

CAMBRIDGE LIBRARY COLLECTION

Books of enduring scholarly value

British and Irish History, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

The books in this series focus on the British Isles in the early modern period, as interpreted by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historians, and show the shift to ‘scientific’ historiography. Several of them are devoted exclusively to the history of Ireland, while others cover topics including economic history, foreign and colonial policy, agriculture and the industrial revolution. There are also works in political thought and social theory, which address subjects such as human rights, the role of women, and criminal justice.

**The History of England
from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line**

A landmark in female historiography, this work first appeared in eight volumes between 1763 and 1783. Notable for her radical politics and her influence on American revolutionary ideology, Catharine Macaulay (1731–91) drew diligently on untapped seventeenth-century sources to craft her skilful yet inevitably biased narrative. Seen as a Whig response to David Hume’s Tory perspective on English history, the early volumes made Macaulay a literary sensation in the 1760s. Later instalments were less rapturously received by those critics who took exception to her republican views. Both the product and portrait of tumultuous ages, the work maintains throughout its strong focus on the fortunes of political liberty. Volume 6 (1781) covers the reign of Charles II up to the end of the Third Anglo-Dutch War in 1674.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-06761-4 - The History of England from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line: Volume 6

Catharine Macaulay

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press has long been a pioneer in the reissuing of out-of-print titles from its own backlist, producing digital reprints of books that are still sought after by scholars and students but could not be reprinted economically using traditional technology. The Cambridge Library Collection extends this activity to a wider range of books which are still of importance to researchers and professionals, either for the source material they contain, or as landmarks in the history of their academic discipline.

Drawing from the world-renowned collections in the Cambridge University Library and other partner libraries, and guided by the advice of experts in each subject area, Cambridge University Press is using state-of-the-art scanning machines in its own Printing House to capture the content of each book selected for inclusion. The files are processed to give a consistently clear, crisp image, and the books finished to the high quality standard for which the Press is recognised around the world. The latest print-on-demand technology ensures that the books will remain available indefinitely, and that orders for single or multiple copies can quickly be supplied.

The Cambridge Library Collection brings back to life books of enduring scholarly value (including out-of-copyright works originally issued by other publishers) across a wide range of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences and in science and technology.

The History of England

from the Accession of James I
to that of the Brunswick Line

VOLUME 6

CATHARINE MACAULAY



Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-06761-4 - The History of England from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line: Volume 6
Catharine Macaulay
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge, CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.
It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of
education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108067614

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2013

This edition first published 1781
This digitally printed version 2013

ISBN 978-1-108-06761-4 Paperback

This book reproduces the text of the original edition. The content and language reflect
the beliefs, practices and terminology of their time, and have not been updated.

Cambridge University Press wishes to make clear that the book, unless originally published
by Cambridge, is not being republished by, in association or collaboration with, or
with the endorsement or approval of, the original publisher or its successors in title.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND
FROM THE
ACCESSION of JAMES I.
TO THE
REVOLUTION.
VOL. VI.

By CATHERINE MACAULAY GRAHAM.

LONDON,
Printed by A. HAMILTON, Jun.
And sold by C. DILLY, in the Poultry; G. ROBINSON, Pater-noster-Row;
J. WALTER, Charing-Crofs; and R. FAULDER, New-Bond-street.
MDCCLXXXI.

Cambridge University Press
978-1-108-06761-4 - The History of England from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line: Volume 6
Catharine Macaulay
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

C O N T E N T S.

C H A R L E S II.

C H A P. I.

New ministry.—Act of indemnity.—Prerogative established.—Settlement of the revenue.—Trial and execution of the king's judges.—Queen reinstated in her possessions.—Congratulated and presented with money.—Dissolution of the convention parliament.—Affairs of Scotland.—Dissolute manners of the times.—Affairs of Ireland. — — — 1

C H A P. II.

Presbyterians neglected.—Insurrection of the Millenarians.—King crowned.—Several acts passed by the long parliament burnt by the hands of the common hangman.—Act for the security of the king's person and government.—Restraint on the right of petitioning.—Bishops restored to their legislative privileges.—Sham conspiracy.—Convocation of the clergy—Corporation act.—Act of uniformity.—Oaths imposed on the Quakers.—Papists petition for a toleration.—Taxes imposed.—Militia bill—Press restrained—King's marriage.—Acts passed.—Execution of Corbet, Okey, and Barkstead.—Trial of Sir Henry Vane.—His execution and character.—Presbyterian ministers ejected.—Affairs of Ireland. — 71

C H A P. III.

Charles favours the French interest.—His condescensions to the king of France.—Sale of Dunkirk.—Sham conspiracy.—King's declaration of indulgence to tender consciences.—New sessions of parliament.—Parliament oppose the king on the subject of a toleration.—Money granted to the king.—Parliament prorogued.—Acts passed.—Sham conspiracy—New sessions of parliament.—Further severities against the Non-conformists.—Repeal of the triennial act.—Acts passed.—Hostilities against the Dutch.—Returned on the English.—New sessions of parliament.—Acts passed.—War declared against the Dutch. Naval engagement.—Dutch fleet retreat

C O N T E N T S.

towards the Dutch coast —Dutch offer terms of peace, which are rejected —New sessions of parliament.—Five mile act.—Acts passed.—The bishop of Munster makes a peace with the States.—Naval engagement.—Another naval engagement.—Conspiracy against the Dutch republic.—Discovered.—Conspirators punished.—Fire of London.—Charged on the Papists.—New sessions of parliament. Dispute—between the two houses.—Acts passed.—Movements towards a peace with the States —Dutch fleet enter the Thames, and commit great depredations.—Peace with the Dutch.—Acts passed.—Seals taken from the earl of Clarendon.—Earl of Clarendon flies the kingdom.—Act of incapacity and banishment passes against him.—Earl of Clarendon's conduct and character. — 151

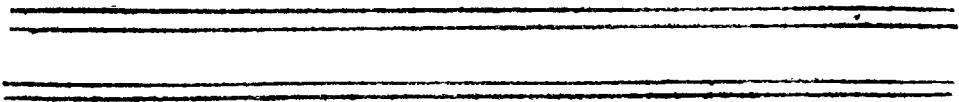
C H A P. IV.

Triple league.—Change in the system of court politics.—Parliament oppose the king's measures.—Acts passed.—New sessions of parliament.—Another new sessions of parliament.—Acts passed.—Secret treaty with France.—Duchess of Orleans poisoned.—New sessions of parliament.—Acts passed.—Assault on the duke of Ormond.—Manœuvres of the king and his ministry to create a quarrel with the Dutch.—Exchequer shut.—Pyrratical attack on the Smyrna fleet.—Battle of Solebay.—Irruption of the French troops into the Dutch provinces.—Dutch reduced to great extremities.—Insurrection of the populace, and elevation of the prince of Orange.—Trial and unjust condemnation of Cornelius De Witt —Massacre of the two De Witts.—Heroic conduct of the prince of Orange.—Proposals of peace rejected by the States.—Affairs of Scotland. 266

C H A P. V.

Imminent danger of the Dutch.—New sessions of parliament.—Naval engagement.—New sessions of parliament.—Acts passed.—Another new sessions of parliament.—Peace with the Dutch — 386

P R E-



P R E F A C E.

THE public advantages which must attend a disinterested principle in historians is acknowledged by all parties, and by all parties it is equally hated and equally persecuted. The man of genius, who is capable of writing a plausible tale to pamper the vanities of the great, to serve the purposes of power, or to humour the prejudices of a prevailing faction, is certain of meeting with all those emoluments and that popularity which forms the wish of the honest man, and is the sole object of the ambitious ; but should an historian arise, whose abilities as a statesman, politician, legislator, moralist, and philosopher, rendered him capable of attaining the highest degree of perfection in the sublime and comprehensive walk of history ; should he be capable of giving such animation to his representation of facts as to command attention ; should his narrative be sufficiently elegant to gratify taste : should his sagacity be sufficiently profound to ascertain those leading and often opposite principles and inclinations, which form the different characters of men ; should he be capable of making use of every opportunity which incidents and events afford to instruct the reader on the subject of morals, religion, policy, and good government ; should his integrity and his resolution be sufficient to decide upon every fact, and every character, without regard even to the nearest tie of relationship, as equity should prompt and truth should authorise, instead of gaining admirers by the honest exercise of his talents, he would raise an innumerable host of enemies : he would never meet in the breast of his reader with that impartiality, of which he had set the illustrious example, and all the imperfect sons of earth among the living would clamour in behalf of the guilty dead. It is perhaps the difficulty of these circumstances, which must take place in all countries, and which are greatly aggravated in England by the venomous rancour of contending factions, which has occasioned the subject of history to have been so long neglected in this country :
and

and whilst England has been renowned for producing the best authors in every other species of writing, she was obliged to a foreigner for the best and the most faithful narrative of the civil and military achievements of her gallant sons. Rapin long maintained an unrivalled popularity in this country, but it was more from the circumstance of his having no competitor than from the intrinsic merit of his work: he is, indeed, infinitely less partial in his account of the civil wars in the reign of Charles the First than almost any other writer of that period of our annals, but he is very prolix, and his narrative is destitute of all those animating graces and just reflections which are necessary to form an agreeable and instructive history. Guthrie and Ralph, who wrote after Rapin, may be classed among the few faithful historians*, and their several narratives abound with very just remarks and pertinent reflections. Guthrie's style often rises even to the sublime, and Ralph's is not wanting in animation; but these authors are too careless writers to arrive at that elegance and correctness necessary to satisfy the nicety of modern taste; they are also very prolix to a degree of tediousness. In this state of general history Mr. Hume, blessed with that genius and profound sagacity necessary to form a complete historian, had reason to flatter himself with the prospect of enjoying, without a rival, all that extensive fame and popularity which is justly due to the instructors of mankind; but whether he conceived, from the reasons above mentioned, that a candid relation of our domestic broils, as it must necessarily displease all factions, would deprive him of the reward of his abilities and his industry; or whether, as I am more inclined to believe, that he had entertained prejudices inimical to that candour which must have placed him at the head of all our historians, his history, whilst it serves as an elegant pastime for the hours of leisure or idleness, leaves the reader perfectly ignorant as to characters, motives, and often facts: but as Mr. Hume's prejudices have fallen in with the prejudices of the prevailing faction in this country, and as his admirable genius is fully equal to the inspiring every unlearned, incurious and negligent reader with the prejudices of the author, he has for a long time maintained an unrivalled popularity in the walk of English history, and has been regarded by the few discerning friends of Revolution principles, and the admirers of those pa

* The author has confined her observations to the writers of general history.

trials

P R E F A C E

triot's who have spilt their blood in the public cause, as the having helped to forward, with other concurring circumstances, the declension of Whig sentiments, and the wonderful increase of those opinions and principles which were so justly decried by the nation towards the middle of this century.

ANIMATED with the love of liberty, and an enthusiastic regard to English patriotism, I ventured to take the pen in hand, with the intention of vindicating the insulted memories of our illustrious ancestors, and of exposing to the public the evils which this country has suffered from the intrigues of faction and the rage of party; and I vainly hoped that the conviction of uncontrovertible argument, founded on fact, would, in a series of time, extinguish the baneful influence of party spirit; would gradually and almost imperceptibly incline the people to consider the objects of their proper interest, and that all ranks would unite in the laudable and generous attempt of "fixing dominion's limits to its proper end" of realizing all those advantages in our mixed form of government, which experience has found to be only theoretical; of restraining the oppressions of the great, by the cutting off a few noxious privileges, which are equally mischievous to themselves as to the community; and of curbing the licentiousness of the common people by the coercion of wholesome laws, and a well regulated police. This, without any unconstitutional design, or any wild enthusiastic hope of being able to influence the minds of a nation in favour of a democratic form of government, who from the beginning of time have been under the rule of regal sway, and whose laws, manners, customs, and prejudices are ill adapted to a republic, is the grand aim of my writings: and this I cannot help regarding as a patriotic and pious design, because, in my opinion, religious and moral turpitude, in a great measure, flow from political error; and that the miseries of natural evil are from the same cause highly aggravated.

As republican principles and notions have always been too unpopular in this country to found on them any rational scheme of interest or ambition, it was obvious to me, that, however erroneous might be the opinions of the few republicans whom opportunity enabled to take an active part in the af-

P R E F A C E.

fairs of England, that their conduct was founded on principle, because diametrically opposite to their interest, and even their safety ; accordingly the fate of every one of this party, who did not change with the changing times, was banishment, an ignominious death, or the entire ruin of their fortunes : whilst, on the contrary, the men whose conduct was governed either by Whig or Tory principles, were, as the different factions prevailed, in their turn triumphant ; and it is from the conviction only of the integrity of their motives that I appear in my history to be partial to the leaders of the republican party.

IN Mr. Hume's very artful narration of facts, he represents Charles the First as a prince whose government had in no degree exceeded the arbitrary precedents which had been set by his predecessors ; and as the English had formerly submitted, without a murmur, to the despotic sway of these monarchs, he argues, that the crown had acquired a kind of right by the peaceable possession of a long usurped tyranny ; and that consequently Charles fell a victim to the malignancy of the times, rather than to any faults in his administration, which urged the necessity of taking up arms against him. That the government of the greater number of our princes, particularly that of Henry the Eighth, and even many parts of Elizabeth's administration, was directly contrary to Magna Charta, and to the rule of all free governments, cannot be disputed with Mr. Hume ; but as that servility and implicit obedience to the unjust commands of the sovereign, which accompanied the times of political ignorance in this country, after the power of the Barons was broken by Henry the Seventh, and the religious factions which took their rise in the reign of Henry the Eighth, occasioned the parliaments to acquiesce with the lawless pretensions of their monarchs, the form of a free government was in some measure preserved, and by that means a remedy yet remained in the constitution to correct those evils which time, ignorance, and opportunity had occasioned. The knowledge of ancient literature, and consequently the knowledge of Roman and Greek policy, had made no inconsiderable progress in this country during the reigns of Henry the Eighth, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth ; and on the accession of James, the more civilized part of the nation began to entertain very large and very comprehensive notions on the subject of civil liberty : they beheld with regret that large portion of undi-

vided

P R E F A C E.

vided power which the crown had acquired by the arbitrary courts of justice, which had been erected during the administration of the Tudor race; and they determined to seize the first favourable occasion to reduce the regal prerogative to its ancient limits, left a long and undisputed possession, with accidental circumstances favourable to the strengthening these usurpations by a military force, should for ever put it out of the power of the people to regain that authority which is necessary to the existence of a free government. The ill policy of Charles the First in the wars with Spain and France, which he entered into in the beginning of his reign, afforded to the friends of liberty a full opportunity to make their own terms with the court. The king's necessities were pressing, and the constitution allowed of no impositions on the people which were not authorized by the voice of their representatives. The question in dispute between the king and the commons immediately became critical: it was necessary for the sovereign to relinquish the encroachments of his predecessors, or to assume the essential authority of a despotic monarch, by levying arbitrary taxes on the people, without the consent of parliament. The prejudices of Charles induced him to chuse the latter of these expedients: taxes were levied by the king's authority only, the use of parliaments was altogether laid aside, and the form and spirit of the government became entirely despotic. By the corrupt decision of the judges, in the case brought before them by the famous Hamden, the king, for twelve years, enjoyed in tranquility the triumph he had gained over the liberties of his country, and might, perhaps, have fixed the constitution on the basis of despotism, had he been possessed of the temporizing spirit of Elizabeth; or had he employed ministers equally subtle and equally able to those consummate politicians who directed the councils of this prince. It was indeed more owing to the furious and bigotted conduct of Laud, than to the spirit and resolution of the people, that the smallest vestige of freedom at this time remains in England: his absurd and impolitic persecution of the Presbyterians, whose religious principles were somewhat more favourable to civil liberty than were those of the Church of England, threw that whole party into the scale of opposition; and when united to the partizans of civil liberty, the balance of popular opinion became greatly in disfavour of the king's pretensions and administration. However, though the large majority of the nation

x

P R E F A C E.

felt very sensibly the yoke of tyranny, their discontent was expressed in unavailing murmurs, 'till the influence of Laud prevailed over the ill-fated Charles to excite the resentment of his Scotch subjects, by impositions and novelties in matters of religion. The necessity which this produced of calling a parliament, and the union of the Scotch and English male contents, soon brought matters to that point of civil contention, in which the success of parties can only be decided by the sword. After a long and bloody contest, victory declared itself on the side of the male contents, and the power of disposing of the king, and forming the government, fell entirely into the hands of the English parliament.

In this situation of affairs it is certain that the popular leaders might have cut off all the dangerous prerogatives of the crown, without any innovation in the form of the government; and the natural good sense and virtue of the king might have inclined him to have kept within the limits of those narrow bounds, which the male-contents must have found necessary, for the security of public liberty and the preservation of the party, to have prescribed: but besides the danger which was to be expected from the king's matrimonial connection, and the rancour of his partizans, a very unfortunate difference subsisted between the king and the parliament on the subject of religious government; and the men who at this time had the prevailing influence in the councils of the nation, had a predilection for those popular governments which had raised the glory of Pagan societies to the acme of human greatness: they also recollected the tranquility with which Charles was suffered for twelve years to trample on the laws and liberties of the land; that England was at last indebted for her deliverance to the vigour of Scotch opposition, rather than to the determined spirit of her own sons; and they conceived that there was a malignity in this form of government productive of a servility which secured its permanence. They thought that victory gave them a right to inflict on the conquered party that punishment, which, on motives of policy and motives of revenge, themselves must have sustained in the same situation; and they regarded it as a duty incumbent on them to make use of the opportunity which the fortune of war, or a peculiar providence, had put in their hands, to bar every avenue thro' which tyranny could possibly again slide into the administration of the government. Thus reasoned every

P R E F A C E.

every honest individual in that party, who were the chief instruments in the death of the king; and they reasoned as human beings blind to the events of futurity, events which often foil the wisdom of the deepest politician, and render the boasted sagacity of the intelligent a subject of derision to the vulgar and the ignorant. Could these generous patriots, who had ventured life and fortune in the vindication of the rights of nature, and the liberties of the land, have fathomed the depth of Cromwell's hypocrisy; could they possibly have foreseen that a nation who had undergone such hardships and dangers for the attainment of freedom, who had dethroned a sovereign, descended from a long line of princes, for having encroached on their native rights, would submit to a state of slavery to a private individual, no ways exalted above his brethren in any of those endowments which constitute the true greatness of character, or excelling in any quality, but in the measure of a vain and wicked ambition, and in a dissimulation calculated to deceive those who are too honest to suspect the concealed vices which lay hidden under a well acted hypocrisy; could they possibly have foreseen, that a party who had sacrificed a man of virtue to secure the permanence of freedom in their civil and religious government, should be so far instigated by the principles of envy and revenge, as to give up all their dear bought rights to a prince, whose character, in point of morals and probity, was at best very questionable, and sacrifice their religious security to the prejudices and rancour of an opposite faction; they would undoubtedly have taken the lead in all pacific counsels, and have closed with the subdued monarch on as safe and secure terms as the circumstances of the time and the nature of things would admit. Had the form of government intended by the popular leaders taken place, and had Englishmen at this day lived under the sway of a well regulated democracy, we should have looked up to these execrated characters with all that respectful veneration which was paid by the Greeks and Romans to the illustrious founders of their republics. It may be very agreeable to the barbarity of vulgar ignorance to entertain prejudices against men, whose conduct has not been attended with that success which grace endeavours of a similar nature in more fortunate individuals: but surely it is incompatible with the wisdom of an historian to judge of actions by consequences, and without any regard to motives; to deal out panegyric or invective accord-

P R E F A C E.

ing to the measure of success or ill fortune which attend those persons who figure in the walk of public life.

As the Jacobites have carried their panegyric of the first Charles to a height which induced the utter condemnation of all those who opposed this monarch on public grounds, it was impossible to do justice to the patriotic characters which figured in this age, without examining into the conduct and administration of this prince with a degree of rigorous justice and vigilant enquiry which his unhappy fate would otherwise have rendered ungenerous and inhuman : but in this inquiry I was so far from feeling myself the bloody-minded Republican, as I have been termed by the butcherly writers of these days, and so far even from possessing the stoicism of the first Brutus, that I shed many tears whilst I was writing his catastrophe, and I have endeavoured to do justice to that part of his conduct which I thought truly great, and worthy the imitation of posterity.

I have also been accused of the want of humanity and sympathy, because I have in my writings appeared insensible to the rigour of that fate which fell on some very culpable state delinquents, and in particular on the earl of Strafford : but in this case I shall appeal to the judgment of the candid, whether the sympathising, according to the fanciful distinctions of power, birth, office, or fortune, with a few individuals who possess these advantages, and the beholding without pain, and even with triumph, the happiness of the community at large sacrificed to the rapacious lusts of interested governors, is more rational than that generous and extensive sympathy which regards, with an equal eye of compassion, the infirmities and the afflictions of all men, and who censures in proportion to the magnitude and the extent of the mischiefs which attend the selfish conduct of the powerful ; and whether there is either reason, good sense, or rational humanity, in exclaiming against all those who brought the earl of Strafford to justice for advising the king to levy arms against his subjects, and consequently, if victorious, of subduing the free principles of the constitution, and thus entail on present and future generations the misery of perpetual slavery ; and at the same time acknowledging the justice of inflicting a similar punishment for crimes of a very inferior nature, which perhaps arise from motives of necessity, and which only militate against the peace of individuals.

I WELL

P R E F A C E.

I WELL knew what personal disadvantage I set out with, from that impartiality which I had determined to observe on the conduct of the different factions, which have harassed the internal peace of this empire; and when I gave up the emoluments of favour, the countenance of the great, and the gratification of popular applause, on a principle of public utility, I had some reason to expect esteem for my integrity and industry, and especially as I have never thrown any personal abuse on any individual, in or out of power; nor have ever sullied my pen with those anonymous writings calculated to anguish the feeling heart, to fix an indelible stain on the manners of Englishmen, and to inflict the poignancy of mental sufferings not only on the defamed persons, but on all those who are attached to them, either by the ties of blood, or the yet stronger ties of affection. I have endeavoured, with the most indefatigable pains, to make my History useful to men of all conditions; and I am persuaded that no moderate churchman, or honest lawyer, can, on cool reflection be offended with the historian's free observations on the conduct of men who have been the authors of much public and private mischief, and whose violent counsels, and dishonest practices, have frequently disturbed the peace, and endangered the liberties of the empire. If I have been severe on misguided princes, and bad ministers, it is with a view only to the interests of the people; and if all historians would preserve the same honest rule, instead of varnishing, with false colours, the vices of the powerful, it would, from that general desire which all men have of preserving some degree of reputation after death, form a kind of literary tribunal, productive of a very useful reformation in the conduct of those favoured sons of fortune on whose good or bad qualities the happiness and welfare of societies depend. The candid and the generous will, undoubtedly, from these considerations, behold, without malice or resentment, the wicked or weak conduct of their ancestors represented in its proper light; and especially when they reflect that it would be very unbecoming the character, and contrary to the duty of an historian, to spare even the memory of a parent, if he was found defective in those patriotic virtues which eminently affect the welfare of society.

If the warmth of my temper has occasioned me to be guilty of any petulance in my first productions, they arose from the inexperience of the historian, and the early period of life in which she began to write history; but though I have been pursued with virulent invectives, I have never yet been made acquainted

P R E F A C E.

quainted with my literary faults. Criticisms formed with judgment and temper command attention ; but when personal invective supplies the place of argument, and the reputation of authors are attacked in order to decry their writings, it is a very strong symptom in favour of those productions against which the battery of abuse is levelled ; and in this case an individual, in the full enjoyment of that internal satisfaction which a faithful exertion of mental abilities affords the rational mind, must look down with contempt on the angry croud, nor suffer their fierce and loud clamours, in any respect, to divert him from pursuing the grand object of his honest ambition.

Jan. 1781,
Laurence-street, Chelsea, }
Middlesex.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-108-06761-4 - The History of England from the Accession of James I to that of the Brunswick Line: Volume 6

Catharine Macaulay

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

T H E author, having heard that long notes were tedious and disagreeable to the reader, has altered the method which she pursued in the five first volumes of this history, and at a much larger expence of labour has wove into the text every part of the composition which could be done without breaking into the thread of the history.