with it; and challenged him, as they were all engaged in the same honorable cause, to exercise the same impartial vengeance on all of them. Lucas was first shot to death, and gave, himself, orders to fire, with the same alacrity, as if he had commanded a platoon of his own soldiers. Little instantly ran and kissed his dead body, and then cheerfully presented himself to a like fate. Thinking that the soldiers, destined for his execution, stood at too great a distance, he called them to come nearer: One of them replied, I'll warrant you, Sir, we'll hit you. He answered smiling, Friends, I have been nearer you when you have missed me. Thus perished this generous spirit, not less beloved for his modesty and humanity, than esteemed for his courage and military conduct.

Soon after, a gentleman, appearing in the King's presence, clothed in mourning for Sir Charles Lucas; that humane Prince, suddenly recollecting the hard fate of his friends, paid them a tribute, which none of his own unparalleled misfortunes ever extorted from him: He dissolved into a flood of tears.

By these multiplied successes of the army, they had subdued all their enemies; and none remained but the helpless King and parliament, to oppose their violent measures and pretensions. From Cromwell's suggestion, a remonstrance was drawn by the general council of officers, and sent to the parliament. They there complain of the treaty with the King; demand his punishment for the blood spilt during the war; require a dissolution of the present parliament, and a more equal representative for the future; and assert, that the servants, they are intituled to represent these important points to their masters, who are themselves no better than servants and trustees of the people. At the same time, they advance with the army to Windsor, and send Colonel Eure to seize the King's person at Newport, and convey him to Hurst castle in the neighborhood, where he was reduced to very strict confinement.

This measure being foreseen some time before, the King was exhorted to make his escape, which was conceived to be very easy: But having given his word to the parliament not to attempt an evasion during the treaty, and three weeks afterwards; he would not, by any persuasion, be induced to hazard the reproach of violating his promise. In vain was it urged, that a promise, given to the parliament, could no longer be binding; since they could no longer afford him protection from violence, threatened him by other persons, to whom he was bound by no tye or engagement. The King would indulge no refinements of casuistry, however plausible, in such delicate subjects; and was resolved, that whatever depredations fortune should commit upon him, she never should bereave him of his honor.

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The parliament lost not courage, notwithstanding the danger, with which they were so nearly menaced. Tho' without any plan for refilling military usurpations, they generously resolvd to withstand them to the utmost; and rather to bring on a violent and visible subversion of government, than lend their authority to those illegal and sanguinary measures, which were projected. They set aside the remonstrance of the army, without deigning to answer it; they voted the seizing the King's person, to be without their consent, and sent a message to the general, to know by what authority that enterprise had been executed; and they issued orders, that the army should advance no nearer London.

Hollis, the present leader of the presbyterians, was a man of the most unconquerable intrepidity; and many others of that party seconded his magnanimous spirit. By them it was proposed, that the generals and principal officers, for their disobedience and usurpations, should, by the parliament, be proclaimed traitors.

But the parliament were dealing with men, who would not be frightened by words, nor retarded by any scrupulous delicacy. The generals, under the name of Fairfax, (for he still allowed them to employ his name) marched the army to London, and placing guards in Whitehall, the Meuse, St. James's, Durham-house, Covent-garden, and Palace-yard, surrounded the parliament with their hostile armaments.

December 6. The house purged.

The parliament, destitute of all hopes of prevailing, retained, however, courage to refilt. They attempted, in the face of the army, to close their treaty with the King; and, tho' they had formerly voted his concessions with regard to the church and delinquents to be unsatisfactory, they now took into consideration the final resolution with regard to the whole. After a violent debate of three days, it was carried, by a majority of 129 against 83, that the King's concessions were a foundation for the houses to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom.

Next day, when the commons were to meet, Colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, at the head of two regiments, had blockaded the house; and, directed by the Lord Grey of Groby, seized in the passage, forty one members of the presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room, which passed by the denomination of Hell; whence they were afterwards carried to several inns. Above 160 members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and most determined of the independents; and these exceeded not the number of fifty or sixty. This atrocious invasion of the parliament, commonly passed under the name of Colonel Pride's purge; so much disposed were the nation to make merry with the dethroning of those members, who had violently arrogated the whole
whole authority of the government, and deprived the King of his legal prerogatives.

The subsequent acts of the parliament, if this diminutive assembly deserves that honorable name, retain not the least appearance of law, equity, or freedom. They instantly revered the former vote, and declared the King’s concessions unsatisfactory. They determined, that no members, absent at this last vote, should be received, till they subscribed it, as agreeable to their judgment. They renewed their former vote of non-address. And they committed to prison, Sir William Waller, Sir John Clotworthy, the generals, Maffey, Brown, and Copley, and other leaders of the presbyterians. These Men, by their credit and authority, which was then very high, had, at the commencement of the war, supported the parliament; and thereby prepared the way for the greatness of the present leaders, who, at that time, were of very small account in the nation.

The seceded members having published a paper, containing a narrative of the violence, which had been exercised upon them, and a protestation, that all acts were void, which, from that time, had been transacted in the house of commons; the remaining members encountered it with a declaration, where they pronounced it false, scandalous, seditious, and tending to the destruction of the visible and fundamental government of the kingdom.

These sudden and violent revolutions held the whole nation in terror and astonishment. Every man dreaded to be trampled under foot, in the contention betwixt those mighty powers, which disputed for the sovereignty of the state. Many began to withdraw their effects beyond seas: Foreigners scrupled to give any credit to a people, so torn by domestic factions, and oppressed by military usurpation: Even the internal commerce of the kingdom began to stagnate: And in order to remedy these growing evils, the army, in their general’s name, published a declaration, where they expressed their resolution of supporting law and justice.

The more to quiet the minds of men, the council of officers took into consideration, a scheme called The agreement of the people; being the plan of a republic, to be substituted in the place of that government which they had so violently pulled in pieces. Many parts of this scheme, for correcting the inequalities of the representative, are very plausible; had the nation been willing to receive it, or had the army intended to impose it. Other parts are too perfect for human nature, and favor strongly of that enthusiastic spirit, so prevalent thro’out the kingdom.
The height of all iniquity and fanatical extravagance yet remained; the public trial and execution of their sovereign. To this period was every measure precipitated by the furious independents. The parliamentary leaders of that party had intended, that the army should, themselves, execute that daring enterprise; and they esteemed so irregular and lawless a deed, best fitted to such irregular and lawless instruments. But the generals were too wise, to load themselves singly with the infamy, which, they knew, must attend an action, so shocking to the general sentiments of mankind. The parliament, they were resolved, should share with them the reproach of a measure, which was esteemed requisite for the advancement of their common ends of safety and ambition. In the house of commons, therefore, a committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the King. On their report a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king, to levy war against his parliament, and appointing a High Court of Justice to try his Majesty for this new invented treason. This vote was sent up to the house of peers.

The house of peers, during the civil wars, had, all along, been of small account; but it had lately, since the King’s fall, become totally contemptible; and very few members would submit to the mortification of attending it. They happened, that day, to be more frequent than usual, and were assembled to the number of sixteen. Without one dissenting voice, and almost without deliberation, they instantly rejected the vote of the lower house, and adjourned themselves for ten days; hoping, that this delay would be able to retard the furious career of the commons.

The commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. Having first established a principle, which is noble in itself, and seems spurious, but is belied by all history and experience, That the people are the origin of all just power; they likewise declared, that the commons of England, assembled in parliament, being chosen by the people, and representing them, have the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted and declared law by the commons, hath the force of law, without the consent of king or house of peers. The ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, king of England, so they called him, was again read and unanimously assented to.

In proportion to the enormity of the violences and usurpations, were augmented the pretences of sanctity, among those impious regicides. “Should any one have voluntarily proposed,” said Cromwell in the house, “to bring the King to punishment, I should have regarded him as the greatest traytor; but, since providence and necessity have called us upon it, I will pray to God for a blessing...”
"Blessing on your councils; tho' I am not prepared to give you any advice on this important occasion. Even I myself," subjoined he, "when I was lately offering up petitions for his Majesty's restoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and considered this supernatural movement as the answer, which Heaven, having rejected the King, had sent to my supplications."

A woman of Hertfordshire, illuminated by prophetical visions, desired admittance into the council of war, and communicated to them a revelation, which assured them, that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by a heavenly sanction. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their present resolutions.

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast of the army, a man endowed with manners and humanity, suitable to his education and turn of mind, was sent with a strong party to conduct the King to London. At Windsor, Hamilton, who was there detained a prisoner, was admitted into the King's presence; and falling on his knees, passionately exclaimed, My dear master! I have indeed been so to you, replied Charles, embracing him. No farther intercourse was allowed betwixt them. The King was instantly hurried away. Hamilton long followed him with his eyes, all suffused in tears, and preoccupied, that, in this short salutation, he had given the last adieu to his friend and sovereign.

Charles himself was assured, that the period of his life was now approaching; but notwithstanding all the preparations, which were making, and the intelligence, which he received, he could not, even yet, believe, that his enemies really meant to conclude their violences by a public trial and execution. A private affection he every moment looked for; and tho' Harrison assured him, that his apprehensions were entirely groundless, it was by that catastrophe, so frequent with dethroned princes, that he expected to terminate his life. In appearance, as well as reality, the King was now dethroned. All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were withdrawn, and his attendants had orders to serve him without ceremony. At first, he was shocked with instances of rudeness and familiarity, to which he had been so little accustomed. Nothing so contemptible as a despised prince! was the reflection, which they suggested to him. But he soon reconciled his mind to this, as to his other calamities.

All the terms of the trial were now adjusted; and the high court of justice fully constituted. It consisted of 133 persons, as named by the commons; but there never met above 70: So difficult was it found, notwithstanding the blindness of prejudice, and the allurements of interest, to engage men of any name or character in that criminal measure. Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and the chief
chief officers of the army, most of them of very mean birth, were members, along with some of the lower house and some citizens of London. The twelve judges were at first appointed in the number: But having affirmed, that it was contrary to all the ideas of English law to try the King for treason, by whose authority all accusations for treason must necessarily be conducted; their names, as well as those of some peers, were afterwards struck out. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president. Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England. Doriasus, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants. The court sat in Westminster hall.

It is observable, that, in calling over the court, when the crier pronounced the name of Fairfax, which had been inserted in the number, a voice came from one of the spectators, and cried, *He has more wit than to be here.* When the charge was read against the King, *In the name of the people of England;* the same voice exclaimed, *Not a tenth part of them.* Axell the officer, who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box, whence these insolent speeches came; it was discovered, that Lady Fairfax was there, and that it was she who had had the courage to utter them. She was a person of very noble extraction, the daughter of Horace Lord Vere of Tilbury; but being seduced by the violence of the times, she had long feuded her husband's zeal against the royal cause, and was now, as well as he, struck with abhorrence at the fatal and unexpected consequence of all his boasted victories.

The pomp, the dignity, the ceremony of this transaction corresponded to the greatest conception, that is suggested in the whole annals of human kind; the delegates of a great people sitting in judgment upon their supreme magistrate, and trying him for his misgovernment and breach of trust. The solicitor, in the name of the commons, represented, that Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and entrusted with a limited power; yet nevertheless, out of a wicked design to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, had traiterously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament, and the people, whom they represented, and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth. After the charge was finished, the president directed his discourse to the King, and told him, that the court expected his answer.

The King, tho' long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, sustained, by his magnanimous courage, the majesty of a monarch. With great temper and dignity, he declined the authority of the court, and refused to submit himself to their jurisdiction. He represented, That, having been engaged in treaty with his two houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article,
article, he had expected to be brought to his capital in another manner, and ere this time, to have been restored to his power, dignity, revenue, as well as to his personal liberty: That he could not now perceive any appearance of the upper house, so essential a member of the constitution; and had learned, that even the commons, whose authority was pretended, were subdued by lawless force, and were bereaved of their liberty: That he himself was their Native Hereditary King; nor was the whole authority of the state, tho' free and united, intitled to try him, who derived his dignity from the Supreme Majesty of Heaven: That, admitting those extravagant principles, which levelled all orders of men, the court could plead no power, delegated by the people; unless the consent of every individual, down to the meanest and most ignorant peasant, had been previously asked and obtained: That he acknowledged, without scruple, that he had a trust, committed to him, and one most sacred and inviolable; he was entrusted with the liberties of his people, and would not now betray them, by recognizing a power, founded on the most atrocious violence and usurpation: That having taken arms, and frequently exposed his life, in defence of public liberty, of the constitution, of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, he was willing, in this last and most solemn scene, to seal with his blood those precious rights, for which, tho' in vain, he had so long contended: That those, who arrogated a title to sit as his judges, were born his subjects, and born subjects to those laws, which determined, That the king could do no wrong: That he lay under no necessity of sheltering himself under that general maxim, which guards every English monarch, even the least deserving; but was able, by the most satisfactory reasons, to justify those measures, in which he had been engaged: That, to the whole world, and even to them, his pretended judges, he was willing, if called upon in another manner, to prove the integrity of his conduct, and assert the justice of those defensive arms, to which, unwillingly and unfortunately, he had had recourse: But that, in order to preserve an uniformity of conduct, he must, at present, forego the apology of his innocence; left, by ratifying an authority, no better founded than that of robbers and pyrates, he be justly branded as the betrayer, instead of being applauded as the martyr, of the constitution.

The president, in order to support the majesty of the people, and maintain the superiority of his court above the prisoner, still inculcated, That he must not decline the authority of his judges; that they overruled his objections; that they were delegated by the people, the only source of every lawful power; and that kings themselves acted but in truth from that community, which had invested this high court of justice with its jurisdiction. Even according to those principles, which,
in his present situation, he was perhaps obliged to adopt, his behavior, in general, will appear not a little harsh and barbarous; but when we consider him as a subject, and one too of no high character, addressing himself to his unfortunate sovereign, his style will be esteemed, to the last degree, audacious and insolent.

Three times was Charles produced before the court, and as often declined their jurisdiction. On the fourth, the judges having examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved, that the King had appeared in arms against the forces, commissioned by the parliament, they pronounced sentence against him. He seemed very anxious, at this time, to be admitted to a conference with the two houses; and it was supposed, that he intended to resign the crown to his son: But the court refused compliance, and considered that request as nothing but a delay of justice.

It is confessed, that the King's behavior, during this last period of his life, does great honor to his memory; and that, in all appearances before his judges, he never forgot his part, either as a prince or as a man. Firm and intrepid, he maintained, in each reply, the utmost perfidity and justice both of thought and expression: Mild and equable, he rose into no passion at that unusual authority, which was assumed over him. His soul, without effort or affectation, seemed only to remain in the situation familiar to it, and to look down with contempt on all the efforts of human malice and iniquity. The soldiers, instigated by their superiors, were brought, tho' with difficulty, to cry aloud for justice: Poor souls! said the King to one of his attendants; for a little money they would do as much against their commanders. Some of them were permitted to go the utmost length of brutal insolence, and to spit in his face, as he was conveyed along the passage to the court. To excite a sentiment of piety, was the only effect which this inhuman insult was able to operate upon him.

The people, tho' under the rod of lawless, unlimited power, could not forbear, with the most ardent prayers, to pour forth their wishes for his preservation; and, in his present distress, they avowed him, by their generous tears, for their monarch, whom, in their misguided fury, they had before so violently rejected. The King was softened at this moving scene, and expressed his gratitude for their dutiful affection. One soldier too, seized by contagious sympathy, demanded from heaven a blessing on oppressed and fallen majesty: His officer, overhearing his prayer, beat him to the ground in the King's presence. The punishment, methinks, exceeds the offence: This was the reflection, which Charles formed on that occasion.

As soon as the intention of trying the King was known in foreign nations, so enormous an action was exclaimed against by the general voice of reason and humanity; and
and all men, under whatever form of government they were born, rejected this example, as the utmost effort of undignified usurpation, and the most heinous infult on law and justice. The French ambassador, by orders from his court, interposed on the King’s behalf: The Dutch employed their good offices: The Scotch exclaimed and protested against this violence: The Queen, the Prince, wrote pathetic letters to the parliament. All solicitations were found fruitless with men whose resolutions were fixed and irrevocable.

Four of Charles’s friends, persons of the greatest virtue and dignity, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, Lindefey, applied to the commons. They represented, That they were the King’s counsellors, and had concurred, by their advice, with all those measures which were now imputed as crimes to their royal master: That, in the eye of the law, and according to the dictates of common reason, they alone were guilty, and were alone exposed to censure for every blameable action of the prince: And that they now presented themselves, in order to save, by their own punishment, that precious life, which it became the commons themselves, and every subject, with the utmost hazard, to protect and defend. Such a generous effort contributed to their honor; but operated nothing towards the King’s safety.

The people remained in that silence and astonishment, which all great passions, when not furnished with an opportunity of exerting themselves, naturally produce in the human mind. The soldiers, being incessantly plied with prayers, sermons, and exhortations, were wrought up to a degree of fury, and imagined, that, in the acts of the most extreme disloyalty towards their prince, conflated their highest merit in the eyes of Heaven.

Three days were allowed the King betwixt his sentence and his execution. This interval he passed with great tranquillity chiefly in reading and devotion. All his family, that remained in England, was allowed access to him. It consisted only of the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester: The Duke of York had made his escape. Gloucester was little more than an infant: The Princess, notwithstanding her tender years, shewed a very advanced judgment; and the calamities of her family had made a deep impression upon her. After many pious confessions and advices, the King gave her in charge to tell the Queen, That, during the whole course of his life, he had never once, even in thought, failed in his fidelity towards her; and that his conjugal tenderness and his life should have an equal duration.

To the young Duke too, he could not forbear giving some advice, in order to season his mind with early principles of loyalty and obedience towards his brother, who was so soon to be his sovereign. Holding him on his knee, he said, Vol. I. Now n n n

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“Now they will cut off thy father's head.” At these words, the child looked very steadfastly upon him. “Mark! child, what I say: They will cut off my head! and perhaps make thee a king: But mark what I say: Thou must not be a king, as long as thy brothers, Charles and James, are alive. They will cut off thy brothers' heads, when they can catch them! And thy head too they will cut off at last! And therefore I charge thee do not be made a king by them!” The Duke, sighing, replied, “I will be torn in pieces first!” So determined an answer, from one of such tender years, filled the King's eyes with tears of joy and admiration.

Every night, during this interval, the King slept sound as usual; tho' the noise of workmen, employed in framing the scaffold, and other preparations for his execution, continually refounded in his ears *. The morning of the fatal day, he rose early; and calling Herbert, one of his attendants, he bade him employ more than usual care in dressing him, and preparing him for so great and joyful a solemnity. Bishop Juxon, a man endowed with the same mild and steddy virtues, by which the King himself was so much distinguished, assisted him in his devotions, and payed the last melancholy duties to his friend and sovereign.

The street before Whitehall was the place defined for the execution: For it was intended, by choosing that very place, in sight of his own palace, to mark more strongly the triumph of popular justice over royal majesty. When the King came upon the scaffold, he found it so surrounded with soldiers, that he could not expect to be heard by any of the people: He addressed, therefore, his discourse to the few persons who were about him; particularly Colonel Tomlinson, to whose care he had lately been committed, and upon whom, as upon many others, his amiable deportment had operated an entire conversion. He justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars, and observed, that he had not taken arms, till after his parliament had inlisted forces; nor had he any other object in his warlike operations, than to preserve that authority intire, which by his ancestors was transmitted to him. He threw not, however, the blame upon the parliament; but was more inclined to think, that ill instruments had interposed, and excited in them fears and jealousies with regard to his intentions. Tho' innocent towards his people, he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker; and observed, that an unjust sentence, which he had suffered to take effect, was now punished by an unjust sentence upon himself. He forgave all his enemies, even the chief instruments of his death; but exhorted them and the whole nation to return to the way of peace, by paying obedience to their lawful sovereign, his son and successor. When he was preparing himself for the block,

* Walker's history of independency.
block, Bishop Juxon called to him: “There is, Sir, but one stage more, which, “tho’ turbulent and troubleshoot, yet is a very short one. Consider, it will soon “carry you a great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you “shall find, to your great joy, the prize, to which you hasten, a crown of glory.” “I go,” replied the King, “from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown; where “no disturbance can have place.” At one blow was his head severed from his body. A man in a vizor performed the office of executioner: Another, in a like disguise, held up, to the spectators, the head, streaming with blood, and cried aloud, *This is the head of a traitor!*

It is impossible to describe the grief, indignation, and astonishment, which took place, not only among the spectators, who were overwhelmed with a flood of sorrow, but thro’out the whole nation, as soon as the report of this fatal execution was conveyed to them. Never monarch, in the full triumph of success and victory, was more dear to his people than his misfortunes and magnanimity, his patience and piety, had rendered this unhappy Prince. In proportion to their former delusions, which had animated them against him, was the violence of their return to duty and affection; while each reproached himself, either with active disloyalty towards him, or with too indolent defence of his oppressed cause. On weaker minds, the effects of these complicated passions were prodigious. Women are said to have cast forth the untimely fruit of their womb: Others fell into convulsions, or funk into such a melancholy as attended them to their grave: Nay some, unmindful of themselves, as tho’ they could not, or would not survive their beloved prince, it is reported, suddenly fell down dead. The very pulpits were bedewed with unsuborned tears; those pulpits, which had formerly thundered out the most violent imprecations and anathemas against him. And all men united in their detestation of those hypocritical parenses, who, by sanctified pretences, had so long disguised their treasons, and in this last act of atrocious iniquity, had thrown an indelible stain upon the nation.

A fresh instance of hypocrisy was displayed the very day of the King’s death. The generous Fairfax, not contented with being absent from the trial, had used all the interest, which he yet retained, to prevent the execution of the fatal sentence; and had even employed persuasion with his own regiment, tho’ none else should follow him, to rescue the King from his disloyal murderers. Cromwell and Ireton, informed of this intention, endeavored to convince him, that the Lord had rejected the King; and they exhorted him to seek by prayer some direction from Heaven on this important occasion: But they concealed from him, that already they had signed the warrant for the execution. Harrison was the person appointed to join in prayer with the unwary general. By agreement, he

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prolonged his lamentable dirges, till intelligence arrived, that the fatal blow was
struck. He then rose from his knees, and intimated with Fairfax, that this event
was a miraculous and providential answer, which Heaven had sent to their devout
supplications.

It being remarked, that the King, the moment before he stretched out his
neck to the executioner, had said to Juxon, with a very earnest accent, the sin-
gle word, REMEMBER; great mysteries were supposed to be concealed under
that expression, and the generals vehemently inflamed with the prelate, that he
should inform them of the King's meaning. Juxon told them, that the King,
having frequently charged him to inculcate on his son the forgiveness of his mur-
derers, had taken this opportunity, in the last moment of his life, when his com-
mands, he supposed, would be regarded as sacred and inviolable, to re-iterate
that desire; and that his mild spirit thus terminated its present course, by an act
of benevolence towards his greatest enemies.

And character. The character of this Prince, as that of most men, if not of all men, was
mixed; but his virtues predominated extremely above his vices, or, more pro-
perly speaking, his imperfections: For scarce any of his faults rose to that pitch
as to merit the appellation of vices. To consider him in the most favorable light,
it may be affirmed, that his dignity was exempted from pride; his humanity from
weakness; his bravery from rashness; his temperance from avarice; his fruga-
ality from avarice: All these virtues, in him, maintained their proper bounds,
and merited unreserved praise. To speak the most harshly of him, we may af-
firm, that many of his good qualities were attended with some latent frailty,
which, tho' seemingly inconsiderable, was able, when seconded by the extreme
meleolence of his fortune, to disappoint them of all their influence: His benefi-
cient disposition was clouded by a manner not very gracious; his virtue was tin-
cured with impertinence; his good sense was disfigured by a deference to persons
of a capacity much inferior to his own; and his moderate temper exempted him
not from hasty and precipitate resolutions. He desirous the epithet of a good, ra-
ther than of a great man; and was more fitted to rule in a regular established
government, than either to give way to the encroachments of a popular assembly,
or finally to frustrate their pretensions. He wanted suppleness and dexterity suffi-
cient for the first measure: He was not endowed with the vigor requisite for the
second. Had he been born an absolute prince, his humanity and good sense had
rendered his reign happy and his memory precious: Had the limitations on pre-
rogative been, in his time, quite fixed and ascertained, his integrity had made
him regard, as sacred, the boundaries of the constitution. Unhappily, his fate
threw him into a period, when the precedents of many former reigns favored
strongly of arbitrary power, and the genius of the people ran violently towards liberty. And if his political prudence was insufficient to extricate him from so perilous a situation, he may be excused; since, even after the event, when it is commonly easy to correct all errors, one is at a loss to determine what conduct, in his circumstances, could have maintained the authority of the crown, and preserved the peace of the nation. Exposed to the assaults of furious, implacable, and bigotted factions, it was never permitted him, without the most fatal consequences, to commit the smallest mistake; a condition too rigorous to be imposed on the greatest human capacity.

Some historians have rashly questioned his good faith: But, for this reproach, the most malignant scrutiny of his conduct, which, in every circumstance, is now thoroughly known, affords not any reasonable foundation. On the contrary, if we consider the extreme difficulties, to which he was so frequently reduced, and compare the sincerity of his professions and declarations; we shall avow, that probity and honor ought justly to be placed among his most shining qualities. In every treaty, those concessions, which, he thought, in conscience, he could not maintain, he never could, by any motive or persuasion, be induced to grant. And those some violations of the petition of right may be imputed to him; those are more to be ascribed to the lofty ideas of royal prerogative, which he had imbibed, than to any failure in the integrity of his principles.

This Prince was of a comely presence; of a sweet, but melancholy aspect. His face was regular, handsome, and well complexioned; his body strong, healthy, and justly proportioned; and being of a middle stature, was capable of enduring the greatest fatigues. He excelled in horsemanship and other exercises; and he possessed all the exterior, as well as many of the essential qualities, which form an accomplished prince.

The tragical death of Charles begot a question, whether the people, in any case, were intitled to judge and to punish their sovereign; and most men, regarding chiefly the atrocious usurpation of the pretended judges, and the merit of the virtuous, tho' perhaps not entirely innocent, prince who suffered, were inclined strongly to condemn the republican principles, as highly seditious and extravagant: But there still were a few, who, abstracting from the particular circumstances of this case, were able to consider the question in general, and were inclined to moderate, not contradict, the prevailing sentiment. Such might have been their reasoning. If ever, on any occasion, it were laudable to conceal truth from the populace; it must be confessed, that the doctrine of resistance affords such an example; and that all speculative reasoners ought to observe, with regard to this principle, the same cautious silence, which the laws, in every
species of government, have ever prescribed to themselves. Government is instituted, in order to restrain the fury and injustice of the people; and being always founded on opinion, not on force, it is dangerous, by these speculations, to weaken the reverence, which the multitude owe to authority, and to instruct them before-hand, that the cave can ever happen, when they may be free'd from their duty of allegiance. Or should it be found impossible to restrain the licence of human disquisitions, it must be acknowledged, that the doctrine of obedience ought alone to be inculcated, and that the exceptions, which are very rare, ought seldom or never to be mentioned in popular reasonings and discourses. Nor is there any danger, that mankind, by this prudent reserve, should universally degenerate into a state of abject servitude. When the exception really occurs, even tho' it be not precedently expected and decanted on, it must, from its very nature, be so obvious and undisputed, as to remove all doubt, and overpower the restraint, however great, imposed by teaching the general doctrine of obedience. But betwixt refitit a prince and dethroning him, there is a very wide interval; and the abuses of power, which can warrant the latter violence, are much greater and more enormous, than those which will justify the former. History, however, supplies us with examples even of this kind; and the reality of the supposition, tho', for the future, it ought ever to be little looked for, must, by all candid inquirers, be acknowledged in the past. But betwixt dethroning a prince and punishing him, there is another very wide interval; and it were not strange, if even men of the most enlarged thought should question, whether human nature could ever, in any monarch, reach that height of depravity, as to warrant, in revolted subjects, this last act of extraordinary jurisdiction. That illusion, if it be an illusion, which teaches us to pay a sacred regard to the persons of princes, is so salutary, that to dissipate it by the formal trial and punishment of a sovereign, will have more pernicious effects upon the people, than the example of justice can be supposed to have a beneficial influence upon princes, by checking their career of tyranny. 'Tis dangerous too, by these examples, to reduce princes to despair, or bring matters to such extremities against persons endowed with great power, as to leave them no resource, but in the most violent and most sanguinary councils. This general position being established, it must, however, be observed, that no reader, almost of any party or principle, was ever shocked, when he read, in ancient history, that the Roman senate voted Nero, their absolute sovereign, to be a public enemy, and, even without trial, condemned him to the severest and most ignominious punishment; such a punishment, as the meanest Roman citizen was, by the laws, exempted from. The crimes of that bloody tyrant are so enormous, that they break thro' all rules; and extort a confession, that such a dethroned prince
prince is no longer superior to his people, and can no longer plead, in his own defense, laws, which were established for conducting the ordinary course of administration. But when we pass from the case of Nero to that of Charles, the great disproportion, or rather total contrariety of characters, immediately strikes us; and we stand astonished, that, amongst a civilized people, so much virtue could ever meet with so fatal a catastrophe. History, the great mistress of wisdom, furnishes examples of all kinds; and every prudential, as well as moral precept, may be authorized by those events, which her enlarged mirror is able to present to us.

From the memorable revolutions, which passed in England during this period, we may naturally deduce the same useful lesson, which Charles himself, in his latter years, inferred; that it is very dangerous for princes to assume more authority, than the laws have allowed them. But, it must be confessed, that these events furnish us with another instruction, no less natural and no less useful, concerning the madness of the people, the furies of fanaticism, and the danger of mercenary armies.

In order to close this part of British history, it is also necessary to relate the dissolution of the monarchy in England: That event followed soon after the death of the monarch. When the peers met upon the day, appointed in their adjournment, they entered upon business, and sent down some votes to the commons, of which the latter deigned not to take the least notice. In a few days, the lower house passed a vote, that they should make no more addresses to the house of peers, nor receive any more from them; and that that house was useless and dangerous, and was therefore to be abolished. A like vote passed with regard to the monarchy; and 'tis remarkable, that Martin, a furious republican, in the debate on this question, confessed, that, if they desired a king, the last was as proper as any gentleman in England. The commons formed a new great seal, on which that assembly was represented with this legend, ON THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING, RESTORED, 1648. The forms of all public business were changed, from the king's name, to that of the keepers of the liberties of England. And it was declared high treason to proclaim or any otherways acknowledge Charles Stuart, commonly called Prince of Wales.

The Princess Elizabeth the commons intended to bind apprentice to a button-maker: The Duke of Gloucester was to be taught some other mechanical employment. But the former soon died; of grief, as is supposed, for her father's tragical end: The latter was, by Cromwell, sent beyond seas.
THE King's statue, in the Exchange, was thrown down; and on the pedestal these words were inscribed: *EXIT TYRANNUS, REGUM ULTIMUS;  
The tyrant is gone, the last of the kings.*

DUKE HAMILTON was tried by a new high court of justice, as Earl of Cambridge in England; and condemned for high treason. This sentence, which was certainly very hard, but which ought to save his memory from all imputations of treachery to his master, was executed on a scaffold, erected before Westminster Hall. Lord Capel underwent the same fate. Both these Noblemen had escaped from prison, but were afterwards discovered and taken. To all the solicitations of their friends for pardon, the generals and parliamentary leaders still replied, that it was certainly the intention of Providence they should suffer; since it had permitted them to fall into their enemies hands, after they had once recovered their liberty.

The Earl of Holland lost his life by a like sentence. Tho' of a polite and courtly behavior, he died lamented by no party. His ingratitude to the King, and his frequent changing of sides were regarded as great stains on his memory. The Earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen, being condemned by the same court, were pardoned by the commons.


The Archbishops of Canterbury in this reign were Abbot and Land: The Lord keepers, Williams, bishop of Lincoln, Lord Coventry, Lord Finch, Lord Littleton, Sir Richard Lane; the Lord admirals, the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Northumberland; the Lord high treasurers, the Earl of Marlborough, the Earl of Portland, Juxon bishop of London, Lord Cottington; the secretaries of state, Lord Conway, Sir Albertus Moreton, Coke, Sir Harry Vane, Lord Falkland, Lord Digby, Sir Edward Nicholas.

It may be expected that we should here make mention of the *Icon Basilici,* a work published in the King's name a few days after his execution. It seems almost impossible, in the controverted parts of history, to say any thing which will satisfy the zealots of both parties: But with regard to this question, it is difficult for an historian to fix any opinion, which will be entirely to his own satisfaction. The proofs brought to evince that this work is or is not the King's, are so convincing, that, if an impartial reader peruses any one side apart, he will

*See on the one hand Toland's Amynor, and on the other Wagstaffe's Vindication of the royal Martyr, 3d edition along with Young's addition. We may remark, that Lord Clarendon's total silence
will think it impossible, that arguments could be produced, sufficient to counter-
ballance so strong an evidence: And when he compares both sides, he will be at
a loss to fix any determination. Should an absolute suspense of judgment be found
difficult or disagreeable in so interesting a question, I must confess, that I should
incline to give the preference to the arguments of the royalists. The testimo-
nies, which prove that performance to be the King's, seem rather more num-
rous, certain, and direct, than those on the other side. This is the case, even
if we consider the external evidence: But when we weigh the internal, deri-
vied from the style and composition, there is no manner of comparison. These
meditations, in elegance, purity, neatness, and simplicity, resemble exactly the
genius of those performances, which we know with certainty to have flowed from
the royal pen: But are so unlike the bombast, perplexed, rhetorical, and cor-
r upt style of Dr. Gauden, to whom they are ascribed, that no human testimony
seems sufficient to convince us, that he was the author. Yet all the evidences,
which would rob the King of that honor, tend to prove, that Dr. Gauden had
the merit of writing so fine a performance, and the infamy of imposing it on the
world for the King's.

It is not easy to conceive the general compassion excited towards the King,
by the publishing, in so critical a juncture, a work so full of piety, meekness,
and humanity. Many have not scrupled to ascribe to that book the subsequent
restoration of the royal family. Milton compares its effects to those which were
operated on the tumultuous Romans by Anthony's reading to them the will of
Caesar. The Icon passed thro' fifty editions in a twelvemonth; and indepen-
dent of the great interest taken in it by the nation, as the supposed production
of their murdered sovereign, it must be acknowledged the best prose composition,
which, at the time of its publication, was to be found in the English language.

Silence with regard to this subject, in so full a history, composed in vindication of the King's mea-
sures and character, forms a very strong presumption on Toland's side, and a presumption of
which that author was ignorant; the works of the noble historian not being then published.
Bishop Burnet's testimony too must be allowed of weight against the Icon.

The End of the First Volume.