bishop Overall, or any man who understood and loved the Church, that infection would easily have been kept out which could not afterwards be so easily expelled.

187. But Abbot brought none of this antidote with him, and considered Christian religion no otherwise than as it abhorred and reviled Popery, and valued those men most who did that most furiously. For the strict observation of the discipline of the Church, or the conformity to the Articles or Canons established, he made little inquiry and took less care; and having himself made a very little progress in the ancient and solid study of divinity, he adhered wholly to the doctrine of Calvin, and, for his sake, did not think so ill of the discipline as be ought to have done, but if men prudently forbore a public reviling and railing at the hierarchy and ecclesiastical government, let their opinions and private practice be what it would, they were not only secure from any inquisition of his but acceptable to him, and at least equally preferred by him. And though many other bishops plainly discerned the mischiefs which daily brake in to the prejudice of religion by his defects and remissness, and prevented it in their own dioceses as much as they could, and gave all their countenance to men of other parts and other principles; and though the bishop of London (Dr. Laud) from the time of his authority and credit with the King had applied all the remedies he could to those defections, and from the time of his being Chancellor of Oxford had much discountenanced and almost suppressed that spirit by encouraging another kind of learning and practice in that university, which was indeed according to the doctrine of the Church of England; yet that temper in the archbishop, whose house was a sanctuary to the most eminent of that factious party, and who licensed their most pernicious writings, left his successor a very difficult work to do, to reform and reduce a Church into order that had been so long neglected, and that was so ill inhabited by many weak and more wilful churchmen.

188. It was within one week after the King's return from Scotland that Abbot died at his house at Lambeth. And the King took very little time to consider who should be his successor, but the very next time the bishop of London (who was longer upon his way home than the King had been) came to him, his majesty entertained him very cheerfully with this compellation, 'My lord's grace of Canterbury, you are very welcome,' and gave order the same day for the despatch of all the necessary forms for the translation: so that within a month or thereabouts after the death of the other archbishop he was completely invested in that high dignity, and settled in his palace at Lambeth. This great prelate had been before in great favour with the duke of Buckingham, whose great confidant he was, and by him. recommended to the King as fittest to be trusted in the conferring all ecclesiastical preferments, when he was but bishop of St. David's or newly preferred to Bath and Wells, and from that time he entirely governed that province without a rival; so that his promotion to Canterbury was long foreseen and expected, nor was it attended with any increase of envy or dislike.

189. He was a man of great parts, and very exemplar virtues, allayed and discredited by some unpopular natural infirmities; the greatest of which was (besides a hasty, sharp way of expressing himself,) that he believed innocence of heart and integrity of manners was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through this world, in what company soever he travelled and through what ways soever he was to pass: and sure never any man was better supplied with that provision. He was born of honest parents, who were well able to provide for his education in the schools of learning, from whence they sent him to St. John's college in Oxford, the worst endowed at that time of any in that famous university. From a scholar he became a fellow, and then the president of that college, after he had received all the graces and degrees, the proctorship and the doctorship, could be obtained there. He was always maligned and persecuted by those who were of the Calvinian faction, which was then very powerful, and who, according to their useful maxim and practice, call every man they do not love, Papist; and under this senseless appellation they created him many troubles and vexations, and so far suppressed him that, though he was the King's chaplain and taken notice of for an excellent preacher and a scholar of the most sublime parts, he had not any preferment to invite him to leave his poor college, which only gave him bread, till the vigour of his age was past: and when he was promoted by King James, it was but to a poor bishopric in Wales, which was not so good a support for a bishop as his college was for a private scholar, though a doctor.

190. Parliaments in that time were frequent, and grew very busy; and the party under which he had suffered a continual persecution appeared very powerful and full of design, and they who had the courage to oppose them began to be taken notice of with approbation and countenance: and under this style he came to be first cherished by the duke of Buckingham, after he had made some experiments of the temper and spirit of the other people, nothing to his satisfaction. From this time he prospered at the rate of his own wishes, and being transplanted out of his cold barren diocese of St. David's into a warmer climate, he was left, as was said before, by that omnipotent favourite in that great trust with the King, who was sufficiently indisposed towards the persons or the principles of Mr. Calvin's disciples.

191. When he came into great authority, it may be he retained too keen a memory of those who had so unjustly and uncharitably persecuted him before, and, I doubt, was so far transported with the same passions he had reason to complain of in his adversaries, that, as they accused him of Popery because he had some doctrinal opinions which they liked not, though they were nothing allied to Popery, so he entertained too much prejudice to some persons as if they were enemies to the discipline of the Church, because they concurred with Calvin in some doctrinal points, when they abhorred his discipline, and revered the government of the Church, and prayed for the peace of it with as much zeal and fervency as any in the kingdom; as they made manifest in their lives, and in their sufferings with it and for it. He had, from his first entrance into the world, without any disguise or dissimulation, declared his own opinion of that *classis* of men; and as soon as it was in his power he did all he could to hinder the growth and increase of that faction, and to restrain those who were inclined to it from doing the mischief they desired to do. But his power at Court could not enough qualify him to go through with that difficult reformation whilst he had a superior in the Church, who, having the reins in his hand, could slacken them according to his own humour and indiscretion, and was thought to be the more remiss to irritate his choleric disposition. But when he had now the primacy in his own hand, the King being inspired with the same zeal, he thought he should be to blame, and have much to answer, if he did not make haste to apply remedies to those diseases which he saw would grow apace.

192. In the end of September of the year 1633 he was invested in the title, power and jurisdiction of archbishop of Canterbury, and entirely in possession of the revenue thereof, without a rival in Church or State, that is, no man professed to oppose his greatness; and he had never interposed or appeared in matter of State to this time. His first care was that the place he was removed from might be supplied with a man who would be vigilant to pull up those weeds which the London soil was too apt to nourish, and so drew his old friend and companion Dr. Juxon as near to him as he could. They had been fellows together in one college in Oxford, and, when he was first made bishop of St. David's, he made him president of that college: when he could no longer keep the deanery of the chapel royal, he made him his successor in that near attendance upon the King: and now he was raised to be archbishop, he easily prevailed with the King to make the other bishop of London, before, or very soon after, he had been consecrated bishop of Hereford, if he were more than elect of that church¹.

193. It was now a time of great ease and tranquillity; the King (as hath been said before) had made himself superior to all those difficulties and straits he had to contend with the four first years he came to the crown at home, and was now revered by all his neighbours, who all needed his friendship and desired to have it; the wealth of the kingdom notorious to all the world, and the general temper and humour of it little inclined to the Papists and less to the Puritan. There were some late taxes and impositions introduced which rather angered than grieved the people, who were more than repaired by the quiet, peace and prosperity they enjoyed; and the murmur and discontent that was, appeared to be against the excess of power exercised by the Crown and supported by the judges in Westminster Hall. The Church was not repined at, nor the least inclination to alter the government and discipline thereof or to change the doctrine, nor was there at that time any considerable number of persons of any valuable condition throughout the kingdom who did wish either. And the cause of so prodigious a change in so few years after was too visible from the effects. The archbishop's heart was set upon the advancement of the Church, in which he well knew he had the King's full concurrence, which he thought would be too powerful for any opposition, and that he should need no other assistance.

194. Though the nation generally, as was said before, was without any ill talent to the Church, either in the point of the doctrine or the discipline, yet they were not without a jealousy that Popery was not enough discountenanced, and were very averse from admitting any thing they had not been used to, which they called *innovation*, and were easily persuaded that any thing of that kind was but to please the Papists. Some doctrinal points in controversy had been in the late years agitated in the pulpits with more warmth and reflections than had used to be; and thence the heat and animosity increased in books *pro* and *con* upon the same arguments: most of the popular preachers, who had not looked into the ancient learning, took Calvin's word for it, and did all they could to propagate his opinions in those points: they who had studied more, and were better versed in the antiquities of the Church, the Fathers, the Councils and the ecclesiastical histories, with the same heat and passion in preaching and writing, defended the contrary.

195. But because, in the late dispute in the Dutch churches, those opinions were supported by Jacobus Arminius, the divinity professor in the university of Leyden in Holland, the latter men we mentioned were called Arminians, though many of them had never read word written by Arminius. Either side defended and maintained their different opinions as the doctrine of the Church of England, as the two great orders in the Church of Rome, the Dominicans and

Franciscans, did at the same time, and had many hundred years before, with more vehemence and uncharitableness, maintained the same opinions one against the other; either party professing to adhere to the doctrine of the Catholic Church, which had been ever wiser than to determine the controversy. And yet that party here which could least support themselves with reason were very solicitous, according to the ingenuity they always practise to advance any of their pretences, to have the people believe that they who held with Arminius did intend to introduce Popery; and truly the other side was no less willing to have it thought that all who adhered to Calvin in those controversies did in their hearts adhere likewise to him with reference to the discipline, and desired to change the government of the Church, destroy the bishops, and so set up the discipline that he had established at Geneva. And so both sides found such reception generally with the people as they were inclined to the persons; whereas, in truth, none of the one side were at all inclined to Popery, and very many of the other were most affectionate to the peace and prosperity of the Church, and very pious and learned men.

196. The archbishop had all his life eminently opposed Calvin's doctrine in those controversies, before the name of Arminius was taken notice of or his opinions heard of; and thereupon, for want of another name, they had called him a Papist, which nobody believed him to be, and he had more manifested the contrary in his disputations and writings than most men had done; and it may be the other found the more severe and rigorous usage from him for their propagating that calumny against him. He was a man of great courage and resolution, and being most assured within himself that he proposed no end in all his actions or designs than what was pious and just, (as sure no man had ever a heart more entire to the King, the Church, or his country,) he never studied the best ways to those ends; he thought, it may be, that any art or industry that way would discredit, at least make the integrity of the end suspected. Let the cause be what it will, he did court persons too little; nor cared to make his designs and purposes appear as candid as they were by shewing them in any other dress than their own natural beauty and roughness; and did not consider enough what men said or were like to say of him. If the faults and vices were fit to be looked into and discovered, let the persons be who they would that were guilty of them, they were sure to find no connivance of favour from him. He intended the discipline of the Church should be felt, as well as spoken of, and that it should be applied to the greatest and most splendid transgressors, as well as to the punishment of smaller offences and meaner offenders; and thereupon called for or cherished the discovery of those who were not careful to cover their own iniquities, thinking they were above the reach of other men, or their power and will to chastise. Persons of honour and great quality, of the Court and of the country, were every day cited into the High Commission court, upon the fame of their incontinence, or other scandal in their lives, and were there prosecuted to their shame and punishment: and as the shame (which they called an insolent triumph upon their degree and quality, and levelling them with the common people) was never forgotten, but watched for revenge, so the fines imposed there were the more questioned and repined against because they were assigned to the rebuilding and repairing St. Paul's church, and thought therefore to be the more severely imposed, and the less compassionately reduced and excused; which likewise made the jurisdiction and rigour of the Star Chamber more felt and murmured against, which sharpened many men's humours against the bishops before they had any ill intention towards the Church.

197. There were three persons most notorious for their declared malice against the government of the Church by bishops in their several books and writings, which they had published to corrupt the people, with circumstances very scandalous and in language very scurrilous and impudent, which all men thought deserved very exemplary punishment. They

were of three several professions which had the most influence upon the people, a divine, a common lawyer, and a doctor of physic; neither of them of interest or any esteem with the worthy part of their several professions, having been formerly all looked upon under characters of reproach: yet when they were all sentenced, and for the execution of that sentence brought out to be punished as common and signal rogues, exposed upon scaffolds to have their ears cut off and their faces and foreheads branded with hot irons, as the poorest and most mechanic malefactors used to be when they were not able to redeem themselves by any fine for their trespasses or to satisfy any damages for the scandals they had raised against the good name and reputation of others, men began no more to consider their manners, but the men; and every profession, with anger and indignation enough, thought their education and degrees and quality would have secured them from such infamous judgments, and treasured up wrath for the time to come.

198. The remissness of Abbot, and of other bishops by his example, had introduced, or at least connived at, a negligence that gave great scandal to the Church, and no doubt offended very many pious men. The people took so little care of the churches, and the parsons as little of the chancels, that, instead of beautifying or adorning them in any degree, they rarely provided for their stability and against the very falling of very many of their churches; and suffered them, at least, to be kept so indecently and slovenly that they would not have endured it in the ordinary offices of their own houses; the rain and the wind to infest them, and the Sacraments themselves to be administered where the people had most mind to receive them. This profane liberty and uncleanness the archbishop resolved to reform with all expedition, requiring the other bishops to concur with him in so pious a work; and the work sure was very grateful to all men of devotion; yet, I know not how, the prosecution of it, with too much affectation of expense, it may be, or with too much passion between the minister and the parishioners, raised an evil spirit towards the Church, which the enemies of it took much advantage of as soon as they had opportunity to make the worst use of it.

199. The removing the Communion table out of the body of the church, where it had used to stand and used to be applied to all uses, and fixing it to one place in the upper end of the chancel, which frequently made the buying a new table to be necessary; the inclosing it with a rail of joiner's work, and thereby fencing it from the approach of dogs, and all servile uses; the obliging all persons to come up to those rails to receive the Sacrament; how acceptable soever to grave and intelligent persons who loved order and decency, (for acceptable it was to such,) yet introduced, first, murmurings amongst the people, upon the very charge and expense of it, and, if the minister were not a man of discretion and reputation to compose and reconcile those indispositions, (as too frequently he was not, and rather inflamed and increased the distemper,) it begat suits and appeals at law. The opinion that there was no necessity of doing any thing, and the complaint that there was too much done, brought the power and jurisdiction to impose the doing of it to be called in question, contradicted, and opposed. Then the manner and gesture and posture in the celebration of it brought in new disputes, and administered new subjects of offence, according to the custom of the place and humour of the people; and those disputes brought in new words and terms (*altar*, and *adoration*, and *genuflexion*, and other expressions) for the more perspicuous carrying on those disputations; new books were written for and against this new practice, with the same earnestness and contention for victory as if the life of Christianity had been at stake. There was not an equal concurrence in the prosecution of this matter amongst the bishops themselves; some of them proceeding more remissly in it, and some not only neglecting to direct any thing to be done towards it, but restraining those who had a mind to it from

meddling in it. And this again produced as inconvenient disputes, when the subordinate clergy would take upon them not only without the direction of, but expressly against, the diocesan's injunctions, to make those alterations and reformatations themselves, and by their own authority.

200. The archbishop, guided purely by his zeal and reverence for the place of God's service, and by the canons and injunctions of the Church, with the custom observed in the King's chapel and in most cathedral churches, without considering the long intermission and discontinuance in many other places, prosecuted this affair more passionately than was fit for the season, and had prejudice against those who, out of fear or foresight or not understanding the thing, had not the same warmth to promote it. The bishops who had been preferred by his favour, or hoped to be so, were at least as solicitous to bring it to pass in their several dioceses, and some of them with more passion and less circumspection than they had his example for or than he approved; prosecuting those who opposed them very fiercely, and sometimes unwarrantably, which was kept in remembrance. Whilst other bishops, not so many in number or so valuable in weight, who had not been beholding to [him]¹ nor had hope of being so, were enough contented to give perfunctory orders for the doing it and to see the execution of those orders not intended, and not the less pleased to find that the prejudice of that whole transaction reflected solely upon the archbishop.

201. The bishop of Lincoln (Williams) who had been heretofore Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, and the most generally abominated whilst he had been so, was, since his disgrace at Court and prosecution from thence, become very popular; and having faults enough to be ashamed of, the punishment whereof threatened him every day, he was very willing to change the scene, and to be brought upon the stage for opposing these *innovations* (as he called them) in religion. It was an unlucky word, and cozened very many honest men into apprehensions very prejudicial to the King and to the Church. He published a discourse and treatise against the matter and manner of the prosecution of that matter¹; a book **1637** so full of good learning, and that learning so close and solidly applied, (though it abounded with too many light expressions,) that it gained him reputation enough to be able to do hurt, and shewed that in his retirement he had spent his time with his books very profitably. He used all the wit and all the malice he could to awaken the people to a jealousy of these agitations and innovations in the exercise of religion; not without insinuations that it aimed at greater alterations, for which he knew the people would quickly find a name; and he was ambitious to have it believed that the archbishop was his greatest enemy for his having constantly opposed his rising to any government in the Church, as a man whose hot and hasty spirit he had long known.

202. Though there were other books written with good learning, and which sufficiently answered the bishop's book, and to men of equal and dispassionate inclinations fully vindicated the proceedings which had been and were still very fervently carried on, yet it was done by men whose names were not much revered by many men, and who were taken notice of with great insolence and asperity to undertake the defence of all things which the people generally were displeased with, and who did not affect to be much cared for by those of their own order. So that from this unhappy subject, not in itself of that important value to be either entered upon with that resolution or to be carried on with that passion, proceeded upon the matter a schism among the bishops themselves, and a world of uncharitableness in the learned and moderate clergy towards one another: which, though it could not increase the malice, added very much to the ability and power of the enemies of the Church to do it hurt,

and added to the number of them. For, without doubt, many who loved the established government of the Church and the exercise of religion as it was used, and desired not a change in either, nor did dislike the order and decency which they saw mended, yet they liked not any novelties, and so were liable to entertain jealousies that more was intended than was hitherto proposed; especially when those infusions proceeded from men unsuspected to have any inclinations to change, and from known assertors of the government both in Church and State. They did observe the inferior clergy took more upon them than they had used to do, and did not live towards their neighbours of quality or their patrons themselves with that civility and condescension they had used to do; which disposed them likewise to a withdrawing their good countenance and good neighbourhood from them.

BOOK III.

This extract describes the opening months of the Long Parliament, during which the political crisis slowly unfolded, and particularly focuses on the tactics of the opposition to the king. It comes from the Life, and was therefore written in 1668-70.

1. The Parliament met upon the third of November, 1640, with a fuller appearance than could be reasonably expected from the short time for elections after the issuing out of the writs. Insomuch as at the first many members were absent, it had a sad and a melancholic aspect upon the first entrance, which presaged some unusual and unnatural events. The King himself did not ride with his accustomed equipage nor in his usual majesty to Westminster, but went privately in his barge to the Parliament-stairs, and so to the church, as if it had been to a return of a prorogued or adjourned Parliament. And there was likewise an untoward, and in truth an unheard of, accident, which brake many of the King's measures, and infinitely disordered his service beyond a capacity of reparation. From the time the calling a Parliament was resolved upon, the King designed sir Thomas Gardiner, who was Recorder of London, to be Speaker in the House of Commons; a man of gravity and quickness, that had somewhat of authority and gracefulness in his person and presence, and in all respects equal to the service. There was little doubt but that he would be chosen to serve in one of the four places for the city of London, which had very rarely rejected their Recorder upon that occasion; and lest that should fail, diligence was used in one or two other places that he might be elected. The opposition was so great, and the faction so strong, to hinder his being elected in the city, that four others were chosen for that service, without hardly mentioning his name, nor was there less industry used to prevent his being chosen in other places; clerks were corrupted not to make out the writ for one place, and ways were found to hinder the writ from being executed in another time enough for the return before the meeting: so great a fear there was that a man of entire affections to the King, and of prudence enough to manage those affections, and to regulate the contrary, should be put into that chair. So that the very morning the Parliament was to meet, and when the King intended to go thither, he was informed that sir Thomas Gardiner was not returned to serve as a member in the House of Commons, and so was not capable of being chosen to be Speaker; so that his majesty deferred his going to the House till the afternoon, by which time he was to think of another Speaker.

2. Upon the perusal of all the returns into the Crown Office, there were not found many lawyers of eminent name, (though many of them proved very eminent men afterwards,) or

who had served long in former Parliaments, the experience whereof was to be wished; and men of that profession had been always thought the most proper for that service, and the putting it out of that channel at that time was thought too hazardous; so that, after all the deliberation that time would admit, Mr. Lenthall, (a bencher of Lincoln's Inn,) a lawyer of competent practice, and no ill reputation for his affection to the government both of Church and State, was pitched upon by the King, and with very great difficulty rather prevailed with than persuaded to accept the charge. And no doubt a worse could not have been deputed of all that profession who were then returned; for he was a man of a very narrow timorous nature, and of no experience or conversation in the affairs of the kingdom, beyond what the very drudgery in his profession (in which all his design was to make himself rich) engaged him in. In a word, he was in all respects very unequal to the work; and not knowing how to preserve his own dignity, or to restrain the license and exorbitance of others, his weakness contributed as much to the growing mischiefs as the malice of the principal contrivers. However, after the King had that afternoon commended the distracted condition of the kingdom, with too little majesty, to the wisdom of the two Houses of Parliament, to have such reformation and remedies applied as they should think fit, proposing to them as the best rule for their counsels that all things should be reduced to the practice of the time of Queen Elizabeth, the House of Commons no sooner returned to their house than they chose Mr. Lenthall to be their Speaker; and two days after, with the usual ceremonies and circumstances, presented him to the King, who declared his acceptance; and so both Houses were ready for their work.

3. There was observed a marvellous elated countenance in most of the members of Parliament before they met together in the house; the same men who six months before were observed to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied without opening the wound too wide and exposing it to the air, and rather to cure what was amiss than too strictly to make inquisition into the causes and original of the malady, talked now in another dialect both of things and persons. Mr. Hyde, who was returned to serve for a borough in Cornwall¹, met Mr. Pimm [Pym] in Westminster Hall some few days before the Parliament, and conferring together upon the state of affairs, the other told him, [Hyde,] and said, 'that they must now be of another temper than they were the last Parliament; that they must not only sweep the house clean below, but must pull down all the cobwebs which hung in the top and corners, that they might not breed dust and so make a foul house hereafter; that they had now an opportunity to make their country happy, by removing all grievances and pulling up the causes of them by the roots, if all men would do their duties;' and used much other sharp discourse to him to the same purpose: by which it was discerned that the warmest and boldest counsels and overtures would find a much better reception than those of a more temperate ally; which fell out accordingly. And the very first day they met together in which they could enter upon business, Mr. Pimm, in a long, formed discourse, lamented the miserable state and condition of the kingdom, aggravated all the particulars which had been done amiss in the government as done and contrived maliciously, and upon deliberation, to change the whole frame, and to deprive the nation of all the liberty and property which was their birthright by the laws of the land, which were now no more considered, but subjected to the arbitrary power of the Privy-Council, which governed the kingdom according to their will and pleasure; these calamities falling upon us in the reign of a pious and virtuous King, who loved his people and was a great lover of justice. And thereupon enlarging in some specious commendation of the nature and goodness of the King, that he might wound him with less suspicion, he said, 'We must inquire from what fountain these waters of bitterness flowed; what persons they were who had so far insinuated themselves into his royal affections as to be able to pervert his excellent judgment, to abuse his name, and wickedly apply his authority to countenance and support their own corrupt designs. Though he doubted there would be

many found of this *classis*, who had contributed their joint endeavours to bring this misery upon the nation, yet he believed there was one more signal in that administration than the rest, being a man of great parts and contrivance, and of great industry to bring what he designed to pass; a man who in the memory of many present had sat in that house an earnest vindicator of the laws, and a most zealous assertor and champion for the liberties of the people; but that it was long since he turned apostate from those good affections, and, according to the custom and nature of apostates, was become the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country, and the greatest promoter of tyranny, that any age had produced;' and then named 'the earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and Lord President of the Council established in York for the northern parts of the kingdom: who,' he said, 'had in both places, and in all other provinces wherein his service had been used by the King, raised ample monuments of his tyrannical nature: and that he believed, if they took a short survey of his actions and behaviour, they would find him the principal author and promoter of all those counsels which had exposed the kingdom to so much ruin;' and so instanced some high and imperious actions done by him in England and in Ireland, some proud and over-confident expressions in discourse, and some passionate advices he had given in the most secret councils and debates of the affairs of state; adding some lighter passages of his vanity and amours, that they who were not inflamed with anger and detestation against him for the former might have less esteem and reverence for his prudence and discretion: and so concluded, 'that they would well consider how to provide a remedy proportionable to the disease, and to prevent the farther mischiefs which they were to expect from the continuance of this great man's power and credit with the King and his influence upon his councils.'

4. From the time that the earl of Strafford was named most men believed that there would be some committee named to receive information of all his miscarriages, and that upon report thereof they would farther consider what course to take in the examination and prosecution thereof: but they had already prepared and digested their business to a riper period.

5. Mr. Pimm had no sooner finished his discourse, than sir John Clotworthy (a gentleman of Ireland, and utterly unknown in England, who was by the contrivance and recommendation of some powerful persons returned to serve for a borough in Devon¹, that so he might be enabled to act this part against the Lord Lieutenant) made a long and confused relation of his tyrannical carriage in that kingdom; of the army he had raised there to invade Scotland; how he had threatened the Parliament if they granted not such supplies as he required; of an oath he had framed to be administered to all the Scots' nation which inhabited that kingdom, and his severe proceeding against some persons of quality who refused to take that oath; and that he had with great pride and passion publicly declared at his leaving that kingdom, 'If ever he should return to that sword he would not leave a Scotchman to inhabit in Ireland:' with a multitude of very exalted expressions, and some very high actions, in his administration of that government, in which the lives as well as the fortunes of men had been disposed of out of the common road of justice: all which made him to be looked upon as a man very terrible, and under whose authority men would not choose to put themselves.

6. Several other persons appearing ready to continue the discourse, and the morning being spent, so that, according to the observation of parliament hours, the time of rising being come, an order was suddenly made that the door should be shut, and nobody suffered to go out of the house; which had been rarely practised: care having been first taken to give such advertisement to some of the Lords that that House might likewise be kept from rising; which would very much have broken their measures.

7. Then sir John Hotham, and some other Yorkshire men who had received some disobligation from the earl in the country, continued the invective, mentioning many particulars of his imperious carriage, and that he had, in the face of the country, upon the execution of some illegal commission, declared, that they should find the little finger of the King's prerogative heavier upon them than the loins of the law;' which expression, though upon after-examination it was found to have a quite contrary sense, marvellously increased the passion and prejudice towards him.

8. In conclusion, after many hours of bitter inveighing, and ripping up the course of his life before his coming to Court and his actions after, it was moved, according to the secret resolution taken before, 'that he might be forthwith impeached of high treason ;' which was no sooner mentioned than it found an universal approbation and consent from the whole: nor was there in the whole debate one person who offered to stop the torrent by any favourable testimony concerning the earl's carriage, save only that the lord Falkland, who was very well known to be far from having any kindness for him, when the proposition was made for the present accusing him of high treason, modestly desired the House to consider, 'Whether it would not suit better with the gravity of their proceedings first to digest many of those particulars which had been mentioned, by a committee?' declaring himself to be abundantly satisfied that there was enough to charge him before they sent up to accuse him: which was very ingenuously and frankly answered by Mr. Pymm, 'That such a delay might probably blast all their hopes, and put it out of their power to proceed farther than they had done already; that the earl's power and credit with the King, and with all those who had most credit with King or Queen, was so great, that when he should come to know that so much of his wickedness was discovered his own conscience would tell him what he was to expect, and therefore he would undoubtedly procure the Parliament to be dissolved rather than undergo the justice of it, or take some other desperate course to preserve himself, though with the hazard of the kingdom's ruin: whereas, if they presently sent up to impeach him of high treason before the House of Peers, in the name and on the behalf of all the Commons of England, who were represented by them, the Lords would be obliged in justice to commit him into safe custody, and so sequester him from resorting to Council or having access to his majesty: and then they should proceed against him in the usual form with all necessary expedition.'

9. To those who were known to have no kindness for him, and seemed to doubt whether all the particulars alleged, being proved, would amount to high treason, it was alleged that the House of Commons were not judges but only accusers, and that the Lords were the proper judges whether such a complication of enormous crimes in one person did not amount to the highest offence the law took notice of, and therefore that it was fit to present it to them. These reasons of the haste they made, so clearly delivered, gave that universal satisfaction, that, without farther considering the injustice and unreasonableness of it, they voted unanimously, (for aught appeared to the contrary by any avowed contradiction,) 'That they would forthwith send up to the Lords and accuse the earl of Strafford of high treason and several other crimes and misdemeanours, and desire that he might be presently sequestered from Council, and committed to safe custody;' and Mr. Pimm was made choice of for the messenger to perform that office. And this being determined, the doors were opened, and most of the House accompanied him on the errand.

10. It was about three of the clock in the afternoon, when the earl of Strafford, (being infirm and not well disposed in his health, and so not having stirred out of his house that morning.) hearing that both Houses still sat, thought fit to go thither. It was believed by some (upon what ground was never clear enough) that he made that haste then to accuse the lord Say and some others of having induced the Scots to invade the kingdom: but he was scarce entered into the House of Peers when the message from the House of Commons was called in, and when Mr. Pymm at the bar, and in the name of all the Commons of England, impeached Thomas earl of Strafford (with the addition of all his other titles) of high treason and several other heinous crimes and misdemeanours, of which, he said, the Commons would in due time make proof in form; and in the mean time desired in their name, that he might be sequestered from all councils and be put into safe custody; and so withdrawing, the earl was, with more clamour than was suitable to the gravity of that supreme court, called upon to withdraw, hardly obtaining leave to be first heard in his place, which could not be denied him.

11. And he then lamented his great misfortune to lie under so heavy a charge; professed his innocence and integrity, which he made no doubt he should make appear to them; desired he might have his liberty until some guilt should be made appear; and desired them to consider what mischief they should bring upon themselves, if upon such a general charge, without the mention of any one crime, a peer of the realm should be committed to prison, and so deprived of his place in that House where he was summoned by the King's writ to assist in the council, and of what consequence such a precedent might be to their own privilege and birthright; and then withdrew. And with very little debate the Peers resolved that he should be committed to the custody of the gentleman usher of the Black Rod, there to remain until the House of Commons should bring in a particular charge against him: which determination of the House was pronounced to him at the bar upon his knees by the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal upon the woolsack: and so being taken away by Maxwell, gentleman usher, Mr. Pymm was called in and informed what the House had done; after which (it being then about four of the clock) both Houses adjourned till the next day.

12. When this work was so prosperously over they began to consider that, notwithstanding all the industry that had been used to procure such members to be chosen, or returned though not chosen, who had been most refractory to the government of the Church and State, yet that the House was so constituted that when the first heat (which almost all men brought with them) should be a little allayed, violent counsels would not be long hearkened to: and therefore, as they took great care by their committee of elections to remove as many of those members as they suspected not to be inclinable to their passions upon pretence that they were not regularly chosen, that so they might bring in others more compilable in their places; (in which no rule of justice was so much as pretended to be observed by them, insomuch as it was often said by leading men amongst them, 'That they ought in those cases of elections to be guided by the fitness and worthiness of the person, whatever the desire of those was in whom the right of election remained;') and therefore one man hath been admitted upon the same rule by which another hath been rejected:) so they Nov. 9. declared, that no person, how lawfully and regularly soever chosen and returned, should be and sit as a member with them, who had been a party or a favourer of any project, or who had been employed in any illegal commission.

13. And by this means (contrary to the custom and rights of Parliament) many gentlemen of good quality were removed, in whose places commonly others were chosen of more

agreeable dispositions: but in this likewise there was no rule observed; for no person was hereby removed of whom there was any hope that he might be applied to the violent courses which were intended. Upon which occasion the King charged them in one of his Declarations that when under that notion of projectors they expelled many, they yet never questioned sir H. Mildmay, or Mr. Laurence Whitaker, who had been most scandalously pg 229engaged in those pressures, though since more scandalously in all enterprises against his majesty; to which never any answer or reply was made.

14. The next art was to make the severity and rigour of the House as formidable as was possible, and to make as many men apprehend themselves obnoxious to the House as had been in any trust or employment in the kingdom. Thus they passed many general votes concerning ship-money, in which all who had been high sheriffs, and so collected it, were highly concerned; the like sharp conclusions upon all lords lieutenants and their deputies, which were the prime gentlemen of quality in all the counties of England. Then upon some disquisition of the proceedings in the Star-Chamber and at the Council-table, all who concurred in such a sentence, and consented to such an order, were declared criminous and to be proceeded against. So that, in a moment, all the lords of the Council, all who had been deputy lieutenants or high sheriffs during the late years, found themselves within the mercy of these grand inquisitors: and hearing new terms of art, that a complication of several misdemeanours might grow up to treason, and the like, it was no wonder if men desired by all means to get their favour and protection.

BOOK VII

Jumping forward to September 1643, as the war between the King and Parliament is now underway, this famous passage describes the aftermath of the Battle of Newbury, an inconclusive engagement in which the Parliamentary General, the Earl of Essex, and the King could both claim a victory. But for Clarendon the most significant fact about it was the death of his friend, Lucius Carey, Viscount Falkland. This comes from the History, written in around 1647.

214. The earl of Essex was received at London with all imaginable demonstrations of affection and reverence; public and solemn thanksgiving was appointed for his victory, for such they made no scruple to declare it. Without doubt, the action was performed by him with incomparable conduct and courage, in every part whereof very much was to be imputed to his own personal virtue, and it may be well reckoned amongst the most soldierly actions of this unhappy war. For he did the business he undertook, and after the relief of Gloster his next care was to retire with his army to London; which, considering the length of the way and the difficulties he was to contend with, he did with less loss than could be expected. On the other side, the King was not without some signs of a victory. He had followed, and compelled the enemy to fight, by overtaking him, when he desired to avoid it; he had the spoil of the field, and pursued the enemy the next day after the battle, and had a good execution upon them without receiving any loss; and, (which seemed to crown the work,) fixed a garrison again at Reading, and thereby straitened their quarters as much as [they were] in the beginning of the year, his own being enlarged by the almost entire conquest of the west, and his army much stronger in horse and foot than when he first took the field. On which side soever the marks and public ensigns of victory appeared most conspicuous, certain it is, that, according to the unequal fate that attended all skirmishes and conflicts with such an adversary, the loss on the King's side was in weight much more considerable and penetrating; for whilst some obscure,

unheard of, colonel or officer was missing on the enemy's side, as some citizen's wife bewailed the loss of her husband, there were above twenty officers of the field and persons of honour and public name slain upon the place, and more of the same quality hurt.

215. Here fell the earl of Sunderland, a lord of a great fortune, tender years, (being not above three and twenty years of age,) and an early judgment; who, having no command in the army, attended upon the King's person under the obligation of honour; and putting himself that day into the King's troop a volunteer, before they came to charge was taken away by a cannon bullet.

216. This day fell the earl of Carnarvon, who, after he had charged and routed a body of the enemy's horse, coming carelessly back by some of the scattered troopers, was by one of them, who knew him, run through the body with a sword, of which he died within an hour. He was a person with whose great parts and virtue the world was not enough acquainted. Before the war, though his education was adorned by travel, and an exact observation of the manners of more nations than our common travellers used to visit, (for he had, after the view of Spain, France, and most parts of Italy, spent some time in Turkey and those eastern countries,) he seemed to be wholly delighted with those looser exercises of pleasure, hunting, hawking, and the like; in which the nobility of that time too much delighted to excel. After the troubles began, having the command of the first or second regiment of horse that was raised for the King's service, he wholly gave himself up to the office and duty of a soldier, no man more diligently obeying or more dexterously commanding; for he was not only of a very keen courage in the exposing his person, but an excellent discerner and pursuer of advantage upon his enemy, and had a mind and understanding very present in the article of danger, which is a rare benefit in that profession. Those infirmities and that license which he had formerly indulged to himself he put off with severity, when others thought them excusable under the notion of a soldier. He was a great lover of justice, and practised it then most deliberately when he had power to do wrong; and so strict in the observation of his word and promise as a commander, that he could not be persuaded to stay in the west when he found it not in his power to perform the agreement he had made with Dorchester and Waymoth. If he had lived, he would have proved a great ornament to that profession and an excellent soldier, and by his death the King found a sensible weakness in his army.

217. But I must here take leave a little longer to discontinue this narration; and if the celebrating the memory of eminent and extraordinary persons, and transmitting their great virtues for the imitation of posterity, be one of the principal ends and duties of history, it will not be thought impertinent in this place to remember a loss which no time will suffer to be forgotten, and no success or good fortune could repair. In this unhappy battle was slain the lord viscount Falkland: a person of such prodigious parts of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity.

Turpe mori, post te, solo non posse dolore.

218. Before this Parliament his condition of life was so happy that it was hardly capable of improvement. Before he came to twenty years of age he was master of a noble fortune, which

descended to him by the gift of a grandfather, without passing through his father or mother, who were then both alive, and not well enough contented to find themselves passed by in the descent. His education for some years had been in Ireland, where his father was Lord Deputy; so that when he returned into England to the possession of his fortune, he was unentangled with any acquaintance or friends, which usually grow up by the custom of conversation, and therefore was to make a pure election of his company, which he chose by other rules than were prescribed to the young nobility of that time. And it cannot be denied, though he admitted some few to his friendship for the agreeableness of their natures and their undoubted affection to him, that his familiarity and friendship for the most part was with men of the most eminent and sublime parts, and of untouched reputation in point of integrity; and such men had a title to his bosom.

219. He was a great cherisher of wit and fancy and good parts in any man, and, if he found them clouded with poverty or want, a most liberal and bountiful patron towards them, even above his fortune; of which in those administrations he was such a dispenser as if he had been trusted with it to such uses, and if there had been the least of vice in his expense he might have been thought too prodigal. He was constant and pertinacious in whatsoever he resolved to do, and not to be wearied by any pains that were necessary to that end. And therefore, having once resolved not to see London (which he loved above all places) till he had perfectly learned the Greek tongue, he went to his own house in the country, and pursued it with that indefatigable industry that it will not be believed in how short a time he was master of it, and accurately read all the Greek historians.

220. In this time, his house being within ten miles of Oxford, he contracted familiarity and friendship with the most polite and accurate men of that university; who found such an immenseness of wit and such a solidity of judgment in him, so infinite a fancy bound in by a most logical ratiocination, such a vast knowledge that he was not ignorant in any thing, yet such an excessive humility as if he had known nothing, that they frequently resorted and dwelt with him, as in a college situated in a purer air; so that his house was a university bound in a lesser volume, whither they came not so much for repose as study, and to examine and refine those grosser propositions which laziness and consent made current in vulgar conversation.

221. Many attempts were made upon him by the instigation of his mother (who was a lady of another persuasion in religion, and of a most masculine understanding, allayed with the passion and infirmities of her own sex) to pervert him in his piety to the Church of England, and to reconcile him to that of Rome; which they prosecuted with the more confidence, because he declined no opportunity or occasion of conference with those of that religion, whether priests or laics, having diligently studied the controversies, and exactly read all or the choicest of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and having a memory so stupendous that he remembered on all occasions whatsoever he read. And he was so great an enemy to that passion and uncharitableness which he saw produced by difference of opinion in matters of religion, that in all those disputations with priests and others of the Roman Church he affected to manifest all possible civility to their persons, and estimation of their parts; which made them retain still some hope of his reduction, even when they had given over offering farther reasons to him to that purpose. But this charity towards them was much lessened, and any correspondence with them quite declined, when by sinister arts they had corrupted his two younger brothers, being both children, and stolen them from his house and transported them beyond seas, and perverted his sisters: upon which occasion he writ two large

discourses against the principal positions of that religion, with that sharpness of style and full weight of reason that the Church is deprived of great jewels in the concealment of them, and that they are not published to the world.

222. He was superior to all those passions and affections which attend vulgar minds, and was guilty of no other ambition than of knowledge, and to be reputed a lover of all good men; and that made him too much a contemner of those arts, which must be indulged in the transactions of human affairs. In the last short Parliament he was a burges in the House of Commons; and from the debates, which were then managed with all imaginable gravity and sobriety, he contracted such a reverence to parliaments that he thought it really impossible that they could ever produce mischief or inconvenience to the kingdom, or that the kingdom could be tolerably happy in the intermission of them. And from the unhappy and unseasonable dissolution of that convention, he harboured, it may be, some jealousy and prejudice of the Court, towards which he was not before immoderately inclined; his father having wasted a full fortune there in those offices and employments by which other men use to obtain a greater. He was chosen again this Parliament to serve in the same place, and in the beginning of it declared himself very sharply and severely against those exorbitancies which had been most grievous to the State; for he was so rigid an observer of established laws and rules that he could not endure the least breach or deviation from them, and thought no mischief so intolerable as the presumption of ministers of state to break positive rules for reason of state, or judges to transgress known laws upon the title of conveniency or necessity; which made him so severe against the earl of Strafford and the lord Finch, contrary to his natural gentleness and temper: insomuch as they who did not know his composition to be as free from revenge as it was from pride, thought that the sharpness to the former might proceed from the memory of some unkindnesses, not without a mixture of injustice, from him towards his father. But without doubt he was free from those temptations, and was only misled by the authority of those who he believed understood the laws perfectly, of which himself was utterly ignorant; and if the assumption, which was scarce controverted, had been true, that an endeavour to overthrow the fundamental laws of the kingdom had been treason, a strict understanding might make reasonable conclusions, to satisfy his own judgment, from the exorbitant parts of their several charges.

223. The great opinion he had of the uprightness and integrity of those persons who appeared most active, especially of Mr. Hambden, kept him longer from suspecting any design against the peace of the kingdom; and though he differed commonly from them in conclusions, he believed long their purposes were honest. When he grew better informed what was law, and discerned a desire to control that law by a vote of one or both Houses, no man more opposed those attempts, and gave the adverse party more trouble, by reason and argumentation; insomuch as he was, by degrees, looked upon as an advocate for the Court, to which he contributed so little, that he declined those addresses, and even those invitations, which he was obliged almost by civility to entertain. And he was so jealous of the least imagination that he should incline to preferment, that he affected even a morosity to the Court and to the courtiers; and left nothing undone which might prevent and divert the King's or Queen's favour towards him, but the deserving it. For when the King sent for him once or twice to speak with him, and to give him thanks for his excellent comportment in those councils, which his majesty graciously termed doing him service, his answers were more negligent and less satisfactory than might be expected; as if he cared only that his actions should be just, not that they should be acceptable, and that his majesty should think that they proceeded only from the impulsion of conscience, without any sympathy in his affections;

which from a stoical and sullen nature might not have been misinterpreted, yet from a person of so perfect a habit of generous and obsequious compliance with all good men might very well have been interpreted by the King as more than an ordinary averseness to his service: so that he took more pains, and more forced his nature to actions unagreeable and unpleasant to it, that he might not be thought to incline to the Court, than any man hath done to procure an office there. And if anything but not doing his duty could have kept him from receiving a testimony of the King's grace and trust at that time, he had not been called to his Council; not that he was in truth averse to the Court or from receiving public employment; for he had a great devotion to the King's person, and had before used some small endeavour to be recommended to him for a foreign negotiation, and had once a desire to be sent ambassador into France; but he abhorred an imagination or doubt should sink into the thoughts of any man that, in the discharge of his trust and duty in Parliament, he had any bias to the Court, or that the King himself should apprehend that he looked for a reward for being honest.

224. For this reason, when he heard it first whispered that the King had a purpose to make him a councillor, for which in the beginning there was no other ground but because he was known sufficient, (*haud semper errat fama, aliquando et elegit*¹;) he resolved to decline it, and at last suffered himself only to be overruled by the advice and persuasions of his friends to submit to it. Afterwards, when he found that the King intended to make him his Secretary of State, he was positive to refuse it; declaring to his friends that he was most unfit for it, and that he must either do that which would be great disquiet to his own nature, or leave that undone which was most necessary to be done by one that was honoured with that place, for that the most just and honest men did every day that which he could not give himself leave to do. And indeed he was so exact and strict an observer of justice and truth, *ad amussim*, that he believed those necessary condescensions and applications to the weakness of other men, and those arts and insinuations which are necessary for discoveries and prevention of ill, would be in him a declension from the rule which he acknowledged fit and absolutely necessary to be practised in those employments; and was so precise in the practick principles he prescribed to himself, (to all others he was as indulgent,) as if he had lived *in republica Platonis, non in fæce Romuli*.

225. Two reasons prevailed with him to receive the seals, and but for those he had resolutely avoided them. The first, the consideration that it [*sc.* his avoiding them] might bring some blemish upon the King's affairs, and that men would have believed that he had refused so great an honour and trust because he must have been with it obliged to do somewhat else not justifiable. And this he made matter of conscience, since he knew the King made choice of him before other men especially because he thought him more honest than other men. The other was, lest he might be thought to avoid it out of fear to do an ungracious thing to the House of Commons, who were sorely troubled at the displacing sir Harry Vane, whom they looked upon as removed for having done them those offices they stood in need of; and the disdain of so popular an incumbrance wrought upon him next to the other. For as he had a full appetite of fame by just and generous actions, so he had an equal contempt of it by any servile expedients: and he so much the more consented to and approved the justice upon sir Harry Vane, in his own private judgment, by how much he surpassed most men in the religious observation of a trust, the violation whereof he would not admit of any excuse for.

226. For these reasons, he submitted to the King's command, and became his Secretary, with as humble and devout an acknowledgment of the greatness of the obligation as could be

expressed, and as true a sense of it in his heart. Yet two things he could never bring himself to whilst he continued in that office, that was, to his death; for which he was contented to be reproached, as for omissions in a most necessary part of his place. The one, employing of spies, or giving any countenance or entertainment to them; I do not mean such emissaries as with danger would venture to view the enemy's camp, and bring intelligence of their number or quartering, or such generals as such an observation can comprehend, but those who by communication of guilt or dissimulation of manners wound themselves into such trusts and secrets as enabled them to make discoveries for the benefit of the State. The other, the liberty of opening letters upon a suspicion that they might contain matter of dangerous consequence. For the first, he would say, such instruments must be void of all ingenuity and common honesty before they could be of use, and afterwards they could never be fit to be credited; and that no single preservation could be worth so general a wound and corruption of human society as the cherishing such persons would carry with it. The last, he thought such a violation of the law of nature that no qualification by office could justify a single person in the trespass; and though he was convinced by the necessity and iniquity of the time that those advantages of information were not to be declined, and were necessarily to be practised, he found means to shift it from himself, when he confessed he needed excuse and pardon for the omission: so unwilling he was to resign any thing in his nature to an obligation in his office. In all other particulars he filled his place plentifully, being sufficiently versed in languages to understand any that is used in business and to make himself again understood. To speak of his integrity, and his high disdain of any bait that might seem to look towards corruption, *in tanto viro injuria virtutum fuerit.*

227. Some sharp expressions he used against the archbishop of Canterbury, and his concurring in the first bill to take away the votes of bishops in the House of Peers, gave occasion to some to believe, and opportunity to others to conclude and publish, that he was no friend to the Church and the established government of it, and troubled his very friends much, who were more confident of the contrary than prepared to answer the allegations.

228. The truth is, he had unhappily contracted some prejudice to the archbishop; and having only known him enough to observe his passion, when it may be multiplicity of business or other indisposition had possessed him, did wish him less entangled and engaged in the business of the Court or State, though, (I speak it knowingly,) he had a singular estimation and reverence of his great learning and confessed integrity, and really thought his letting himself to those expressions which implied a disesteem of him, or at least an acknowledgment of his infirmities, would enable him to shelter him from part of the storm he saw raised for his destruction; which he abominated with his soul.

229. The giving his consent to the first bill for the displacing the bishops did proceed from two grounds: the first, his not understanding the original of their right and suffrage there: the other, an opinion that the combination against the whole government of the Church by bishops was so violent and furious, that a less composition than the dispensing with their intermeddling in secular affairs would not preserve the order. And he was persuaded to this by the profession of many persons of honour, who declared they did desire the one and would then not press the other; which in that particular misled many men. But when his observation and experience made him discern more of their intentions than he before suspected, with great frankness he opposed the second bill that was preferred for that purpose; and had, without scruple, the order itself in perfect reverence, and thought too great encouragement could not possibly be given to learning, nor too great rewards to learned men; and was never

in the least degree swayed or moved by the objections which were made against that government, holding them most ridiculous, or affected to the other which those men fancied to themselves.

230. He had a courage of the most clear and keen temper, and so far from fear that he was not without appetite of danger; and therefore upon any occasion of action he always engaged his person in those troops which he thought, by the forwardness of the commanders, to be most like to be farthest engaged; and in all such encounters he had about him a strange cheerfulness and companiableness, without at all affecting the execution that was then principally to be attended, in which he took no delight, but took pains to prevent it where it was not, by resistance, necessary: insomuch that at Edgehill, when the enemy was routed, he was like to have incurred great peril by interposing to save those who had thrown away their arms, and against whom it may be others were more fierce for their having thrown them away: insomuch as a man might think he came into the field only out of curiosity to see the face of danger, and charity to prevent the shedding of blood. Yet in his natural inclination he acknowledged he was addicted to the profession of a soldier; and shortly after he came to his fortune, and before he came to age, he went into the Low Countries with a resolution of procuring command and to give himself up to it, from which he was converted by the complete inactivity of that summer: and so he returned into England, and shortly after entered upon that vehement course of study we mentioned before, till the first alarm from the north; and then again he made ready for the field, and though he received some repulse in the command of a troop of horse, of which he had a promise, he went a volunteer with the earl of Essex.

231. From the entrance into this unnatural war, his natural cheerfulness and vivacity grew clouded, and a kind of sadness and dejection of spirit stole upon him which he had never been used to; yet being one of those who believed that one battle would end all differences, and that there would be so great a victory on one side that the other would be compelled to submit to any conditions from the victor, (which supposition and conclusion, generally sunk into the minds of most men, prevented the looking after many advantages which might then have been laid hold of,) he resisted those indispositions, *et in luctu bellum inter remedia erat*¹. But after the King's return from Brainford, and the furious resolution of the two Houses not to admit any treaty for peace, those indispositions which had before touched him grew into a perfect habit of uncheerfulness; and he, who had been so exactly unreserved and affable to all men that his face and countenance was always present and vacant to his company, and held any cloudiness and less pleasantness of the visage a kind of rudeness or incivility, became on a sudden less communicable, and thence very sad, pale, and exceedingly affected with the spleen. In his clothes and habit, which he had intended before always with more neatness and industry and expense than is usual to so great a mind, he was not now only incurious but too negligent; and in his reception of suitors, and the necessary or casual addresses to his place, so quick and sharp and severe, that there wanted not some men (who were strangers to his nature and disposition) who believed him proud and imperious, from which no mortal man was ever more free.

232. The truth is, as he was of a most incomparable gentleness, application, and even a demissness and submission to good and worthy and entire men, so he was naturally (which could not but be more evident in his place, which objected him to another conversation and intermixture than his own election had done) *adversus malos injucundus*², and was so ill a

dissembler of his dislike and disinclination to ill men that it was not possible for such not to discern it. There was once in the House of Commons such a declared acceptance of the good service an eminent member had done to them, and, as they said, to the whole kingdom, that it was moved, he being present, that the Speaker might in the name of the whole House give him thanks, and then that every member might, as a testimony of his particular acknowledgment, stir or move his hat towards him; the which (though not ordered) when very many did, the lord Falkland, (who believed the service itself not to be of that moment, and that an honourable and generous person could not have stooped to it for any recompense,) instead of moving his hat, stretched both his arms out and clasped his hands together upon the crown of his hat, and held it close down to his head; that all men might see how odious that flattery was to him, and the very approbation of the person, though at that time most popular.

233. When there was any overture or hope of peace he would be more erect and vigorous, and exceedingly solicitous to press any thing which he thought might promote it; and sitting amongst his friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, would, with a shrill and sad accent, ingeminate the word *Peace, Peace*, and would passionately profess that the very agony of the war, and the view of the calamities and desolation the kingdom did and must endure, took his sleep from him, and would shortly break his heart. This made some think, or pretend to think, that he was so much enamoured on peace that he would have been glad the King should have bought it at any price; which was a most unreasonable calumny; as if a man that was himself the most punctual and precise in every circumstance that might reflect upon conscience or honour could have wished the King to have committed a trespass against either. And yet this senseless scandal made some impression upon him, or at least he used it for an excuse of the daringness of his spirit; for at the leaguer before Gloster, when his friends passionately reprehended him for exposing his person unnecessarily to danger, (as he delighted to visit the trenches and nearest approaches, and to discover what the enemy did,) as being so much beside the duty of his place that it might be understood against it, he would say merrily, that his office could not take away the privileges of his age, and that a Secretary in war might be present at the greatest secret of danger; but withal alleged seriously that it concerned him to be more active in enterprises of hazard than other men, that all might see that his impatency for peace proceeded not from pusillanimity or fear to adventure his own person.

234. In the morning before the battle, as always upon action, he was very cheerful, and put himself into the first rank of the lord Byron's regiment, who was then advancing upon the enemy, who had lined the hedges on both sides with musketeers; from whence he was shot with a musket on the lower part of the belly, and in the instant falling from his horse, his body was not found till the next morning, till when there was some hope he might have been a prisoner; though his nearest friends, who knew his temper, received small comfort from that imagination. Thus fell that incomparable young man, in the four and thirtieth year of his age, having so much despatched the business of life that the oldest rarely attain to that immense knowledge, and the youngest enter not into the world with more innocence: and whosoever leads such a life need not care upon how short warning it be taken from him.