

MEMOIR OF MAJOR-GENERAL THOMAS HARRISON.

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THOMAS HARRISON was a native of Newcastle-under-Lyme in the County of Staffordshire. His grandfather Richard Harrison was mayor of that borough in 1594 and 1608. His father, also named Richard, was four times mayor of his native town, viz. : in 1626, 1633, 1643 and 1648, and was an Alderman at the time of his death. Contemporary authorities agree in describing the second Richard Harrison as a butcher by trade, and the register of the parish church of Newcastle states that he was buried on March 25, 1653. The same register also records the burial of his widow "Mrs. Mary Harrison, of the Cross," on May 18, 1658.

Thomas Harrison, the future regicide, was born in 1616. "Thomas Harrison filius Richardi, bapt. July 2"¹ is the entry in the baptismal register of the parish for the year. His father then resided in a house opposite to the Market-Cross, which was pulled down some years ago and replaced by shops.

Of Thomas Harrison's early life little is known. He was probably educated at the grammar school of the town, or of some neighboring town. He does not appear to have been a member of either University. After leaving school he became clerk to an attorney, Thomas Houliker² of Clif-

¹ For all facts derived from the register of Newcastle-under-Lyme, and for all extracts from the records of the borough I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Robert Fenton, of Newcastle-under-Lyme.

² Thomas Houliker died on Sept. 8, 1643. His brother-in-law Richard Smyth, recording in 1660 the execution of General Harrison, adds the words "once my brother Houliker's clerk" (Obituary of Richard Smyth, pp. 21, 52). Sir John Bramston, in his autobiography, states that his relation, John Bramston, was "pult to an attorney a clerke, but when the wars began his fellow clerke, Harrison, persuaded him to take armes" (this is that famous rogue Harrison one of the King's judges) (p. 21.)

ford's Inn. In 1642 when civil war was evidently approaching a number of young men belonging to the Inns of Court resolved to instruct themselves in the use of arms, procured an experienced soldier to drill them, and met to exercise in the Artillery-Ground in London. When Parliament resolved to raise a life-guard for its General, the Earl of Essex—which body was to consist of 100 gentlemen under the command of Sir Philip Stapleton—most of these zealous young lawyers entered this guard. Amongst their number were Edmund Ludlow, Charles Fleetwood, Thomas Harrison, Robert Hammond and many others who afterwards gained rank and fame in the parliamentary army. The life-guard was in fact the training school in which young gentlemen of zeal and courage received the elements of their military education.¹ After six months or a year passed in its ranks the young trooper who had proved his courage and ability was given a commission as captain and sent to his native county to raise a troop, or if his local influence was sufficient, even a regiment. Thus Harrison's friend Charles Fleetwood, a simple trooper in September, 1642, fought as a captain at Newbury in September, 1643, and became, probably in the autumn of the same year, colonel of a regiment of horse in the Army of the Eastern Association under the Earl of Manchester. Harrison left Essex's guard with Fleetwood, and became major of Fleetwood's regiment. Both were in their religious views strong Independents, and, like Cromwell, strove to secure soldiers of similar views to fill their ranks. "Look," writes an angry Presbyterian, "on Colonel Fleetwood's regiment with his Major Harrison, what a cluster of preaching officers and troopers there is."² The regiment fought under Cromwell's command at the battle of Marston Moor, and Harrison seems to have been selected to carry an account of the victory to the Committee of Both

¹ Ludlow's *Memoirs*, ed. 1751, p. 17.

² *Manchester's Quarrel with Cromwell* (Camden Society), p. 72.

Kingdoms in London. The Presbyterians complained that the Independents claimed all the glory of that day to themselves, and depreciated the services of the Scots, sending Harrison "to trumpet all over the City their own praises, to our prejudice, making all believe that Cromwell alone, with his unspeakably valorous regiments, had done all that service." Such recriminations, however, are part of the history of every battle, and there is no evidence that Harrison endeavored unduly to magnify his own services.

In the spring of 1645, when the "New Model" Army was organized, Fleetwood's regiment became part of it, and Harrison served in it during the campaigns of 1645 and 1646. He took part in the battles of Naseby and Langport. Richard Baxter, then chaplain to Colonel Whalley's regiment, was standing near Harrison at Langport at the moment when the royalists began to turn and run, and heard him "with a loud voice break forth into the praises of God with fluent expressions, as if he had been in a rapture."¹ General Fairfax chose Harrison to carry his despatch, and on 15 July, 1645, the latter gave a narrative of the victory to the House of Lords, and was thanked by them for his share in it (*Lords Journals*, vii., 496). At the storming of Basing House, on October 14, 1645, Major Harrison—"that godly and gallant gentleman," as Hugh Peters terms him, greatly distinguished himself. By his hand fell Major Cuffle (or Cuffand), Major of the Marquis of Winchester's regiment, "a man of great account amongst them, and a notorious papist." He slew also another officer, "Robinson the player, who, a little while before the storm, was known to be mocking and scorning the Parliament and our army." A story popular amongst the royalists asserts that Robinson had laid down his arms and received a prom-

¹ *Letters of Robert Baillie*, ed. Laing, ii., 209.

Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, p. 54. In the article on Harrison in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, I have quoted as referring to Harrison, a passage from p. 57 of Baxter's life. I now believe the passage refers to Cromwell. Baxter's language, however, is open to both constructions.

ise of quarter, when Harrison shot him with a pistol, saying, "Cursed be he that doeth the work of the Lord negligently." But it is impossible, for if any officer under Cromwell's command had committed such an act, he would have been immediately court-martialled and cashiered.¹

The first civil war practically ended with the surrender of Oxford on June 20, 1646. Harrison was one of the officers appointed by Fairfax to negotiate the terms of the capitulation.² Peace seemed to be assured, and the Parliament proceeded to recruit its numbers by new elections to fill the places of those who had been expelled for adopting the King's cause. Harrison now entered political life as member from the borough of Wendover.³ It is probable that his marriage took place either about this time, or in the autumn of the following year. He married Catherine, daughter of Ralph Harrison. His father-in-law, who is described as a woollen-draper in Watling street, London, was an ardent supporter of the Parliamentary cause. In 1642, he had been second captain in the "Yellow Regiment" of the London trained bands, was lieutenant-colonel of the same regiment in 1643, and became colonel of it in the latter part of 1647.⁴ He adhered to the Independents

¹ Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, ed. 1854, p. 151; Godwin, *Civil War in Hampshire*, p. 241. *Mercurius Civicus* fr. Oct. 9-16, 1645, says that Harrison slew "one Robinson, son to the doorkeeper of Blackfriars play-house, and the Marquis's major, with his own hands, as they were getting over the works." The charge against Harrison is generally quoted from Wright's "*Historia Histrionica*," published in 1699; that work is reprinted in Lowe's edition of Cibber's *Apology* (I, xxix.). I believe the story is first to be found in *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, or some other royalist newspaper, in 1648. The leaders of the army were all of them honorably solicitous that promises of quarter, and articles of surrender should be rigidly observed, and no such breach of the laws of war would have been left unpunished.

² Sprigge, *Anglia Rediviva*, p. 264.

³ Names of members returned to serve in Parliament, i., 485.

⁴ A pamphlet entitled "A pair of Spectacles from the City," 4to, 1648, describes Ralph Harrison as a "silly, weak, old man," "of no estate," "a fellow that carried himself like a fool and a coward at Cheriton," made colonel "only that Colonel Harrison (being forced to marry his daughter * * * *) is his son-in-law, that's desert enough" (p. 10). This supplies the evidence necessary to complete Colonel Chester's note on the Harrison genealogy. Colonel Chester's

in their struggle with the Presbyterians, and was a staunch supporter of the Commonwealth.

In the spring of 1647, Thomas Harrison was again in active service. Parliament, in April, 1646, had appointed Philip Lord Lisle (Algernon Sydney's brother) to command in Ireland, with the title of Lord-Lieutenant. Lisle's departure was delayed by want of money and he could not sail till February, 1647. Harrison was offered a post under Lisle, sailed with him in February, 1647, returned in April, and was thanked for his services by the House of Commons on May 9, 1647.¹ His return coincided with the rupture between Parliament and the Army, and Harrison, at once, threw in his lot with the Army. He signed the manifesto which the officers addressed to the city of London (June 10, 1647). He was also one of the representative officers appointed by Fairfax to negotiate with the Commissioners of the Parliament, and one of those charged by the Army to draw up their "Proposals" for the settlement of the Kingdom (July, 1647). Before long he became notorious for his extreme views. The scheme of compromise agreed on by the Army leaders in November, 1647, was extremely distasteful to him. In the council of officers he declared against any recognition of the legislative authority of the House of Lords. "If the Lords," he said, "had a right to a negative voice, he would not go against it; but if they had usurped it, for an hundred, or two hundred, or a thousand years [past], the wrong was the greater, and they [ought] to be debarred of that power." At the same time he denounced

conclusions are based on wills consulted by him. *Notes and Queries*, Nov. 13, 1880. Mr. Gordon Goodwin has been obliging enough to look up these wills for me and to supply additional extracts.

Ralph Harrison's military career can be followed by the different printed lists of London trained-bands. See especially the List of Officers of the London trained-bands in 1643, edited by the Hon. Harold Dillon, *Archæologia*, vol. lii.; and John Lucas's "London in Arms Displayed," a MS. in the Bodleian Library. Lucas gives Ralph Harrison i. arms.

¹ Sydney Papers, ed. Blencowe, pp. 6, 13, 17; Commons Journals, V. 63, 166. Carte's *Life of Ormond*, iii., 324, ed. 1851.

any proposal to reinstate Charles I. "The King was a man of blood; and therefore the engagement [to preserve his person and authority was] taken off, and they were to prosecute him." (November 11, 1647).¹ At present, however, these views were too incompatible with the political exigencies of the moment to find a reception. Wiser heads saw plainly that it was necessary to unite all sections of the popular party to meet the dangers of a new civil war.

Harrison was now in command of a regiment. The quarrel between the Army and the Parliament had ended in the expulsion of the officers who adhered to the Parliament, from the ranks of the Army. The command of Colonel Sheffield's regiment was given by Fairfax to Harrison, and similar changes took place amongst the subordinate officers of the regiment. William Rainborow, brother of the more famous Col. Thomas Rainborow, became Major,² whilst Stephen Winthrop,³—fourth son of the first Governor Winthrop and brother-in-law of the two Rainborows,—became a captain under Harrison. Henry Cromwell, the second surviving son of the Protector, was given at the same time a troop in the regiment. In May, 1648, Harrison's regiment was ordered north to suppress the royalist rising, and to meet the expected invasion of the Scots.⁴ "I am now," writes Fairfax on May 18, "sending Colonel Harrison with his regiment of horse, and some others, into Cheshire, to oppose their further proceedings, and with what assistance he can get from the gentry and well effected in those parts, to endeavour the clearing of them from the adverse forces." At the end of June,

¹ The Clarke Papers (Camden Society), i., 182, 216, 417. Rushworth, VI., 555, 603. The Book of Army Declarations, etc., 1647, p. 57.

² Old Parliamentary History, xvii., 150.

³ On Stephen Winthrop, see Massachusetts Historical Collections, series V., vol. viii., p. 199. The statements made as to the dates of regimental changes are derived from my notes on the Clarke MS., and my collections from various sources. Winthrop succeeded Harrison as colonel in 1656.

Harrison having accomplished this task, joined the little army with which Colonel Lambert was endeavoring to check the combined forces of the royalists and the Scots.

On July 8th, Hamilton entered England and Lambert was obliged to retreat before him. He wrote to the Speaker on July 20th from Barnard Castle in Durham: "On Friday night last [14th], the enemy with his whole body marched up to us and pitched that night within a mile or two of Penrith where we quartered; and taking into consideration our small numbers compared with theirs, the consequence to these parts and the whole kingdom if we had been failed by them, and not knowing the pleasure of the Parliament upon the coming of the Scotch Army into this kingdom, we resolved to retreat towards Appleby and further as occasion should be." (Portland MS., i., 488.)

On Monday, July 17th, Hamilton attacked Lambert's quarters in force. The parliamentarians were practically surprised, but thanks to the gallantry of Harrison's regiment, retreated without serious loss. A letter printed in the *Perfect Diurnal* for July 24-31, 1648, gives the following account: "We retreated from Penrith and came to Appleby very safe (the enemy never appearing in our reare at all) where we lay from Saturday till Monday morning without disturbance save illness of weather; though the enemy marched after with their whole body, and pitched with their foot between the two bridges near Brougham Castle, seven miles from Appleby, and their horse about them. But on Monday morning they marched again with their whole body towards us, and (it being a very darke, rainy morning) were within a mile of our horse guards, before they were discovered, all our horse having been that night (in expectation of their approach) drawn together and continued untill the morning, and then not hearing of the enemies march, and by reason of the great raine and cold in which they had been all night (and not

in quarter for a fortnight before) they were dismissed to some townes neare about Appleby for refreshment. Upon nine a clock came this alarm and the enemy presently appeared in three great bodies upon three hills very advantageous for them within halfe a mile of Appleby so that our horse were forced to retreat to the town, and the enemy followed very hard, but Colonell Harrison with the horse guard charged the enemy, and gave a check to their advance, and (being more forward and bold then his men did second him) having hold himself of one of the enemies horse-colours he received three wounds, a cut on the bridle wrist, and a prick in the back and thigh, but we hope none of them mortal." Harrison's charge checked the attack and gave time to the foot to form, and the cavalry to draw from their quarters into a body. The Scots were repulsed with trifling loss and Lambert decided to retreat further southward, and nearer to his expected reinforcements.¹

In the royalist newspapers, Harrison was jubilantly reported to be mortally wounded. "He got a sore wound yet not mortal," says Captain John Hodgson in his account of the campaign (*Autobiography of Captain John Hodgson*, ed. 1882, p. 30). Another account of the skirmish adds that Harrison went to Lancaster to be cured (*Tenth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*, pt. vi., p. 168).

The result of this was that Harrison was not present at the great victory at Preston on August 17th, in which his

¹ "*The Moderate*" for July 18-25, 1648, gives a different account of Harrison's wound. A letter from Appleby printed there, says: "The Castle is possessd by some of Col. Harrison's regiment, the town being as considerable for quarters, though not fortified; this lying between the English and Scots army, occasions a dispute for quarters, the Scots army taking advantage of Col. Harrison's and the Lancashire forces quartered in and neer that, and therefore advance with a supernumerary brigade of above 3000. Col. Harrison carelessly (supposing security) walks into the town, the Scots upon notice advance a party, which fell upon the Col. without mercy (though desired), who, regaining some freedom, and quarter denied, having three more with him, fights it out resolutely; by this time a party sallies out of the Castle for his relief, which effectually performs it." Rushworth VII., 1201 is a reprint of the *Perfect Diurnal*.

regiment played an important part; as Cromwell's despatch records. "There being a lane very deep and ill, up to the enemy's army, and leading to the town, we commanded two regiments of horse, the first whereof was Colonel Harrison's and the next was my own to charge up that lane; and on either side of them advanced the main-battle" (Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Letter lxiv).

By the autumn, Harrison was sufficiently recovered from his wounds to take an active share in the revolution which brought the King to a scaffold and made England a republic. No man, indeed, was personally more responsible for the trial and execution of the King. Harrison was present at the great council of war held at St. Albans on November 16th, when the Remonstrance of the Army was read and approved. In that manifesto the treaty then in progress at Newport was denounced and the King's punishment demanded. On the following day, four colonels, of whom Harrison was one, wrote to Colonel Hammond (the King's gaoler) urging him to use all possible vigilance to prevent his prisoner's escape. "As you tender the interest of this nation, of God's people, or of any moral men, or as you tender the ending of England's troubles, or desire that justice and righteousness may take place . . . see to the securing of that person from escape. . . . We are confident you will receive in a few days the duplicate of this desire and an assurance from the General and Army to stand by you in it; and in the mean time, for our parts, though it may not be very considerable to you, we do hereby engage to own you with our lives and fortunes therein, which we should not so forwardly express, but that we are impelled to in duty and conscience to God and man."¹

A few days later, some representatives of the Levellers sought an interview with the leading officers at Windsor,

¹ Birch, *Letters between Col. Robert Hammond, etc., 1764*, 8vo, p. 87. The letter was probably written by Ireton. It is given in full in the Appendix.

and represented to them at length their objections to the course proposed by the Army. They demanded before the Army put an end to King and Parliament some agreement should be arrived at as to the future government of the nation. "We pressed hard," says Lilburne, "for security, before they attempted these things in the least, lest when they were done we should be solely left to their wills and swords, by which they might rule over us arbitrarily, without declared laws, as a conquered people." Harrison admitted the justice of their demand, but urged that immediate action was necessary, and all delay unsafe. "We cannot," said he, "stay so long from going to London with the Army as to perfect an agreement; and without our speedy going we are unavoidably destroyed. For we fully understand that the treaty betwixt the King and Parliament is almost concluded upon; at the conclusion of which we shall be called upon by King and Parliament to disband, the which if we do, we are unavoidably destroyed for what we have done already; and if we do not disband they will by Act of Parliament proclaim us traitors and declare us to be the only hinderers of settling peace in the nation; and then we shall never be able to fight with the interest of King and Parliament; so that you will be destroyed as well as we; for we certainly understand that Major General Brown, etc., are underhand preparing an army against us. And therefore I profess, I confess, I know not well to say to your reasons, they are so strong; but our necessities are so great, that we must speedily go or perish; and to go without giving you some content, is hazardable too."¹

The result of the discussion was the appointment of a joint committee of officers, Levellers and other sections of the popular party to lay the basis of a general agreement. In their deliberations was drawn up the constitutional scheme submitted at the beginning of December to the

¹ The Legal Fundamental Liberties of the People of England, by John Lilburne, 4to, 1649, second ed., p. 36.

Council of War under the name of "An Agreement of the People."

As Parliament took no notice of the Remonstrance against the Treaty, sent them by the Army, the Army marched on London. Harrison was one of the Committee appointed by the Council of War to draw up the declaration stating the grounds of the Army's advance (November 28th).¹ His regiment, however, was still in the North, and only one company of it was in the army which on December 2d occupied London.

Whilst the main body of the army marched on London, a small detachment seized Charles at Newport, and conveyed him from the Isle of Wight to the securer prison of Hurst Castle on the Hampshire coast. On the 15th of December, the Council of Officers appointed a committee to consider of the best ways and grounds for bringing the King to justice, and voted that he should be removed from Hurst Castle to Windsor. On the 16th, Harrison with a body of horse and dragoons left London to fetch the King. Late on the night of the 17th, he arrived at Hurst Castle, alone, to make arrangements for the King's removal. His coming created great alarm in the minds of the King and his attendants, for Charles had often been warned that a party in the Army meant to murder him, and he believed that Harrison had come as his assassin. Harrison however left Hurst Castle without even seeing the King and Charles first met him during the journey to Windsor. On the 19th of December, Charles was conveyed from Hurst Castle to Winchester. The next day, on the road between Farnham and Abresford he and his escort passed a troop of horse drawn up in good order. "In the head of it was the captain gallantly mounted and armed; a velvet montero² was on his head, a new buff-coat upon his back and a crimson silk scarf about his waist richly

¹ The Declaration is printed in Rushworth, vii., 1341.

² A montero-cap.

fringed. As the King passed by with an easie pace (as delighted to see men well horsed and armed) the Captain gave the King a bow with his head *a-la-soldade*, which his Majesty requited. This was the first time the King saw that Captain."

"Mr. Herbert riding a little behind the King he called him to come near, and asked him who the Captain was; and being told it was Major Harrison, the King view'd him more narrowly, and fixed his eyes so steadily upon him, as made the Major abashed, and fall back to his troop sooner than probably he intended. The King said, 'he looked like a soldier, and that his aspect was good—and that having some skill in faces, if he had observed him so well before, he should not have harboured that ill opinion of him.'"

The same night, at Farnham, whilst the King was waiting for his supper, he saw Harrison at the far end of the room talking to another officer. "The King beckoned to him with his hand to come nearer to him: which he did with due reverence. The King then taking him by his arm, drew him aside towards the window, where for half an hour or more they discoursed together; and amongst other things the King minded him of the information concerning him, which, if true, rendered him an enemy in the worst sense to his person, to which the Major, in his own vindication, assured his Majesty that what was so reported of him was not true; What he had said, he might repeat, 'That the Law was equally obliging to great and small, and that justice had no respect to persons'; which his Majesty finding affectedly spoken and to no good end, he left off further communication with him, and went to supper."¹

¹ Sir Thomas Herbert's Memoirs, ed. 1702, pp. 93, 97, 98. On Harrison's trial a witness deposed to hearing Harrison relate this incident to his fellow-regicides at a committee meeting during the King's trial. "He was making a narrative of some discourses that passed between his late Majesty and himself. . . . He said that the King as he sate in the coach with him, was importunate to know what they intended to do with him . . . that the King asked 'What do

In the King's trial, Harrison throughout played a leading part. He was a member of several committees appointed to arrange matters of procedure connected with the trial, and attended eleven meetings of the King's judges. His signature is the sixteenth in order amongst those on the warrant for the King's execution. On February 8, 1649, he presented to the House of Commons the report of the committee appointed to make arrangements for the King's funeral, which was to take place at Windsor.¹

The arguments by which Harrison justified his share in the death of the King were those which he maintained eleven years later, before his own judges and on his own scaffold. The Kings of England, he asserted, are "accountable to Parliament." King Charles had "set up his standard against the People." "I would have abhorred," he continued, "to have brought him to account, had not the blood of Englishmen that had been shed"—Here his judges stopped him, and would not let him finish. On the scaffold, he expressed himself equally impenitent, and equally unconvinced that he had done wrong: "I have again and again besought the Lord with tears to make known his will and mind to me concerning it; and to this day he hath rather confirmed me in the justice of it."

The purging of the Parliament and the trial of the King had been affected by the coöperation of the minority of the Parliament with the Army. Authority was still nominally

they intend to do with me? Whether to murder me or no? And I said to him there was no such intention as to kill him, we have no such thoughts. But, saith he, the Lord hath reserved you for a public example of justice.' Harrison immediately took exception to the statement about the coach, and it appears from Herbert's narrative that the King did not use his coach during the journey to Windsor. The conversation itself however he admitted. "There was a little discourse between the King, and myself. The King had told me, that he had heard, that I should come privately to the Isle of Wight to offer some injury to him. But I told him I abhorred the thoughts of it." *Trial of the Regicides*, pp. 44, 54.

¹ Nalson's *Trial of King Charles I.*, fol., 1684; *Commons Journals*, VI., 127, 133; *Grey's Examination of the 3d Volume of Neal's Puritans*, Appendix, p. 135; "Speeches and Prayers."

vested in the remains of the Parliament, but the new government rested solely on the Army, and on the continued union of Parliament and Army its permanence depended. Throughout the King's trial the Council of Officers were discussing the constitution of the new state, and before the abolition of the monarchy was actually voted (Feb. 7, 1649) they presented their scheme of settlement to the Parliament (January 20, 1649).¹

The basis of this scheme was the draft which Lilburne and his committee had laid before the Council of Officers in the preceding December, but it had been considerably modified by them during their debates. The most important of these changes were concerning the powers to be left to the magistrate with respect to religious matters, and about the limits of toleration. Harrison was present in the stormy discussion of this question which took place on December 14th, but took little part in the debate. What he did say dwelt simply with the method of procedure. Let us, he urged, have the question plainly stated. In the end the question will be whether the Article of the Agreement which relates to religion shall be inserted or not; but first of all let us discuss whether the Magistrate has or ought to have any power to meddle with a man's religion or not. Some officers suggested the adjournment of the Article on religion till the end, and to proceed first with the purely political articles in which they were more ready to agree. Harrison replied that this would seem like slighting the subject, and "because this is that which sticks upon the consciences of men," proposed to refer the Article to a committee of men of all interests instead of simply adjourning it.

January 13th, a month later, the Agreement came finally before the Council to be passed for presentation to Parliament. A last battle over it took place. Some objected

¹ An Agreement of the People of England, and the places therewith incorporated, for a secure and present Peace, upon grounds of common Right, Freedom and Safety. The old Parliamentary History, xviii., 519.

that the article concerning religion permitted the Magistrate to set up a state church and gave him too much power over "men conscientiously fearing God." It would be like the Covenant, urged William Erbery. That which they looked for to be for agreement proved to be a great disagreement amongst the nation, and so this "Agreement" would prove to be an hellish thing, and altogether tending to disagreement. It would unsettle the nation instead of settling it, for the only way to settle the nation was to remove its grievances. Why present the Agreement to the "so called Parliament?" urged Cornet Joyce. Why apply to "the men at Westminster" at all? God had given the power to the Army, and charged them with a mission to fulfil. "Therefore," he said to Fairfax, "I must entreat your Excellency whom the Lord hath clearly called unto the greatest work of righteousness that ever was amongst men, that you and the Council go not to shift off that work which the Lord hath called you to. For my part I do verily believe that if there were not a spirit of fear upon you that He would make you instruments to the people of the things that he hath set before you. God hath said he will do those things by his people when they believe in him. They by belief shall remove mountains, and do such things as were never yet done by men on earth. . . . we should not so much endeavour to give away the power God hath called us unto."

Ireton had answered the objections made against the Agreement, but with men like Erbery and Joyce Harrison's opinion had far greater influence. He admitted that he himself agreed with some of their objections. "I believe," he said, "there are few here can say that it is in every particular to the satisfaction of their hearts." He went on to argue that there was nevertheless much that was good in it, and that every constitutional scheme must be fitted to the minds and consciences of those who were to receive it. "We find that Christ himself spoke as men were able to

bear." "While we are pleading for a liberty of conscience there is a like liberty to be given to other men."

As for the Article concerning religion it did but give a liberty to a good ruler to give liberty to men "to dispense the things of God." It might not give the individual Christian all the liberty which was his right—he himself did not think that it did—"but since it is my liberty, it is my liberty to part with that which is my right for a weak brother."

As for the Agreement in general, no agreement amongst men could establish God's kingdom. "It is not an Agreement amongst men that must overcome the hearts of men; it shall not be by might nor by strength of men, but by His Spirit." The object of the "Agreement" was this: God had cast very much power into the hands of the Army, and the Council of Officers. All along, the Army had professed that they would not make use of any opportunity of this kind to keep power in their own hands, but resign it again to Parliament and the nation. Now was the time to prove the truth of their professions. One argument, however, had for a moment made him hesitate. "This hath stuck: That the Word of God doth take notice that the powers of this world shall be given into the hand of the Lord and his Saints: that this is the day, God's own day, wherein he is coming forth in glory in the world; and he doth put forth himself very much by his people, and he says, that in that day wherein he will thresh the mountains, he will make use of Jacob as that threshing instrument. Now by this [leaving the settlement of the nation to Parliament] we seem to put power into the hands of the men of the world, when God doth wrest it out of their hands. But that having been my own objection as well as the objection of others, it had this answer in my heart." The answer was that the time was not yet come. "When that time shall be," the "Spirit of God" shall so "work" on the minds of men that their works shall be "answerable to his works," and

so shall we be "made able in wisdom and power to carry through things in a way extraordinary." But now there is "not such a spirit in men," no such willingness to coöperate in God's work, on the contrary. They say that "it is only to get power unto our own hands, that we may reign over them—to answer the lusts within us," not to answer God's call that we have acted. And so because the time was not yet come, and in order to "answer that reproach" cast upon the Army, Harrison urged that they should leave the settlement of the nation to Parliament instead of seeking to effect it themselves. Let them give back their power and leave things to be settled in the ordinary course. "Trust God and give them up in a common current again."

Harrison was not very sanguine that the presentation of the Army's constitutional scheme to Parliament, or that their constitutional scheme itself, would realize their lofty hopes. "By this," he said, "we do hold forth a liberty to all the people of God, though yet it may so fall out that it will go hardly with the people of God. I judge it will do so, and that this 'Agreement' will fall short. I think that God doth purposely design it shall fall short of that end we look for, because hee would have us know our place. Our 'Agreement' shall be from God, and not from men. And yet I think the hand of God doth call for us to hold forth [this Agreement] to this nation and to all the world to vindicate that profession that we have all along made to God, and that we should let them know that we seek not ourselves, but for [the good of] men."¹

The arguments of Ireton and Harrison prevailed. The Agreement was passed, and, as intended, presented to the Parliament on Jan. 20, 1649. Parliament solemnly thanked

¹ This speech has been given at such length, because it throws great light on Harrison's ideas and on his subsequent action, because it is the only speech of any length by Harrison which has been preserved; and because it has not been published before. It is from vol. ii. of the papers of William Clarke, to be published by the Camden Society next year. The original is a rather chaotic collection of notes taken at the time.

its authors for their "good affections, great services and cordial expressions," and laid the document aside. Its jealousy of the Army led it to neglect the dictates of ordinary prudence. No two men, excepting Cromwell, were more responsible for the decision of the Army to leave the settlement of the kingdom to Parliament than Ireton and Harrison. Nevertheless, when the Council of State came to be elected, though Parliament passed a resolution that some of the officers of the Army should be members of the Council, the names of Ireton and Harrison were negatived as soon as they were proposed (Feb. 13, 1649). Yet both were also qualified as members of Parliament.

In the lower ranks of the Army, especially amongst the non-commissioned officers, there was a large party, who were not prepared to acquiesce in the decision of their leaders who regarded the "Agreement" as far too modest a programme, and were equally hostile both to Parliament and the Council of Officers. Headed by John Lilburne they began a pamphlet war, and drew up a series of petitions to Parliament couched in the most violent terms. One of the manifestoes of this party was: "The Hunting of the Foxes from Newmarket and Triploe Heaths to Whitehall, by Five Small Beagles, or the Grandee Deceivers Unmasked" (4to, 1649; Somers Tracts, ed. Scott, VI. 44). "Parliament," it asserts, "is indeed and in truth no parliament, but a representative glass of the Council of War, and the Council of War but the representative of Cromwell, Ireton and Harrison; and these are the all in all of this nation, which under these guises and names of parliament, army, general council, high court, and council of state, play all the strange pranks that are played."

Lilburne and other leaders of the movement were sent to the Tower, but the agitation continued, and in May, a section of the army broke into open revolt. Colonel Scroope's regiment mutinied at Salisbury, drove out their officers, and published a declaration. Four troops of Ireton's

regiment followed their example, and the united body marched into Berkshire, expecting to be joined by Harrison's regiment. But the greater part of Harrison's men adhered to their officers, and only two troops, those of Captain Peck and Captain Winthrop, threw in their lot with the mutineers.¹ At Burford, on the night of May 14, Cromwell surprised the quarters of the Levellers, took about four hundred of them prisoners, and dispersed the rest. Three of the ringleaders were shot; the rest, after exhortations from Okey, Harrison and Cromwell, professed penitence, and petitioned to be allowed to return to their duty.

After the dispersion of the Levellers, Fairfax and his officers proceeded to Oxford, where they were entertained by the University. Fairfax and Cromwell were created Doctors of Civil Law, whilst Harrison and ten other officers were made Masters of Arts (May 19, 1649).² About two months later (July 10th), Cromwell set out from London to take command of the expedition for the reconquest of Ireland. Before he left, the officers of the Army held a solemn prayer-meeting. Cromwell himself, aided by Colonel Goffe and Colonel Harrison, "did expound some places of Scripture excellently well and pertinent to the occasion." The regiments which were to serve in this expedition had been selected by lot, and as Harrison's was not one he shared neither the dangers nor the triumphs of the Irish war. An important command, however, was reserved for him in England. On July 16th, a number of gentlemen from South Wales presented a petition to Parliament asking that a commander-in-chief might be appointed for those parts in place of Colonel Horton who was to go to Ireland.³

¹ Edward Harrison, late chaplain of Colonel Harrison's regiment, published a pamphlet on behalf of Lilburne and the Levellers. His letter is given in the Appendix.

² Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* (Fasti, f. 75), vol. ii., ed. 1721.

³ Commons Journals. VI., 260; *The Moderate*, July 10-17, 1649. Harrison's commission is amongst the Clarke MSS. See appendix of documents, *post*.

They requested that Marten should be named, but the House referred the matter to Fairfax, who selected Harrison (August 21st). He was commissioned as commander-in-chief of the commonwealth's forces in the seven counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, Radnor, Cardigan, Caermarthen and Hereford, and in the parts of Gloucestershire on the south side of the Severn.¹

Harrison was also closely connected with Wales in another capacity. On February 23, 1650, Parliament passed an "Act for the better propagation and preaching of the gospel in Wales," appointing Harrison and some seventy other commissioners to see it carried out. They were given power to expel unfit or scandalous ministers, and to replace them by "godly and painful men of able gifts and knowledge."¹ Another commission of twenty-five ministers was appointed to recommend and approve fit persons "for the preaching of the Gospel in the said counties, as well in settled congregations and parochial charges, as in an itinerary course." The operations of these commissioners gave rise to great complaints, and to much controversy, and are still a subject of dispute, of indiscriminate blame from church-writers, and equally indiscriminate eulogy from non-conformists. Harrison throughout constituted himself the champion of the "Propagators," in parliament and outside it. Whilst he gained great influence amongst the Welsh Independents, Vavasor Powell and other leading ministers amongst the twenty-five commissioners obtained an influence over him which powerfully determined his later political career. Henceforth the extremer sects amongst the Independents regarded him as their natural head and their possible general.²

¹ Whitelock's Memorials, iii., 66, ed. 1853.

² The case against the Propagators is given in Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy. The case for them is stated in the History of Protestant Non-conformity in Wales, by Dr. Thos. Rees. Pamphlets on the subject are very numerous. Amongst Harrison's colleagues as commissioners were Hugh Courtney, afterwards his associate in prison, and Stephen Winthrop.

In the summer of 1650, Cromwell returned from Ireland, on account of the imminence of a war with the Scots. Parliament intended Fairfax to command in chief and Cromwell again to act as his second in command. But Fairfax, after a moment's hesitation, refused the command, declaring himself unsatisfied that there was a just ground for the Parliament of England to send their army to invade Scotland, though stating that he was willing to act if the Scots should invade England. Parliament sent a deputation consisting of Cromwell, Harrison and three others to endeavor to remove Fairfax's scruples. "I think," urged Harrison, "there cannot be greater assurance, or human probability, of the intentions of any state than we have of theirs to invade our country; else what means their present levies of men and money, and their quartering soldiers upon our borders? It is not long since they did the like to us, and we can hardly imagine what other design they can have to employ their forces." "Human probabilities," sententiously answered Fairfax, "are not sufficient grounds to make war upon a neighbour nation," and persisted in the determination to lay down his commission. Vainly Lambert and Cromwell urged that his doing so would encourage the public enemy, and seem like a desertion of the cause. "It is," added Harrison, "the most righteous and the most glorious cause that ever any of this nation appeared in, and now, when we hope that the Lord will give a gracious issue and conclusion to it, for your excellency then to give it over will sadden the hearts of many of God's people."¹

Fairfax resigned on June 26th. Cromwell was appointed Commander-in-chief on the same day, and left London on the 29th. A large party of Puritan notables accompanied him on his first day's journey. Harrison wrote apologizing for not being one of this party, and sending his last words of counsel to Cromwell. "The business you goe upon is

¹ Whitelock's *Memorials*, III., 209, 211, ed. 1853.

weighty, as ever yet you undertook; the issue plainly and deeply concernes the life or death of the Lord's people. . . . I doubt not your success, but I thinke faith and praier must be the chief engines, as heretofore the ancient worthies, through faith subdued kingdomes, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens."¹

Four days before Fairfax's resignation, the Parliament, on the recommendation of the Council of State, had appointed Harrison "to be commander-in-chief of such forces as are appointed for the security of those parts, in the absence of the Lord General and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and in subordination to them."²

Henceforth he is always described as major-general, a title given him occasionally, but more by courtesy than right, during his command in South Wales. He became, also, on 3 July, 1650, Lieutenant of the Ordinance, and in February, 1651, was elected a member of the Council of State. Harrison's rise in rank and office was naturally accompanied by a corresponding change in his manner of living, which some regarded as inconsistent with his religious professions. "The Major General," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "who was but a mean man's son, and of a mean education and no estate before the war, had gathered an estate of £2,000 a year and maintained his coach and family at a height as if they had been born to a principality." She goes on to tell a story illustrating his love of fine clothes. The King of Spain was the first monarch who sent an ambassador owning the English republic. The day before the solemn reception of the Spanish ambassador by the Parliament, Harrison had admonished certain young members of Parliament "that

¹ State Papers addressed to Oliver Cromwell, ed. by J. Nicholls, 1743, p. 10. See documents in Appendix for the complete letter.

² Commons Journals, VI., 428, 21 June, 1650. He now received a new commission as Major General. Cal. S. P. Dom. 1650, p. 222.

now the nations sent to them, they should labour to shine before them in wisdom, piety, righteousness and justice, and not in gold and silver and worldly bravery, which did not become Saints." Next day, Colonel Hutchinson and these young gentlemen, touched by this exhortation, appeared at the reception in plain black suits, and with airs of conscious virtue. But Harrison himself "came that day in a scarlet coat and cloak, both laden with gold and silver lace, and the coat so covered with clinquant that scarcely could one discern the ground, and in this glittering habit set himself just under the Speaker's chair."

Mrs. Hutchinson's stories show something of the jealousy of the country-gentleman's wife against the butcher's son who had risen so high, and doubtless she knew a colonel in the militia whom Harrison's post would just have fitted. But probably there was some truth in her criticisms, and she qualifies them in her conclusion. "This was part of his weakness; the Lord at last lifted him above these poor earthly elevations, which then and some time after prevailed too much with him."¹

The duties of Harrison's post were to see to the guard of the Parliament and Council of State, to forward re-enforcements to the army in Scotland, to organize the newly-levied English militia, and to suppress attempted royalist insurrections. On October 22d, he reviewed 8,000 of the newly-raised forces in Hyde Park.²

In November, a little royalist rising took place in Norfolk, and in the spring of 1651, plans were discovered for a general royalist insurrection, to be assisted by a diversion from Scotland. On February 4th, Colonel Rich with 1,500 horse and dragoons was ordered to the northern counties, and on March 22d, the Council of State informed Cromwell that they had resolved to send Harrison himself "into Lancashire and the northern parts, as a man more known

¹ Life of Colonel Hutchinson, ii., 169-172, ed. 1885.

² *Mercurius Politicus*, Oct. 22, 1650.

there, and capable to embody a greater number of men upon occasion than Colonel Rich; whereby a considerable strength may be ready in those parts, as well to prevent any irruptions from Scotland, as to correspond with you if there should be cause."¹

At the beginning of June, Harrison was at Penrith with a body of about 5,000 men. Half of these consisted of horse drawn from the newly-raised militia, badly officered and of inferior quality, as he complained to Cromwell. He had, also, some troops of volunteer horse raised by the Congregational churches in London and Wales, and detachments of foot collected from different garrisons. In July, Cromwell summoned Harrison into Scotland, and he joined the army on July 19th, with about 3,000 men.²

The moment when Harrison joined Cromwell was the turning point of the campaign. For about a month Cromwell had been vainly attempting to find a way through David Lesly's intrenchments about Stirling, or to tempt him from his strong position. At last, finding a front attack entirely hopeless, he resolved to throw a detachment across the Firth of Forth into Fifeshire, and dislodge Lesly by cutting off his supplies, or attacking him in the rear. On July 17th, Colonel Overton had landed in Fife, and on Sun-

¹ Cal. S. P. Dom, 1651, pp. 34, 92, 97, 102.

² For Harrison's instructions, see Cal. S. P. Dom. 1651, pp. 156, 187, 191, 192, 202. The *Faithful Scout*, for June 27—July 4, estimates his forces at about 8,000 horse and foot. Between 5,000 and 6,000 is the more moderate estimate given by "Several Proceedings in Parliament" for the same date. Cromwell's answer to Harrison's complaints of his troops, is printed by Carlyle, dated May 3, 1651. A letter from Harrison's headquarters at Penrith, dated June 5, is amongst the documents appended to this paper. It is probably by Harrison himself. On the volunteer troops mentioned above see Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1651-52, p. 34. *Mercurius Politicus*, July 10-17, 1651, p. 924; *Several Proceedings in Parliament*, p. 1308.

The *Perfect Diurnal* for 21-23 July, says under Saturday, 19; "Major General Harrison came hither to his Excellency with divers of his officers; his forces are quartered about Edinburgh, being his own regiment of horse and other troops, 4 troops of dragoons under Major Mercer, Col. Ingoldsby's regiment, and some loose companies of foot." *Several Proceedings*, 24-31 July, gives further particulars.

day, July 20th, Major-General Lambert routed 5,000 Scots at Inverkeithing with the loss of about two-thirds of their force. Cromwell followed with the main body of his army, and laid siege to Perth which surrendered on August 2d. Harrison was left in command on the south side of the Firth with his own brigade of horse, a force of 3,000 horse and dragoons in all.¹

Charles II. took advantage of the opportunity to make a dash into England, and on August 2d, Harrison announced to Cromwell that the whole of the Scotch army was marching south, and that he himself was bound for Berwick to unite with the forces of the northern counties and hinder the King's march.

Cromwell ordered Lambert with about 3,000 horse to pursue the Scots at once, and "to trouble the enemy in the rear." He himself with the rest of the horse and nine regiments of foot followed as fast as the infantry could march. Harrison's instructions were to attend the enemy's motion, to flank them, straiten their provisions, keep them together, and impede their march as much as possible. On the 5th of August, Harrison was at Newcastle, where he stayed till the 7th, gathering all the horse he could get together, and sending letters to the commissioners of the northern counties exhorting them to collect all the foot they could raise to assist his own force. "Improve," said his letter to the Committee of Yorkshire, "all possible means God may put into your hands to give a check to this vile generation untill our army come up. . . I have about 3,000 horse, which I shall endeavour to dispose of as God in his love and wisdom shall instruct me; and wherewith I hope to give the enemy some trouble, if some foot could be speedily raised to break down bridges, or stop some passages upon them. However, considering the battle is the Lord's, and not ours, and it is alike to him

¹ See *Mercurius Politicus*, July 24-31, 1651. Nicholls's Letters and Papers of State addressed to Oliver Cromwell, 1743, p. 71.

to save by few or many, I hope we may be useful in this juncture, though we be few, mean, and none more unworthy. The Lord quicken you, me, and all that profess to fear him, to give all diligence in our stations to quit ourselves as the friends of Christ, against the men that will not have him to reign, though God hath sworn to set his Son upon his Holy Hill, and that they that oppose him shall be broken in pieces as a potter's vessel."

In a postscript, he added practical instructions that before the approach of the enemy all horses, cattle and provisions should be driven out of their way, and that as many of the foot as possible should be mounted.

From Newcastle Harrison moved westward by Richmond, Ripon, and Bolton to Warrington on the southern verge of Lancashire. He was full of confidence as to the issue of the campaign. "The Lord prepare all our hearts," he wrote to the Council of State, "for the great mercy he will shortly show us, whereof through his grace we do not in the least doubt." On the 13th of August, Harrison and Lambert met near Preston, and having been joined by about 4000 horse and foot from Staffordshire and Cheshire they hoped to prevent the royalists from crossing the Mersey. On the 16th, however, the King's army forced a passage at Warrington, with but little opposition. "We were unwilling," explains Harrison, "to engage the whole army, where our horse could not come to make service through the enclosures." Accordingly, he continued to confine himself to retarding the march of the enemy by frequent skirmishes. When he learnt that the King was moving on Worcester he sent four troops of horse to reinforce the garrison, but as he could send no foot in time, and as the corporation declared for the King, they were obliged to evacuate the town, and the King entered it on August 22. Charles intended to march on towards London, but he was obliged to halt and refresh his army, and on the 28th Cromwell's forces barred his further progress.

Harrison's brigade helped to gain the great victory of September 3, and he was specially charged with the care of the pursuit. "What fish they will catch," wrote Cromwell to the Speaker, "time will declare." When the battle was lost, Charles II. and the main body of his cavalry, which was still unbroken, escaped through the north gate. Harrison's task was to disperse and capture these cavalry, which he effected so thoroughly that not a single troop got back to Scotland. The stragglers were taken or killed by the country people, and those who could surrender to the regular forces thought themselves fortunate. A royalist prisoner gives a graphic account of the flight. "We were so closely pursued, in the day by the army and garrison forces, in the night by the country, that from the time we came out of Worcester (Wednesday) until the Friday evening that I was taken prisoner 7 miles from Preston, neither I nor my horse ever rested. Our party consisted of 3000; in the day we often faced the enemy, and beat their little parties, but still those of us whose horses were tired or were shot, were lost, unless they could run as fast as we rode. In the night we kept close together, yet some fell asleep on their horses, and if their horses tarried behind we might hear by their cries what the bloody country people were doing with them."

In a letter to Lenthall from Preston, Harrison narrated the pursuit, and like Cromwell seized the opportunity to exhort the Parliament on the use to be made of its victory. "The Lord grant that the Parliament may improve this mercy, according to the will of God, in establishing the ways of righteousness and justice, yet more relieving the oppressed, and opening a wider door to the publishing the everlasting Gospel of our only Lord and Saviour."¹

¹ Those of Harrison's letters which could be recovered are given in the Appendix of documents, with indications of their sources. An account of the skirmish at Warrington is given in *Mercurius Politicus*, Aug. 14-21, 1651, p. 1010. The capture of Worcester by Charles II. is narrated in Cary's *Memorials of the Civil War*, ii. 385. The royalist narrative of the fight quoted above is in the *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* 1651, p. 437.

In December, 1651, Cromwell called a meeting of officers and members of parliament to consider the settlement of the nation. "That which my Lord General hath propounded," said Harrison, "is to advise as to a settlement both of our civil and spiritual liberties, so that the mercies the Lord hath given unto us may not be cast away. How this may be done is the great question."¹ On this great question, however, they could come to no agreement, nor did parliament make much progress with the problems Harrison had suggested in his letter.

Harrison's own political action during the period between September, 1651, and April, 1653, is not easy to follow. His name occurs on several committees appointed for the reform of the law, and he was a member of the committee to consider the relief of the poor, and of that to consider proposals for the better propagation of the gospel.² In July, 1650, he had shown his zeal against corruption in the case of Lord Howard of Escrick. Howard had received a bribe of £800 from a delinquent, but none could be prevailed upon to inform against so powerful a person. Harrison, however, being, says Ludlow, "a man of severe principles and zealous for justice, especially against such as betrayed the public trust reposed in them," undertook to bring the matter before parliament. "The honour of every member," he told the House, "was dear to him, and of that gentleman in particular, naming the Lord Howard, because he had so openly owned the interest of the Commonwealth as to decline his peerage and to sit upon the foot of his election by the people; yet he loved justice before all other things, looking upon it to be the honour of the parliament, and the image of God upon them; that therefore he durst not refuse to lay this matter before them, though he was very desirous that the said Lord might clear himself of the accusation." In the end Howard was expelled from parliament and fined £10,000.

¹ Whitelock, iil., 373.

² Commons Journals, vii.

On March 15, 1654, somewhat similar charges were brought against Harrison and his colleagues, in a petition presented to Parliament against the Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel in Wales. They were accused of neglecting the objects for which they had been appointed, and embezzling the revenues assigned for those purposes. Harrison himself was charged (some years later) with using all his influence to shelter his fellow-commissioners, and to crush the promoters of the petition. Parliament appointed a committee which reported on 25 March, 1653, that the petitioners had not given proof of their general charges, and that the petition was part of a Cavalier plot.¹ But parliament referred the report back to the committee, and did not renew the powers of the "Propagators" (as they were popularly termed), whose authority, having been limited to three years, ended on March 25, 1653. This action was not merely a great blow to Harrison, who had urged the continuance of the "Propagators" for at least six months, but was regarded by Cromwell and many others as a betrayal of the good cause.² In Cromwell's speech to the "Little Parliament" he made it one of the chief charges against the assembly he had just dissolved.³ "That

¹ Commons Journals, vii., 103 and 71; A. Griffiths, *A True and Perfect Relation of the whole transaction concerning the Petition of the Six Counties of South Wales*, etc., 1654.

² A news-letter, dated April 8, 1653, amongst the Clarendon MSS., says: "Friday last the House voted down the preaching Propagators of North Wales, and ordered a moderate clergy to be put in their places; they had got into their hands £30,000 per annum of church livings, which Harrison and others of that party are loth to part with, they sickling much for them, and in conclusion desired the continuance of them but for half a year longer, which was denied them."

³ Speaking of the effects of factions and personal motives in swaying the Long Parliament, Cromwell said: "When we came to other trinds as in that case of Wales, which I must confess for my own part I set myself upon, if I should relate what discountenance that business of the poor people of God then had (who had men watching over them like so many wolves, ready to catch the lambs so soon as they were brought forth into the world); how signally that business was trodden under foot to the discountenancing of the honest people, and the countenancing of the malignant party of this commonwealth." Carlyle's *Cromwell*, Speech I. It is noticeable that one of Cromwell's first acts after the expulsion of the Rump was to write to the Propagators, to bid them to continue to act, and to promise them support.

business," he said, "really to me and my officers was as plain a trial of their spirits as anything. By this and by similar instances," he added, "they were convinced that 'good was never intended to the people of God,' and that the members of the Parliament had forgotten what they owed to the men who had placed and maintained them in power. Harrison had come to the same conclusion as Cromwell. When Ludlow asked him why he had helped Cromwell to overthrow the Parliament, he answered, "because he was fully persuaded that they had not a heart to do any more good for the Lord and his people."

Two other reasons explain Harrison's share in the revolution of April, 1653. Like Cromwell, like the army in general, he had come to believe that the great aim of the members of the Long Parliament was, to keep themselves in power as long as possible. "I did see," he says, "they did intend to perpetuate themselves, without doing those desirable things which were expected and longed for by the Lord's people." Both Harrison and Cromwell agreed therefore, that a change of governors was necessary. "We did think," says Cromwell, "that the hands of other men (than these) must be the hands to be used for the work." In the same way Harrison describes himself as "apprehending that God had done his work by them, and that he had some more worthy persons to come upon the stage." The new governors, they both agreed, must be men of a different spirit, men who, as Harrison said to Ludlow, "acted upon higher principles than civil liberty," men to whom the interest of religion—"the more peculiar interest of God," as Cromwell termed it—was paramount to all other interests. In this respect Harrison's views went much further than Cromwell's. In 1649 Harrison had been in theory a Fifth Monarchy man—as his speech on the Agreement of the People shows—but he was not then convinced that the time for the establishment of the Fifth Monarchy had come. In 1653—under the influence of

Feake and Powell—he thought that the time had come—the time spoken of by the prophet Daniel when “the Saints shall take the Kingdom and possess it.”¹ And whilst there was a certain difference between Cromwell and Harrison as to the nature of the new government, there was also a difference as to the manner in which its establishment was to be brought about. Up to the very eve of his expulsion of the Long Parliament, Cromwell was striving to restrain the army from forcibly dissolving the parliament, and endeavoring to effect a peaceable compromise with that body.² He complained to a friend “that he was pushed on by two parties to do that the consideration of the issue whereof made his hair to stand on end.” One of these parties was headed by Lambert, and the other by Harrison. “Major General Harrison,” added Cromwell, “is an honest man and aims at good things; yet from the impatience of his spirit will not wait the Lord’s leisure, but hurries me on to that which he and all honest men will have cause to repent.”³ A shrewd observer writing in March, 1653, described the army as divided into two factions, that of Cromwell and that of Harrison. Cromwell and his faction supported the existing government, but Harrison’s design was “to put the government into other hands, and to rout the present members of Parliament,” and Harrison’s faction was much the stronger.⁴

All parties in the Army objected to the “Bill for a new Representative” which Parliament was engaged in passing. After many conferences between the leaders of the army and the leaders of the parliament, a compromise was suggested, and the officers on April 19, 1653, obtained a promise that the progress of the bill should be suspended

¹ Ludlow’s *Memoirs*, ii., 563-6; for Harrison’s speech see p. 23, *ante*.

² The evidence for this view of the situation is much of it unpublished. I hope to print some of the documents on whose authority I have made this statement in the *English Historical Review*.

³ Ludlow’s *Memoirs*.

⁴ Daniel O’Neill’s *Brief relation of the Affairs of England*, Clarendon MSS.

to discuss the proposed expedient. Next day news was brought to the officers that the Parliament, in spite of this promise, was actually on the point of passing the bill. Mediation or compromise were no longer possible, and Cromwell, furious at this breach of faith, hurried to Westminster. Harrison was already in the House. He had been present when the sitting opened, had remonstrated against the resolution to proceed with the bill, and had "sweetly and humbly desired them to lay it aside, showing them the danger of it." Cromwell entered, sat down, and listened for some time to the debate. "Then," continues Ludlow, "calling to Major-General Harrison who was on the other side of the House to come to him, he told him 'That he judged the Parliament ripe for dissolution, and this to be the time of doing it.' The Major-General answered (as he since told me), 'Sir, the work is very great and dangerous, therefore I desire you seriously to consider of it before you engage in it.' 'You say well,' replied the General, and thereupon sat still for about a quarter of an hour; and then the question for passing the bill being to be put, he said again to Major-General Harrison, 'this is the time, I must do it,' and suddenly standing up he made a speech."

"I will put an end to your sitting," he concluded, and calling in 20 or 30 soldiers he ordered them to take away the mace, and bade Harrison to fetch the Speaker from his chair. "I went to the Speaker," says Harrison, "and told him: 'Sir, seeing things are brought to this pass it is not requisite for you to stay there,' he answered, he would not come down unless he was pulled out. 'Sir,' said I, 'I will lend you my hand'; and he putting his hand into mine, came down without any pulling."¹

¹ Harrison's intervention in the debate is mentioned in "Several Proceedings in Parliament," quoted in the old Parliamentary History, xx., 130. Ludlow's account of the dissolution was partly derived from Harrison, as he expressly states. When he wrote, Ludlow evidently had before his eyes Harrison's statement on the subject in 1660, printed in "The Speeches and Prayers of some of

No doubt Harrison spoke the truth in asserting that when he went to the House he had no knowledge of Cromwell's intention of forcibly dissolving it.¹ But it does not much lessen his responsibility for that act of violence. It is evident that he was very willing to take part in it. It is clear (in my opinion) that he had for some time advocated some such action on the part of the Army. Finally, his words and acts show that he entirely approved of it. "Afterwards," he said, "I was glad the thing was done."²

A day or two later, the officers met at Whitehall to discuss the organization of the new government. "Major General Lambert," says Ludlow, "moved that a few persons, not exceeding the number of ten or twelve, might be entrusted with the supreme power. Major General Harrison was for a greater number, inclining most to that of 70, being the number of the Jewish Sanhedrim."³ Eventually it was deter-

the late King's Judges," 4to, 1660, p. 2. Harrison there says: "The breaking of the Parliament was the act and design of General Cromwell, for I did know nothing of it; that morning before it was done, he called me to go along with him to the House, and after he had brought all into confusion, I went to the Speaker," etc. Ludlow gives Harrison's dialogue with the Speaker almost in the very words used by Harrison in "Speeches and Prayers" which I have quoted above. The Earl of Leicester's account, derived no doubt from his son Algernon Sydney, after describing the entry of the soldiers, goes on: "Then the General, pointing to the Speaker in his chair, said to Harrison, 'Fetch him down.' Harrison went to the Speaker, and spoke to him to come down, but the Speaker sat still and said nothing. 'Take him down,' said the General; then Harrison went and pulled the Speaker by the gown, and he came down." He then describes how Harrison and Col. Worsley laid hands on Algernon Sydney, and put him out (Blencowe, Sydney Papers, p. 140). Harrison, as his own account shows, was very anxious to disprove the statement that he used any physical force to the Speaker. Bordeaux the French ambassador describes Harrison as treating the Speaker with great show of respect, and leading him out by the hand "comme un gentilhomme fait une demoiselle."

¹ Harrison's statement that he accompanied Cromwell to the House is probably incorrect. It was not made till 1660, whereas the account of his taking part in the debate during the morning, and the details about his conversation with Cromwell, related by Ludlow, both point to the conclusion that he was in the House before Cromwell came there. One of the news-letters describes him as sending for Cromwell to come to the House. In that case it is easy to explain his ignorance of Cromwell's sudden resolution to dissolve the parliament.

² Speeches and Prayers.

³ Ludlow's Memoirs. Clarendon MSS., May 13, 1653.

mined to leave the executive power for the present in the hands of a council of thirteen, mostly officers, and to make over the supreme authority later to an assembly of about one hundred and forty puritan notables who were to meet in July. Public opinion, however, regarded the existing government either as a Cromwellian dictatorship, or as a military triumvirate consisting of Cromwell, Lambert and Harrison. Some asserted that Cromwell would make himself King. Others held that Lambert was more popular than Cromwell in the Army. All agreed in believing that the Anabaptists—under which term all the extremer varieties of Independents were included—were the devoted supporters of Harrison, and many thought this party the strongest. “Harrison,” said a news-letter, “hath lately written to an intimate friend, that the Lord had now at last made the General instrumental to put the power into the hands of his people (meaning the fanatic gathered churches), contrary to his intentions: that it was the Lord’s work and no thanks to his Excellency.”¹

The Anabaptists, it was believed, meant to put Harrison in Cromwell’s place. Mr. Feake, it was said, had told his congregation at Christ Church “that although the General had fought their battles with success, yet he was not the man that the Lord had chosen to sit at the helm.” Harrison himself, it is reported, encouraged these suggestions, and had declared “that the Spirit told him it was impossible to settle this government but in a monarchicall way, and it was revealed to him, that there would speedily be a king again; but not one of the former race, nor such carnal

¹ News-letter, Clarendon MSS. May 6. Compare Nicholas Papers, II., 13. Sir Edward Nicholas wrote on 17 May to Lord Wentworth: “I understand by some passengers that are lately come out of England, that Cromwell did rather join with Lambert and Harrison to preserve himself than that he did form this great alteration of the government in England, and that he hath no such absolute power in England, or in the Army, as some apprehend . . . but that his authority depends very much upon the interest of the other two commanders and their fanatic faction.” The Nicholas Papers, ed. by G. F. Warner, ii., 13.

persons as some eminent in present power, but a man after God's own heart, and anointed with the Spirit" and as he made those expressions it was observed that he still stroked himself over the breast, by which his auditors implied he meant himself.¹

Whatever royalist gossips might think, it is in the highest degree improbable that Harrison cherished any such personal ambitions. His ambition was of a more unselfish, and a more impracticable kind. It was to realize on English soil the ideal commonwealth of his dreams and his desires, a society which would resemble more closely the Jewish theocracy, than the republics of the Greeks and Romans. His aim and his resolution might have been expressed in Blake's lines :—

"I will not cease from mental fight,
Nor shall my sword sleep in my hand,
Till we have built Jerusalem
In England's green and pleasant land."

The assembly which was to effect these great things met on July 4, 1653. It consisted of about one hundred and forty puritan notables, all of them, as the writs of summons specified, "persons fearing God and of approved fidelity and honesty." Their names had been selected by the Council of Officers from a list of persons nominated by the "Churches" in the various counties. To this body Cromwell, on July 4th, made over power on behalf of the Council of State, and the speech in which he did so shows that he too shared the high expectations with which they came together. "This," said he, "may be the door to usher in the things that God has promised," and the assembly itself, in the Declaration it published on July 12th, used similar language.

One of the first acts of the assembly was to invite Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison and two other officers to sit as members with them, for officers of the regular army had been purposely excluded when the original members of that

¹ News-letter, May 13, 1653. Clarendon MSS.

body were selected. The result of this was that though this assembly had been called to power and was maintained in power by the Army, the Army had very little direct influence over their resolutions.

Of the three generals who were invited to join the assembly, Harrison was the only one who took much part in its proceedings. Three months at least out of the five months for which it lasted Lambert retired to the country, no doubt because he from the beginning had opposed the policy of which the assembly was the result. Cromwell confined himself almost entirely to the meetings of the Council of the State and to army affairs. In the absence of these two, Harrison and his followers, though not an actual majority, were able in the main to determine the policy of the assembly.¹ "The persons that led in that meeting," said Cromwell in 1657, "were Mr. Feake and his assemblage in Blackfriars, Major-General Harrison, and the rest that associated with him at one Mr. Squib's house. There were all the resolutions taken that were acted in the House day by day."² To the moderate party in the assembly, and also to Cromwell and many of his officers, it seemed that the reforming zeal of Harrison and his party threatened to produce general confusion. Cromwell was zealous for the reform of the English law, but thought that they would have "set up instead of order the judicial law of Moses," and would have not simply "regulated" but abrogated and subverted the law.³ Another point on which they disagreed was the question of the war with Holland. Cromwell was anxious to make peace with the Dutch on reasonable terms, because his whole scheme of foreign policy was based

¹ The full strength of Harrison's party in the House seems to have been 56 votes, which was the number they mustered in the division of Dec. 10; 58 voted for Harrison's re-election as member of the Council on Nov. 7. It must have been the organization of the party rather than its number that made it formidable.

² Carlyle's Cromwell, Speech xiii.

Carlyle's Cromwell, Speech ii., Speech xiii.

on the cordial alliance of the two great Protestant republics. The Fifth Monarchy men demanded that the war should be continued till the complete subjugation and submission of the Dutch, which they regarded as near at hand. "Harrison and that faction of the Anabaptists have been most against us," wrote one of the Dutch ambassadors to his masters. "Harrison and his party," said another letter from England, "do rail and preach every day against the General and the peace with Holland," and he anticipated as the result of the quarrel between Harrison's and Cromwell's parties the sudden dissolution of the parliament.¹ It was, however, the religious question, not the question of foreign policy, which led to the final breach. Cromwell and the majority of the officers of the army were in favor of an established church. A minority, to which Harrison belonged, were opposed to any interference of the magistrate in religious matters, and in favor of a purely voluntary system of church organization. In the "Little Parliament," parties appear to have been more equally balanced. Almost the first subject to be discussed in that assembly had been the question of tithes, and after five days debate the subject was referred to a committee, in spite of the opposition of Harrison and his party, who were anxious that tithes should be abolished by an immediate vote of the House. On the second of December the committee presented their report, which concluded for the continuance of tithes, though suggesting a plan for their commutation when

¹ Thurloe, State Papers, i., 519, 612. "Last Monday," writes Beverning to DeWitt on Aug. 26, 1653, "I went to the meeting at Blackfriars. . . . The scope and intention of their meeting is to preach down governments, and to stir up the people against the United Netherlands. Being then in the assembly of the saints, I heard one prayer and two sermons; but good God! What cruel, and abominable, and most horrid trumpets of fire; murther, and flame" (*Ib.* p. 442). An intercepted letter says: "It was preached publicly—before a great congregation . . . that if they now made peace with those rogues and dogs the Dutch, after they had beaten, and beaten, and beaten the slaves, nay, and almost quite conquered them, that God's vengeance would follow upon such a heathenish peace; for where should they have a landing place when they went to do the great work of the Lord, and tear the whore of Babylon out of her chair?" (*Ib.*, p. 534.)

persons had scruples against paying them. The report also contained proposals for the reorganization of the established church, but after five days discussion the first clause of it was rejected by 56 to 54 votes. This vote was regarded as portending the abolition of any established church, and the conservative party replied by bringing forward a motion that the parliament should dissolve themselves by delivering up again to Cromwell the powers which they had received from him (Dec. 12).¹

The motion was carried, the surrender of the assembly's authority effected, and a new constitution was rapidly drawn up by Lambert and the council of officers.² On December the 16th, Cromwell was installed as Protector, and the authority which had been vested in the "Little Parliament" passed to Cromwell and his Council of State. The political influence of Harrison and the Fifth Monarchy men was suddenly and completely annihilated. On the 19th of December, three days after Cromwell's installation, Feake and Powell thundered against the Protector in their meeting at Blackfriars, denounced him as the "dissemblingest perjured villain alive," identified him with the little horn mentioned in Daniel, and predicted his speedy overthrow. They were summoned before the council, but released after being a couple of days in custody (Dec. 21-23).³ At the same time, "Major-General Harrison being treated with, to know if he could own and act under this present power, and declaring he could not, had his commission taken from him."⁴

Gladly would Cromwell and his partisans have given Harrison a high place in the new government, but he re-

¹ Commons Journals, vii., 285, 286, 361, 363. Thurloe Papers, i., 368, 369, 387, 637. *Reliquiae Baxterianae*, p. 70.

² Thurloe, i., 632. Lambert was the chief contriver of this new revolution.

³ A report of the sermons of Feake and Powell is given in *Cal. S. P., Dom.*, 1653-4, p. 304, cf. pp. 308, 309, and Thurloe, i., 641. Feake had been warned some weeks earlier. Thurloe, i., 591, 621.

⁴ Thurloe, i., 641.

garded them as apostates, and scorned their offers. "Some that were eminent in the work," said Harrison, at his execution, "did wickedly turn aside themselves and set up their nests on high, which caused great dishonour to the name of God and the profession they had made: And the Lord knows I could have suffered more than this, rather than have fallen in with them in that iniquity, though I was offered what I would, if I would have joined with them."¹ At his trial, he referred to these offers in similar words. "I did what I did out of conscience to the Lord. For when I found those that were as the apple of mine eye, to turn aside, I did loath them, and suffered imprisonment many years. Rather than to turn as many did that did put their hands to this plough, I chose rather to be separated from wife and family than to have compliance with them; though it was said, 'sit at my right hand,' and such kind of expressions."²

Harrison's resistance to the new power seems to have been entirely passive, but the violent sermons of his friends, and the plots of the Fifth-Monarchy men continually rendered their late leader suspected in the eyes of Cromwell's Council. On January 28, 1654, Feake and another preacher were sent prisoners to Windsor Castle. On February 3d, the Council ordered Harrison to leave London within ten days, and "to repair into Staffordshire, and there reside without removing till further order."³ A few days later, Roger Williams, just before his return to America, had a parting interview with Harrison. "Major General Harrison," he wrote to Winthrop, "was the second in the nation of late, when the loving General and himself joined against the former Long Parliament and dissolved them; but now, being the head of the fifty-six party [against priests and tithes] he was confined by the Protector and

¹ *Speeches and Prayers*, p. 8.

² *Trial of the Regicides*, p. 50.

³ *Cal. S. P., Dom.*, 1653-4, pp. 371, 387; cf. *Cal. Clarendon Papers*, ii., 325.

Council within five miles of his father's house in Staffordshire. That sentence he not obeying, he told me the day before my leaving London, he was to be sent prisoner into Herefordshire. Surely, Sir, he is a very gallant, most deserving, heavenly man, but most highflown for the Kingdom of the Saints, and the Fifth Monarchy now risen, and their sun never to set again. etc."¹

During the spring of 1654, there were continual reports of stirrings amongst the Anabaptists in Wales, of incendiary sermons and of secret enlistments of military saints. Morgan Lloyd, a preacher who had once led a troop of volunteers in Harrison's army in Scotland, was said to be preaching against his Highness the Lord Protector, "persuading the people that there would be alterations shortly, and that his Highness (giving him all the contemptible words that can be spoken) was not the person to do the work, but that Harrison would be the man."²

On September 3, 1654, Cromwell's new parliament met, and an opposition strong in numbers and parliamentary ability proceeded to attack the Instrument of Government, and criticise the foundations of the Protector's power. On September 4th, the Fifth-Monarchy men published a manifesto against the government, entitled "A Declaration of several of the Churches of Christ and Godly People in and about the city of London; concerning the Kingly Interest of Christ, and the present sufferings of his Cause and Saints in England." Signatures to this, or to a similar petition, were to be collected, and it was intended that Harrison should present it to Parliament.³ Cromwell put a stop to the movement by expelling from Parliament all the members who declined to sign an agreement accepting the existing government, and prevented the presentation of the

¹ J. R. Bartlett's *Letters of Roger Williams*, Narragansett Club, vol. vi., 260.

² Thurloe, ii., 129; cf. pp. 44, 46, 93, 116, 128, 174.

³ Thurloe, ii., 606; Burton's *Parliamentary Diary*, i., xxxiv.; Cal. Clarendon Papers, ii., 397.

petition by arresting Harrison. He had no desire to deal harshly with his old comrade. After two or three days' restraint, Harrison was "sent for to the Court, and entertained there privately at dinner with rich wines, eight or ten good dishes of meat, and as many gentlemen to attend him. After dinner the Protector came, and professed his great affection to him, and high esteem of his great worth, which alone moved him to send for him now, that he might discharge the office of a friend by admonishing him not to persist in those deceitful and slippery ways whose end is destruction; and at the last, with much good counsel and great civility, at once dismissed and enlarged him."¹

During the winter of 1654-55 discontent continued to spread. There was considerable disaffection in the Army. The royalists were concerting a general insurrection to take place in February, 1655, and a part of the Levellers were prepared to join with them. The Fifth-Monarchy men were denouncing the Protector in their old fashion. Early in February, Harrison and some friends had an interview with Cromwell to ask the release of Feake and Rogers, both imprisoned for preaching against the government. The Protector refused their petition, but desired them to come to him at a more convenient time, and discuss the question at length, "when he should deal very plainly with them, and would be content to be so dealt with by them, and to hear what they had to say against the way that he was now in." Twice the Protector sent for them for this object, and twice they failed to come. Harrison said "that if he had been required to come he should be more free, but was not free to come upon a desire." Thereupon they were summoned by a warrant from the Protector, but still declined to appear. Cromwell's patience now gave out. "Upon this contempt," writes Thurloe, "and because of the certain information that my Lord had of their endeavour to stir up the people against the government, and to seduce

¹ Cal. Clarendon Papers, ii., 397, 398. Letter of Sept. 25, 1654.

some persons from their trust which they held under the State, he sent for them in safe custody." On February 15, Harrison, Colonel Rich, Mr. John Carew and Mr. Hugh Courtney were brought before the Protector and his Council. In addition to the Councillors, there were present a number of officers and officials, and some eminent ministers and laymen, including representatives of Harrison's own party, called in at his special desire. For it was not simply a hearing or an examination of the four incriminated persons which was to take place, but a discussion in which the lay leaders of the Fifth-Monarchy men—the statesmen of the party—were to set forth at length the grounds of their opposition to the government.

Secretary Thurloe sent General Monck (who was then commanding in Scotland) a full account of the debate.¹ "That which was first asked them, was why they had in contempt of authority refused to come upon the summons which had been sent, whereunto. . . . they plainly answered, that they could not come because in that act they should acknowledge the government; which they could not do, it being a government set up against the will of God, and in opposition to the Kingdom of Christ, and was anti-christian and Babylonish, and they did expect that God would pour out his wrath upon it, and those that did adhere to it; and they did not come lest some of the drops of wrath should fall upon them, and therein they obeyed the Scripture, which calls to the daughter of Sion to come out of Babylon. Mr. Carew added that My Lord Protector when the Little Parliament was dissolved, took the crown off from the head of Christ, and put it upon his own."

"It would be too large to tell all particulars. Some of the principles they laid down are these: that the present authority is not any authority, nor to be obeyed, and consequently arms may be taken up against it: that the Magistrate

¹ What follows is from an unpublished letter to Monck amongst the MSS. of his Secretary, William Clarke.

which is carnal hath no right, nor can have: and the great objection which they made against this government was because it had a parliament in it, whereby power is derived from the people, whereas all power belongs to Christ. And it being demanded of them, whether they would engage to live peaceable, and not disturb the peace of the nation, they refused to do it. And it being pressed upon them to do it, because of the protection they had, they denied they received any protection from the present government, and that they owed their protection only to God, and that they should expect the same quiet and protection from God, if the whole army were disbanded tomorrow. . . . The council did offer to them, that if they would retire into their own counties, and promise not to come forth without leave, it would be all that would be expected, viz.: Major-General Harrison into Staffordshire, John Carew and Courtney into Cornwall, and Rich into Kent; but they utterly refused it. And thereupon they are ordered to stand committed, which I assure you is done of pity to them and some other people who are led by them, as well as for the sake of the nation, that they may not put things into blood and confusion, and be made use of by the Cavaliers and vile Levelling party to destroy and utterly root out all that are good and godly in the land. Before they were committed his Highness told them, that they were not only committed for the contempt, but because they had acted against the government and the peace of the nation, and particularly told every one of them what he had against them." Carew had endeavoured to seduce "some great officers" to betray their trust, Rich had incited opposition to the raising of taxes, and Courtney had urged armed rebellion. Against Harrison the charge was, "that he had not only countenanced those who declaimed publicly against the government, but had persuaded some of the lawfulness of taking up arms against it."

Monck briefly answered Thurloe's narrative by saying

“that unless his Highness be very severe with those that are disturbers to the peace we shall never have any certain settlement.” The Protector’s council held the same opinion, and henceforth Harrison was treated accordingly. A few days later he was sent prisoner to Portland, whence in April, 1655, he was removed to Carisbrook Castle. At Carisbrook Harrison had Courtney as his fellow captive, and after December, 1655, John Rogers, one of the chief preachers of the Fifth Monarchy men, also shared his captivity.

In one of his many pamphlets Rogers gives some account of his “dear con-captive’s for the most noble and excellent cause of the King of Saints.” Together they praised the “sweet Providence” which had brought them into one gaol as well as one exile, “for one and the same Master, and one and the same Cause, Testimony and Truth.” Bull the gaoler was an oppressive and violent man “who indeed played the beast with us.” Rogers preached in his room, and out of his window, and wherever he could find opportunity, but his gaoler drove away with blows the people who flocked to hear him, and set on the soldiers to assault Rogers himself. Fortunately the Major-General had with him “a precious ointment and salve,” with which he cured Rogers’s bruises. Sometimes the gaoler’s anxiety to prevent the prisoners from communicating with the outside world, led to a sudden stoppage of their supplies. Once they would have been half starved, had not a neighboring Knight, touched by pity, sent Harrison a little lamb. Throughout their imprisonment together Rogers never ceased to exhort his companions, and to denounce “the Serpent,” “the Beast,” “the seed of the Dragon,” “the Bastard of Ashdod,” who had established his dominion in England. “Hold out and die like Christ’s men,” admit no capitulation, make no terms with them. “March up O ye men of courage against this apostate and most perfidious enemy.” . . . “King Jesus his Mount Sion muster-day is at hand.” . . .

“His magazines and artillery, yea his most excellent mortarpieces and batteries be ready. We wait only for the word from on High to fall on. . . . and then by the grace of God the proudest of them shall know we are engaged on life and death, to stand or fall, with the Lord Jesus our Captain-General upon his Red Horse against the Beast's government.”

These prophetic visions and martial exhortations had a great effect on Harrison, and when an order came for his release he was quite reluctant to leave his prison. On the 20th of March, 1656, two officers arrived at Carisbrook with orders to remove Harrison to London “to Highgate, to his own house, a prisoner.” The reason assigned was “the very desperate danger of death his father (in-law), the Colonel, was in, as also his dear yoke fellow so near the time of her travail.” Harrison was “in great fears of the serpent's snares in this order,” and afraid also “lest his further liberty, company, and outward comforts should be any entanglement unto him, or let to his inward joys and prison experiences.” He begged Rogers and Courtney for their advice and they confirmed his fears. When the officers came to see him again, Harrison “dealt very roundly and plainly with them,” and told them “that he could not thank them for their pretended love, nor did he think his father or wife would be worse by his continuance in this prison, but rather the better and for a gaol he would rather have this than any for the cruelty thereof . . . nor would he make his house a prison.” In the end he said that “he would not declare his readiness to go with them, but if they would carry him away he could not help it.” They answered that they “did desire to serve him with all civility and respect, and were loth to use any violence, but could not go without him, and they were now to take custody of him; and so desired him to prepare himself the next day and to give directions which way he would go.” Harrison told them “that he would have nothing to do with it, but

he was a sufferer ; nor would he direct, nor bear any of the charges, for he was a prisoner."

The next morning Bull, the gaoler, delivered Harrison up to the two officers. "We had much discourse," says Rogers, "and the Lord gave him a very noble spirit, though broken in himself, to deal plainly with Bull and them, expressing his unwillingness to leave us behind, or rather his desire to partake and tarry with us still in so sore bonds. But when we saw he must be gone, we parted with no little heaviness. . . . We got upon a wall and looked after them till they came near to Newport, and then my dear fellow prisoner, Mr. Courtney, and I kept the rest of the day in prayer, easing our hearts and emptying our tears into the bosom of heaven, being a little troubled for our loss of so precious a help, so choice a companion as he was to us."¹

For the next year Harrison lived at Highgate under surveillance, though not under actual restraint. His father-in-law, Col. Ralph Harrison, died a few weeks later, and was buried on May 16th.² Of the infant whose birth had been expected nothing more is heard.

As soon as it was known that Harrison was at liberty his political friends flocked to see him, nor did the government make any attempt to hinder it. "He spares not," wrote Thurloe to Henry Cromwell, "to speak his mind freely to them who come to visit him, which I do not hear are many." The Secretary added that he thought the Fifth-Monarchy men were declining in credit and numbers,

¹ Rogers, *Life and Opinions of John Rogers, a Fifth Monarchy man, 1867*, pp. 256-297 (extracts from Rogers's pamphlet, *Jegar Sabadutha*). Cf. *Mercurius Politicus*, March 31—April 7, 1656; *Cal. S. P.*, Dom, 1655-6, pp. 190, 202, 215, 588.

² Obituary of Richard Smyth, p. 42. Ralph Harrison's first wife Martha (the mother of Catherine Harrison) was buried at St. Anne's, Blackfriars, Sept. 3, 1653. *Notes and Queries*, sixth series, ii., 383. By his nuncupative will (registered in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 271 Berkley), he left his second wife, Hester, £200 a year for life, and the use of his dwelling house at Highgate. He made Thomas Harrison, his son-in-law, sole executor, by whom the will was proved on July 18, 1656.

though still as bitter as ever against the government, and as resolved "to try for it with the sword," if they could get a chance.¹ One of Harrison's visitors was Ludlow, eager to learn from Harrison why he had helped Cromwell to expel the Long Parliament, and in what manner the expulsion had been effected. Harrison gave the reasons which have been already stated. "Are you not," said Ludlow, "now convinced of your error, in entertaining such thoughts, especially since it has been seen what use has been made of the usurped power." To this home question Harrison replied, "Upon their heads be the guilt, who have made a wrong use of it; for my own part my heart was upright and sincere in the thing." Ludlow retorted that it was not sufficient in matters of great importance to mankind, to have only good intentions and designs, unless there were also a reasonable probability of obtaining those ends by the methods pursued; and urged that Harrison ought to have foreseen that when the civil authority was overthrown, power would naturally devolve upon the head of the army.

The conversation then turned on the Fifth Monarchy and the right of the Saints to rule. Harrison said that one of his reasons for joining with Cromwell was "because he pretended to own and favour a sort of men, who acted upon higher principles than those of civil liberty." Ludlow replied by reminding him "that the generality of the people that had engaged with us, having acted upon no higher principles than those of civil liberty, and that they might be governed by their own consent, it could not be just to treat them in another manner upon any pretence whatsoever." Here indeed was the fundamental difference between Harrison and Ludlow, between Fifth Monarchy men and Republicans. One party desired to establish a theocracy,² the other a democracy. Harrison went on to

¹ Thurloc, iv., 698.

² Rogers expressly uses this word "theocracy." *Life of John Rogers*, p. 228.

cite passages from the Prophet Daniel. "The Saints shall take the Kingdom and possess it." "The Kingdom shall not be left to another people." "I answered," writes Ludlow, "that the same Prophet says in another place that 'the Kingdom shall be *given* to the people of the Saints of the most High.' And that I conceived, if they should presume to take it before it was given they could at the best be guilty of doing evil that good might come of it.

"For to deprive those of their right in the government, who had contended for it equally with ourselves, were to do as we would not that others should do to us. That such proceedings are not only unjust, but also impracticable, at least for the present; because we cannot perceive that the Saints are clothed with such a spirit as those are required to be to whom the Kingdom is promised; and therefore we may easily be deceived in judging who are fit for government, for many have taken upon them the form of saintship, that they might be admitted to it, who yet have not acted suitably to their pretensions in the sight of God or men; for proof of which we need go no further than to those very persons who had drawn him in to assist them in their design of exalting themselves, under the specious pretence of exalting the Kingdom of Christ. He confessed himself," concludes Ludlow, "not able to answer the arguments I had used; yet said he was not convinced that the texts of Scripture quoted by him were not to be interpreted in the sense he had taken them."¹

In April, 1657, a plot was discovered, headed by one Venner, for a rising of Fifth Monarchy men, which was to have taken place on April 9. Harrison was arrested, but rather as a precaution than because he had actually had a hand in the conspiracy. One of the papers of the conspirators contained a statement that "the ancient wise christians," including Harrison and Carew, were opposed to

¹ Ludlow's Memoirs, ed. 1698, ii., 563-6. *Mercurius Politicus*, April 9-16, 1657, p. 7726; Cf. pp. 7736, 7742, 7753.

the rising, but also proved that Harrison had been sound-
ed and invited to take part.¹ This time Harrison was not
under restraint for more than a few weeks, but on Feb.
3, 1658, he was again arrested, and sent to the Tower. A
petition which the Protector regarded as dangerous was
being circulated amongst the Republicans and Fifth Mon-
archy men in London, and Harrison was held to be one of its
instigators. This imprisonment was also brief. During
1659, Harrison took no part in public affairs. There were
occasional rumors of Anabaptist risings to be headed by
him, but they were nothing but rumors.² The Long
Parliament, restored in May, 1659, was highly incensed
against him for his share in its expulsion, and whilst others
who had suffered under Cromwell were restored to their
commands, it was much that he was unmolested. On Sept.
30th, they passed a vote discharging him from being a
member of the House, and declaring him forever incap-
able of sitting in Parliament. When the wheel turned, and
the army again expelled the Parliament (Oct. 13, 1659),
the subaltern officers wished to restore Harrison to his
commission, but Lambert and his party prevented it.³

As the Restoration drew near, Harrison's friends urged
him to fly, but in vain. "If I had been minded to run
away," he said subsequently, "I might have had many
opportunities, but being so clear in the thing, I durst not
turn my back nor step a foot out of the way, by reason I
had been engaged in the service of so glorious and so
great a God."⁴

¹ Thurloe, vi., 164, 185. A reason for this reluctance is suggested, viz.: that the reign of the Beast was to last 42 months, and this time, dating from Dec., 1653, was not up till June, 1657. Revelation, xiii., 5; Thurloe, vi., 349. Cf. Life of John Rogers, p. 295.

² Thurloe, vi., 775, 778, 790; Burton's Diary, iii., 449; *Mercurius Politicus*, Feb., 1657-8.

³ Guizot, Richard Cromwell, ii., 275.

⁴ Speeches and Prayers, p. 9; *Mercurius Civicus*, April 17-24, 1660; *Mercurius Publicus*, April 26—May 3. Ludlow, who followed a different course himself, thus comments on Harrison's resolution: "I shall not take upon me to censure the conduct of the Major-General, not knowing what extraordinary impulse one of his virtue, piety, and courage, may have had upon his mind in that conjuncture."

On April 21st, 1660, he and others were ordered by proclamation to surrender themselves to the Council of State. Harrison paid no attention to the order, and refused to give even a verbal engagement not to act against the government. At the end of the month he was arrested at his own house in Staffordshire by Col. Bowyer and a party of militia, and sent up to London, where he was committed to the Tower. On June 5th, the House of Commons excepted Harrison and six other chief offenders from the Act of Indemnity. "Col. Harrison," wrote a royalist, "scorns to ask pardon; he saith the Protector kept him in prison a great while, and now the King is come he will take away his life, and ease him of that trouble."¹

On the 9th of October, 1660, the tribunal for the trial of the Regicides opened its proceedings, and the grand jury found a true bill against the persons accused. On Wednesday the 10th, Harrison and twenty-seven of his fellow prisoners were conducted from the Tower to Newgate, and thence to the Sessions-House in the Old Bailey. "All the way as they came to Newgate," writes a royalist, "you could hear nothing for deriding shouts, nor hardly see them for the crowd of the multitude." Some of the prisoners, he observed, shrunk before this storm of popular obloquy, their "sense of their own guilt made their countenance to change and their hearts to fail them; but Col. Harrison was unmoved, and carried himself rather like one whose conscience was seared with the guilt of blood."²

After some wrangling with the court, Harrison consented to plead "not guilty" in the usual form. On the following day he was brought to the bar, and tried separately. The Solicitor-General recited the history of the King's execution, saying "if any person now alive ought to be styled the conductor, leader, and captain of all this

¹ Fifth Report of Historical MSS. Comm., p. 207.

² The manner of the arraignment of those 28 persons who were appointed to be tried, 10th Oct., 1660. 4to, pp. 4, 5.

work, that's the man." Witnesses deposed to Harrison's presence amongst the King's judges, and the death-warrant with his signature attached to it was produced. Harrison owned his signature, and boldly justified his action.

"My Lords," he said, "the matter that hath been offered to you, was not a thing done in a corner. I believe the sound of it hath been in most nations. I believe the hearts of some have felt the terrors of that presence of God that was with his servants in those days, howsoever it seemeth good to Him to suffer this turn to come on us. . . . I have desired as in the sight of Him that searcheth all hearts, whilst this hath been done, to wait and receive from Him convictions upon my own conscience; and though I have sought it with tears many a time, and prayers over and over, to that God to whom you and all nations are less than a drop of water of the bucket—to this moment I have received rather assurance of it; and that [in] the things that have been done, I do believe ere long it will be made known from Heaven there was more of God than men are aware of."

He then protested that he had neither acted from malice nor self-seeking. "I would not offer of myself the least injury to the poorest man or woman that goes upon the earth. . . . I followed not my own judgment. I did what I did as out of conscience to the Lord. . . . May be I might be a little mistaken; but I did it all according to the best of my understanding; desiring to make the revealed will of God in His Holy Scriptures as a guide unto me." As a testimony to the integrity of his motives he instanced his refusal to accept the Protector's offers, and his sufferings for opposing him.

In conclusion he pleaded that he had acted by the authority of the Parliament of England, and that this court had no jurisdiction over their actions. "And whereas," he added, "it hath been said we did assume and usurp an

authority; I say this was done rather in the fear of the Lord."

"Away with him," broke in Chief-Baron Bridgman. "Know where you are sir. You are in an assembly of Christians. Will you make God the author of your treasons and murders? . . . You have not gone about to extenuate your crimes so much as to justify them." . . . Harrison's plea was unanimously overruled, for he was told it was not the Parliament, but simply a portion of one house of Parliament, by whose authority he had acted.

After this Harrison was beginning to argue that the Kings of England were accountable to the Parliament, when he was again interrupted. "Methinks," said one judge, "he should be sent to Bedlam till he comes to the gallows to give an account of this. This must not be suffered." "This man," added one of the counsel for the Crown, "hath the plague all over him; it is a pity any should stand near him, for he will infect them." "Mr. Harrison," concluded the Lord Chief-Baron, "we are ready to hear you again, but to hear such stuff, it cannot be suffered. You have spoken that which is as high a degree of blasphemy, next to that against God, as I have heard. . . . To extenuate your crimes you may go on, but you must not go on as before."

Harrison then simply confined himself to denying the charge that he had sought to "blacken" the King's character (as one of the witnesses had alleged); and then, after briefly pleading once more that he had acted by the authority of parliament, closed his defence. The Chief-Baron gave a short charge, and "without stirring a foot from the bar," the jury found a verdict of "guilty," and sentence was pronounced.¹

The next day but one, namely Saturday, October the 13th, the judgment of the Court was carried out. Where Charing Cross had once stood a small space was railed off, within which a gibbet was erected. Thither between 9 and

¹ Trial of the Regicides; *Mercurius Publicus*, Oct. 11-18, 1660.

10 in the morning Harrison was brought from Newgate-gaol, being "drawn" (as his sentence required) on "a sledge" or "hurdle" (as it is sometimes termed).¹ The narrative which his friends published minutely describes his behavior both at Newgate and at the place of execution. "His countenance never changed in all the way he went to the place of execution, but was mighty cheerful, to the astonishment of many. He called several times in the way, and spoke aloud 'I go to suffer upon the account of the most glorious cause that ever was in the world.'" One in derision called to him and said: "Where is your Good old Cause?" He with a cheerful smile clapped his hand on his breast and said: "Here it is, and I am going to seal it with my blood." When he arrived at the gallows he mounted the ladder and proceeded, as the custom was, to address the people. Some of the bystanders observing his hands and knees to tremble began to scoff. "Gentlemen," said Harrison, "by reason of some scoffing that I do hear, I judge that some do think I am afraid to die. . . . I tell you no, but it is by reason of much blood I have lost in the wars, and many wounds I have received in my body which caused this shaking and weakness in my nerves. I have had it this twelve years. I speak this to the praise and glory of God; he hath carried me above the fear of death." "Take notice," he continued, "that for being instrumental in that Cause and interest of the Son of God which hath been pleaded amongst us, and which God hath witnessed to by appeals and wonderful victories, I am brought to this place to suffer death this day, and if I had ten thousand lives I could freely and cheerfully lay them down all to witness to this matter."

Finally, after some more words on the excellence of his cause, he turned to comfort his friends. "I have one word more to the Lord's people, that desire to serve Him with an

¹ The frontispiece of "Rebels no Saints," gives a picture of the sledge.

upright heart. Let them not think hardly of any of the good ways of God for all this; for I have been near this seven years a suffering person, and have found the way of God to be a perfect way. . . . And though we may suffer hard things, yet He hath a gracious end, and will make for His own glory, and the good end of his people. Be not discouraged by reason of the cloud that is now upon you, for the sun will shine, and God will give a testimony unto what He hath been doing in a short time."¹ Then after a few sentences of prayer "he was not so much thrown off the ladder by the executioner, but went as readily off himself." After hanging for some minutes his body was cut down and quartered. The executioner held up his head and heart to show them to the people, "at which," says Pepys, "there was great shouts of joy." A portion of his body was burnt, but his four quarters were conveyed away to be set upon the gates of the City. On Tuesday next when John Cooke was drawn to execution, Harrison's head was placed in front of him on the sledge "with the face bare towards him." It was then set "on a pole on the top of the southeast end of Westminster Hall, looking towards London."

According to local tradition Harrison's head and quarters were finally delivered to his friends, who interred them in St. Giles's Churchyard, Newcastle-under-Lyme. "A gravestone was placed over them with an inscription to the effect that 'the remains of Thomas Harrison, a Major-General of the Commonwealth, were interred here.'"² This gravestone however has since been removed.

It remains only to complete the history of Harrison's family. The condemned regicides were allowed before their execution to take leave of their wives and children.³ Har-

¹ Speeches and Prayers; Trial of the Regicides. *Rebels No Saints.* Pepys' Diary, Oct. 13, 1660.

² For this information my thanks are due to Mr. Robert Fenton.

³ *Passage and Occasional Speeches*, p. 4.

rison, we are told, "parted with his wife and friends with great joy and cheerfulness, as he did use to do when going some journey or about some service for the Lord. He told his wife he had nothing to leave her but his Bible; but that he was assured that God would make up all her losses in due time, and he desired that those that did love him would manifest their love in being loving and tender to his dear wife." There is no mention, it will be observed, of any child of Harrison's in this narrative; no injunction to his friends on the part of Harrison "to be loving and tender" to his children. Three children indeed had been born to Thomas and Katherine Harrison, but all had died in their infancy. In the burial register of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, the following entries occur:

- 164 $\frac{1}{2}$, Feb. 1. Thomas, son of Col. Thomas Harrison, and Katherine his wife.
1652, April 10. Ralph, son of Major-General Thomas Harrison.
165 $\frac{3}{4}$, Jan. 12. Richard, son of Major-General Thomas and Katherine Harrison.¹

Putting together the positive evidence afforded by these three entries, and the negative evidence of Harrison's farewell words, it becomes clear that no children of Harrison's marriage were alive in 1660. If any such children had survived they would probably have been mentioned in the wills of the Harrison family. Ralph Harrison's will, proved in 1656, makes no mention of any children of his daughter and Thomas Harrison. The will of Hester, the widow of Ralph Harrison, proved in 1666, is equally silent. True, she was but the second wife of Ralph Harrison, and the stepmother of Katherine Harrison, but on the other hand, though her will was disputed, no children of Thomas and Katherine Harrison put forward any claim to their grandfather's prop-

¹These entries are given by Col. Chester, *Notes and Queries*, Sixth Series, ii., 383; Nov. 13, 1880. The first two are also printed in Malcolm's *Londinium*, ii., 370.

erty. In the third place, Katherine, the widow of Major-General Harrison, married a second husband, Thomas Legh, son of Henry Legh of High Leigh, Cheshire, and died in 1700, leaving no children by this second marriage. On May 7, 1700, letters of administration were granted to Thomas Legh for the estate of his late wife Katherine, and on the same day he also obtained similar authority to succeed her in the administration of what remained of Ralph Harrison's estate. Here again there is not a hint that there were in existence any grandchildren of Ralph Harrison by his daughter's first marriage.¹ Thus the absence of any mention of Harrison's children in these wills strengthens the conclusion drawn from Harrison's own silence, and from the deaths recorded in the Blackfriars register. The combination of three such pieces of evidence amounts to an almost irresistible proof that Major-General Harrison left no children. It makes it necessary to reject remorselessly any traditional claims to be descended from him, to demand from the claimants documentary proof of their claims, and to scrutinize very closely any proofs put forward.

The tradition which represents Harrison as the progenitor of two presidents of the United States, is a tradition one is loth to set aside. It satisfies so admirably the requirements of poetical justice and historic fitness, that one regrets to find it simply a modern tradition.²

¹ Col. Chester's note gives some of these wills. The will of Hester Harrison (registered in P. C. C., 117, Mico) has been looked up for me by Mr. Gordon Goodwin, to whom I am also indebted for extracts from the other wills mentioned, and for verifying the entries in the St. Anne's register.

² I perceive that Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography* agrees with me in rejecting the tradition as baseless. The story is stated thus in Inderwick's "Side Lights on the Stuarts," p. 289. After describing Harrison's death the author goes on to say: "Of his descendants one son was in Vienna at the Restoration, and thus possibly escaped his father's fate. Another son emigrated to Virginia where he became a man of note . . . and was a direct ancestor of Benjamin Harrison of Surrey, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. From him was descended William Henry Harrison, eighth President of the United States . . . and General Harrison who is now (Oct.,

Another story is that Anne Harrison, the granddaughter of the regicide, married in 1704, Thomas Willing of Bristol, ancestor of the family of Willing of Philadelphia.¹ But no proof of the supposed relationship of this Anne Harrison to the regicide, seems to be advanced, and this tradition therefore must be set aside like the other one.

There is nothing strange in this desire to claim Harrison as an ancestor. A similar desire is shown in the case of many other regicides. Quite a number of persons in England claim descent from Edmund Ludlow—although he died without issue.

Ludlow, at all events, was a man of old family. But what is there in Harrison's career, more than in the lives of his comrades, which attracts interest and admiration, and makes people desire to claim kinship with the butcher's son of Newcastle? In his own time and amongst his own party there were many soldiers as brave—many leaders much wiser. The "Fifth Monarchy" for which he struggled and suffered was an impracticable dream—a lost cause which no later generation was to take up again and bear to victory. Is it not because Harrison in his fierce enthusiasm, represents for us more fully than others the soldiers of a religious revolution—because in his fightings and his sufferings it was more plainly evident that he contended for no personal ends, but for the vision of a perfect commonwealth?

1888) the selected candidate of the Republican party," etc. "His daughters remained in England and made good marriages, amongst their descendants being found members of the aristocratic families of Stirling and Ashburton."

¹ See *Notes and Queries*, First Series, ix., 350; Fifth Series, viii., 297. In "Truth" for March 30, 1893, appeared a communication from Mrs. W. Boyd Harrison of Brandon, denying the statement that President Harrison is descended from the regicide, but asserting that the Brandon branch of the Harrison family are so descended, through the Willing family. I also observe in the Fifth Series of *Notes and Queries*, i., 47, an inquiry from Captain A. M. Harrison of Plymouth, Mass., asking for information concerning Thomas Harrison, and intimating that he had "a legitimate right" to do so. I understand that he claimed descent from a brother of Thomas Harrison's father.

APPENDIX.

1. Joint letter from Harrison and three other officers to Col. Hammond, Nov. 17, 1648.
2. Joint letter from Cromwell and Ireton to Harrison, Dec. 22, 1648.
3. Commission to Col. Thomas Harrison, 21 Aug., 1649.
4. Harrison to Cromwell, July 3, 1650.
5. Cromwell to Harrison, May 3, 1651.
6. A letter from Major-Gen. Harrison's headquarters, 5 June, 1651. [Probably from Harrison himself.]
7. Harrison to Cromwell, Aug. 2, 1651.
8. Harrison to the Yorkshire Committee, Aug. 6, 1651.
9. Harrison to the Council of State, Aug. 7, 1651.
10. Harrison to the Speaker, Aug. 11, 1651.
11. Harrison to Cromwell, Aug. 15, 1651.
12. Harrison to Cromwell, Aug. 16, 1651.
13. Harrison to the Speaker, Aug. 17, 1651.
14. Harrison to the Speaker, Aug. 18, 1651.
15. Harrison to the Speaker, Sept. 7, 1651.

Titles of Pamphlets relating to Harrison.

NOTE:

Numbers 2, 3 are from the Clarke MSS.

Numbers 8, 9, 15 are amongst the Tanner MSS.

Numbers 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 were printed at the time, and are reprinted in the Old Parliamentary History, vols. XIX., XX. My copies are taken from these reprints.

I.

COMMISSARY GENERAL IRETON, MAJOR HARRISON, COL. DISBROWE, AND
COL. GROSVENOR, TO COL. HAMMOND.

Sweet Robin:

Our relation is so nigh unto the best account, that nothing can concern you or us, but we believe they are of a mutual concernment. And therefore we hold ourselves much obliged to transmit you this inclosed,

coming from a sure hand to us; not only as relating to yours, or our particular, but likewise as a matter of vast importance to the public.

It hath pleased God (and we are persuaded in much mercy) even miraculously to dispose the hearts of your friends in the Army, as one man (together with the concurrence of the godly from all parts) to interpose in this treaty (*t*), yet in such wise, both for matter and manner, as, we believe, will not only refresh the bowels of the Saints, and all other faithful people of this kingdom; but be of satisfaction to every honest member of Parliament, when tendered to them, and made public; which will be within a very few days. And considering of what consequence the escape of the King from you (in the interim) may prove, we haste this dispatch to you, together with our most earnest request, that, as you tender the interest of this nation, of God's people, or of any moral men, or as you tender the ending of England's troubles, or desire, that justice and righteousness may take place, you would see to the securing of that person from escape, whether by returning of him to the Castle, or such other way, as in thy wisdom and honesty shall seem meetest.

We are confident you will receive in a few days a duplicate of this desire, and an assurance from the General and Army, to stand by you in it. And in the mean time, for our parts (though it may not be very considerable to you) we do hereby ingage to own you with our lives and fortunes therein; which we should not so forwardly express, but that we are impelled to the premises in duty and conscience to God and man.

THE Lord, your's and our God, be your wisdom and courage in this and all things. However we have done our duty, and witnessed the affection of,

Dear HAMMOND,

Windsor, 17th 9ber,
1648.

Your most entire and faithful brethren,
friends and servants,

(Signed) { H. IRETON,
T. HARRISON,
JOHN DISBROWE,
E. GROSVENOR.

To our Honourable Friend, COL. ROBERT HAMMOND, *these*.
[Birch. Letters to Col. Robert Hammond, 1764, p. 87.]

II.

LETTER TO COL. HARRISON.

Sir:

Col. Thomlinson is to bee speeded away to Windsor with instructions to himself Lt. Col. Cobbett and Captain Merriman for securing of the

(*t*) Between the King and Commissioners of the Parliament.

Kinge answerable to the severall Heads you desire resolution in. Soe soone as hee comes you may come away and your presence heere is both desired and needed. Butt before you come away, wee desire you to appoint 3 or 4 troopes out of your convoy (of the surest men and best Officer'd) to remaine about Windsor, to whom you may assigne quarters in the next parts of Middlesex and Surrey (advising with the Governour therein) and to keepe guard by a troope att a time within the Castle, and for that purpose to receive orders from Col. Thomlinson; and wee desire you alsoe out of the cheif of the Kinges servants last allowed (uppon advice with Lt. Col. Cobbett and Capt. Merriman) to appoint about the number of 6 (such as are most to be confided in, and who may best supply all Offices) to stay with and attend the Kinge for such necessary uses, and the rest wee desire you to send away, nott as discharged from the benefitt of their places, butt only as spar'd from extraordinary attendance. This is thought fitt to avoide any numerous concourse, which many servants with their followers, and their relations or acquaintance would draw into the Castle; and for the said reason itt is wish't that such of the servants retain'd as are least sure, and nott of necessity to lie constantly in the Kinges lodgings, may bee lodged in the Towne, or the lower parte of the Castle, wherein the Governour is to bee advised with.

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

Your true friends to serve you,

Westminster

Decr. 22, 1648.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

HENRY IRETON.

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

&c.

Hast.

III.

COMMISSION TO HARRISON Aug. 1649.

Thomas Lord Fairfax, Lord Generall of all the Parliament forces in England and the Dominion of Wales, and the Islands of Guernsey and Jersey.

To Colonell Thomas Harrison.

By the power & authority to mee given by the Parliament I do heer-by appoint you Commander in Cheif of all forces in the Counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, Radnor, Cardigan, Caermarthen, Hereford, and the parts of Gloucestershire on the southmost side of Severne, for the suppressing of all tumults and insurrections within

the said Counties, and preservation of the peace thereof. And to give your best assistance to the Adjacent Counties. And you are likewise to observe and follow such further Orders and Directions as you shall receive from myself according to the Discipline of Warre. Given under my hand and Seale the 21th of August 1649.

IV.

July 3, 1650.

COLONEL HARRISON TO THE LORD GENERAL CROMWELL.

My Deare Lord,

To spare your trouble, I forbear to give you my excuse for not waiting on you to Ware; I know you love mee, therefore are not apt to except, though in this particular I had not failed, but that orders from the Councill superseded me.

Considering under how many and greates burdons you labour, I am afraid to saie anie more, that I may not add to them; but love and dutie makes mee presume.

The buisines you goe upon is weightie, as ever yet you undertooke; the issue plainly and deeply concerns the life or death of the Lord's people, his owne name and his Son's: Nevertheless maie you rejoyce in God (whose affaire itt is) who, having heretofore given you numberlesse signal testimonies to other parts of the worke, will in mercie prosper this, that hee maie perfect what hee hath begun; and to omitt other arguments, that in Déut. XXXII. 27. hath much force on my hearte, especially the last words: *And the Lord hath not don all this.*

I believe if the present enemy should prevaile, hee would as certainly reproach God, and all that hitherto hath beene done as aforesaid, even as I now write; but the jealousie of the Lord of Hosts for his greates name, will not admitt it.

My Lord, bee carefull for nothing, but praie with thanksgiving (to witt in faith) Phil. iv. 6. 7. I doubt not your successe, but I thinke faith and praie must be the chief engines, as heretofore the ancient worthies, through faith, subdued kingdomes, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in feight, and turned to flight the armies of the aliens.

Oh that a spiritt of faith and supplication maie be poured forth on you and your armie! There is more to bee had in this poore simple waie, then even most saints expect.

My Lord, let waiting upon Jehovah bee the greatest and most considerable busines you have every daie; reckon it soe, more then to eate, sleep, or councill together. Run aside sometimes from your companie, and gett a word with the Lord. Why should not you have three or four pretious soules allwaies standing at your elbow, with whom you might now and then turne into a corner? I have found refreshment and mercie in such a waie.

Ah! the Lord of compassion owne, pittie your burdens, care for yow, stand by and refresh your heart each moment. I would I could in anie kind doe yow good, my hearte is with yow, and my poore praier to my God for yow. The Allmightie Father carrie yow in his very bossome, and deliver yow (if itt be his will) from touching a very hair of anie for whom Jesus hath bledd. I expect a very gracious retorne in this particular.

But I am sorry to bee thus tedious: Pardon me. Here is little news; only Charles Vane returned from Portugall, who left our Fleet indifferently well, and that they had seised nine of the Portugall's shippes. The Father of mercies visitt, and keepe your soule close to him continually, protect, preserve, and prosper yow, is the praier of, my Lord,

Your Excellencies loving servant, whilst I breathe,

T. HARRISON.

Whitchall, 3d July, 1650.

*For His Excellency the Lord General CROMWELL, humbly present.
These.*

[The Milton State Papers (original letters and papers of State addressed to Oliver Cromwell) Ed. by John Nickolls, Jun., fol., 1743, p. 10.]

V.

CROMWELL TO MAJOR GEN. HARRISON.

For the Honourable Major-General Harrison: *These.*

*Edinburgh, May 3d,
1651.*

Dear Harrison,

I received thine of the 23d of April. Thy Letters are always very welcome to me.

Although your new militia forces are so bad as you mention, yet I am glad that you are in the head of them; because I believe God will give you a heart to reform them; a principal means whereof will be, by placing good Officers over them, and putting out the bad; whereunto you will not want my best furtherance and concurrence. I have had much such stuff to deal withal, in those sent to me into Scotland; but, blessed be the Lord, we have 'been' and are reforming them daily, finding much encouragement from the Lord therein; only we do yet want some honest men to come to us to make Officers. And this is the grief, that this being the cause of God and of His people, so many saints should be in their security and ease, and not come out to the work of the Lord in this great day of the Lord.

I hear nothing of the men you promised me. Truly I think you should do well to write to friends in London and elsewhere, to quicken their sense in this great business. I have written this week to Sir

Henry Vane, and given him a full account of your affairs. I hope it will not be in vain.

I think it will be much better for you to draw nigher to Carlisle, where 'are' twelve troops of horse; whereof six are old troops, and five or six of dragoons. Besides, the troops you mention upon the Borders will be ready upon a day's notice to fall into conjunction with you; so that if any parties should think to break into England (which, through the mercy of God, we hope to have an eye to), you will be, upon that conjunction, in a good posture to obviate 'them.' Truly I think that if you could be at Penrith and those parts, it would do very well. And I do therefore desire you, as soon as you can, to march thither. Whereby also you and we shall have the more frequent and constant correspondency one with another. And it will be better, if a party of the enemy should happen to make such an attempt, to fight him before he hath an opportunity to get far into our country.

I have offered a consideration also to our friends at London, that you might have two regiments of foot sent too, 'of' which I am not without hope.

The Lord bless you and keep you, and increase the number of His faithful ones. Pray for us, and for him who assures you he is your affectionate faithful Friend,

OLIVER CROMWELL.*

[Carlyle's Cromwell, Appendix 20.*]

VI.

A LETTER FROM MAJOR GEN. HARRISON'S HEADQUARTERS.

Sir,

We are now come to Penrith in Cumberland, and may probably before this comes to your hands have an engagement with the enemy. The Lord begins, according to his former method, to suffer them to swell with confidence, and to bring us low in their eyes, as we desire to be in our own.

Cap. French, who commanded the Militia Troop of Dragoons sent from Cumberland, being out with Colonell Alured in the West of Scotland, happened very unadvisedly to turn his horses out to grasse, not sending out any Scouts for security, so that the Enemy waiting for such an opportunity, came and drove them all away, but 2 of the whole Troop being left behind.

This morning I understood by letters from Colonell Alured, that Major General Lambert hath commanded him to march of thence to the Head Quarters; advising him to have a special care at his drawing off, that he give the Enemy no advantage on him; for they are very busie, and (as we are informed by the same Letter) have since taken at grass all the horse of Major Wright's Troop, and 20 of his men. And probably, most of Colonell Alured's Regiment and the dragoons with

him, might have been lost so, lying in the mouth of the Enemy, and where they were put to send about 30 miles for their provisions, if they had not been seasonably called off. But now the way is open between them and us, there being no Guard, nor man of ours left in all the west, so that now we begin to keep constant strong Guards and Scouts out.

The Beginning of this month is the time (by all our Intelligence) that they intend to make for England. One letter saith they have had the Communion delivered to them by their Ministers, several Lords daies; And the 25 of the last moneth was their last day of receiving it in order to their present designe.

Mr. Morgain Lloyd, Cap. Tayleur, and Cap. Hugh Prichard, with sixty of the North-Wales Troop, are come up to us; And there are so many pretious Saints of God coming (as we hear) in the Middlesex, and other Troops; and surely the presence of the Lord (which we desire more then the increase of our force) usually attends such; and we are not without persuasions, that in the very hour we shall behold it.

Penrith, 5 June.*

[*From "Perfect Passages of Every Daie's Intelligence, Etc." June 6-13, 1651. The letter was probably from Harrison himself.]

VII.

Aug. 2, 1651.

MAJOR GENERAL HARRISON &c. TO THE LORD GENERAL CROMWELL.

Leith, 2d. 5m. 1651.

Maie it please your Excellencie,

THE severall intelligences wee have received of the motions of the enemy, since your Excellencie marched from Bountishend,¹ wee have as they came to our hands dispatched them to your's: But being out of reach to understand your judgment thereof, and your timely pleasure, how the forces left on this side should be improved, wee have been put to some difficultie in our thoughts thereon, especially considering the reports wee have received from private hands, and some parties wee have sent forth, are so various, that wee cannot say, whether the enemy be marched southward with his whole army, or a part, or whether those that bee fallen that way, intend for England, or but to quicken their leavies in the west, and for refreshment. However, wee concluded upon the whole, that Major Generall Harrison should repayre to the borders with the horse hee brought up with him (whether Major Heines and Major Husbands, upon intelligence of some parties of the enemy that were come into Tinedale to raise the country, were before sent with five or six hundred horse, and directions since, in case that the enemies whole army was marched that way, to fall down towards Berwick for security); where also hee might unite those under Col. Rich and Col. Sanders, with those hee brings backe, and thence (if it appeare the

¹ Burntisland?

enemy makes for England with their whole army) apply to Sir Arthur Heslerigg, and my Lord Fairfax, to improve their interests for the getting together the well affected of of the northerne counties, that so the enemy might receive a considerable opposition, without withdrawing much of the forces (if your Excellencie should so thinke fitt) now marching immediately with you, from prosecuting the mercies of the Lord on Fife side. And wee have thought also, in a letter wee are dispatching to the Councill of State, to give them an accompt of our intelligence and judgements thereupon, to bee represented (if themselves should first finde waight in the thing) to the Parliament for their letters into the northerne counties to this purpose: Herein venturing (as wee confesse wee doe) our reputations, rather than to bee found in the issue to have neglected any lawfull meanes, to prevent the disturbance and various miseries might be renewed on England, in case the enemy should march that way with their whole army, while your Excellencie is so much in the reare, and no considerable force in their vanne, to give them checke. We also humbly thought if at last it should appeare to bee the enemies designe still to keep in trenches and fastnesses, near Stirling, then a body so gott together in the north of England for a moneth or two might march up on this side (your Excellencie so thinking fitt) and bee assistant to force the enemy to engage or famish. But wee humbly lay ourselves with these thoughts upon this emergency at your Excellencie's feet; and shall waite the signification of your farther pleasure concerninge us: Remyning,

My Lord,

Your Excellencie's humble and faithfull servants,

{ T. HARRISON,
G. FENWICK,
PH. TWISLETON.

We have just now intercepted a foot-post with private letters, which confirms us that the whole army (except some horse with Montgomery in the north) are marching for England. The foot-post, who is a subtle old knave, saith, that the King, D. Buckingham, Middleton, and the rest of the armie, did march yesterday morninge from neare Faw Kirk, and spoke of going for England. He was very hardly drawn to confess anything: And one letter from an Englishman to his wife, saith, that he was going to their father.

For His Excellencie the Lord Generall CROMWELL. These.

The Governour of Burnt-Island is desired to get this letter sent with all possible speed.

[Milton State Papers, p. 71 should be dated Aug. 2, not July 2.]

VIII.

To the Parliament's Commissioners for the County of York.

NEWCASTLE, 6th Day of the sixth
month, August, 1651.

GENTLEMEN,

The Lord having so ordered it, that our Army are Masters of Fife, by which the Enemy gives up their Expectations of Scotland for lost, they are necessitated for Want of Provisions, as to their last Refuge, to run for England, taking the Opportunity of our Armies being on the other Side the great River. And though there be a mighty Spirit of Terror from God upon them, so that they are ready to fly when none follows them; yet their large Promises to their Soldiers, of Plunder in England, bear up the Spirits of divers to make another Adventure for it, forgetting the large Testimony the Lord formerly gave against them. It now remains that you and every good Man give all Diligence to improve your Interests, and all possible Means God may put into your Hands, to give a Check to this vile Generation untill our Army come up, who will follow hard after them, that the Goods of the Land may not be devoured by such Caterpillars.

I have withall about 3000 Horse, which I shall endeavour to dispose of, as God in his Love and Wisdom shall please to instruct me, and wherewith I hope to give the Enemy some Trouble, if some Foot could be speedily raised to break down Bridges or stop some Passages upon them. However, considering the Battle is the Lord's, and not ours, and it is alike to him to save by few or many, I hope we may be useful in this Juncture, though we be few, mean, and none more unworthy. The Lord quicken you, me, and all that profess to fear him, to give all Diligence in our Stations to quit ourselves as the Friends of Christ, against the Men that will not have him to reign, though God hath sworn he will set his Son upon his Holy Hill, and they that oppose him shall be broken in Pieces as a Potter's Vessel. The Enemy's Hope is, that Englishmen will be so mad as to join with them (seeing they have lost their Credit with their own Countrymen), which we hope God will prevent in a good measure by your Hands, and also lift up a Standard against them; wherein not doubting your best Assistance, and, much more, the loving Kindness of God, I remain,

Yours,

T. HARRISON.

P. S. It will be very necessary that before the Approach of the Enemy, all Kind of Horses, Cattle and Provision, be driven out of the way, for the better Prevention of them to their Owners, and Disappointment of the Enemy: They mount their Foot upon all the Horses they can get, wherefore it will be necessary the Foot you raise should be also mounted to answer them, they being a flying Party. I desire to

hear from you with all convenient Speed, being upon my March towards Richmond, and so to lye upon the Skirts of Yorkshire, if possible to get before the Enemy if they should intend by the way of Cheshire.

IX.

MAJOR GENERAL HARRISON'S LETTER TO THE LORD-PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

NEWCASTLE, *7th of the Sixth Month,*
1651, at 11 o'Clock Forenoon.

My Lord,

' Having lately given your Lordship an Account, from Berwick, of the several Intelligences we had concerning the King of Scots, Intendment for England, I forbore to give you any further Trouble therein; till, coming nearer; I might receive a more certain Understanding of them. On the fifth Instant I reached this Place, where receiving, from divers Hands, Expresses of their being near the Borders, I staid all Yesterday to get up the Troops with Col. Rich and Col. Barton, from about Hexham, and ten Troops following from Scotland. I judged it also my Duty, and accordingly dispatched Letters, whereof I have inclosed a Copy, to the Commissioners of Parliament in the several Counties of Lancaster, York, Chester, Stafford, Salop, Nottingham, Derby, and the six Counties of North Wales, to give them timely Notice hereof; that, if it might be, some Foot may be suddenly got together in the Van of the Enemy to assist the Horse, and to check them till our Army might overtake them. The last Night I received Letters from the Governor of Carlisle, signifying that yesterday the Enemy's Army got upon English Ground, and seemed to intend for Lancashire. I shall not mention Particulars, but have inclosed the two Letters, whereto I refer you. I have withall about 3000 Horse, whereof but four Troops are Dragoons. The Foot being mounted, I hope to put some Trouble upon the Enemy in their march!

' Just now I received an Express from his Excellency, signifying, that having taken St. Johnstoun, left a Party of the Army to make good Fife, and possess the Town of Stirling, which the Enemy hath quitted, he hath dispatch'd Major-General Lambert, with about 3 or 4000 Horse, to pursue the Enemy in the Rear, who is already far on his March from Leith; and his Excellency follows with the Foot and Train, with all possible Expedition. So that the Lord hath now tempted out the Enemy from his Trenches, Fastnesses, and Advantages; and we doubt not but he will very speedily discomfit them, and cut this work short in Righteousness.

• I shall humbly offer it to you, if, in this Juncture, I might get together 4 or 500 godly Men well mounted, that you would be pleased to

make some Provision for them, for a Month or two. And surely this is a Time wherein God doth, and I rest confident you will, own all such. Being in very great Haste I commend you to the Lord, and remain,

Your humble and faithful Servant,

T. HARRISON.

X.

RIPON, *11 Day of the 6th Month,*
1651, *about Noon.*

SIR,

‘I Shall spare giving any large Account of our Affairs, having lately given the Council that Trouble; whereof I believe you will not be ignorant, or of so much as is worthy the Parliament’s Knowledge.

‘This Morning I received an Express from Major-General Lambert, dated the 9th, about Twelve at Noon within ten Miles of Penrith, and several Letters inclosed, which he had taken, and therewith six of the Enemy convoying them, whereof two were Lairds. He desired my Dispatch of these Letters to my Lord-General Cromwell, which accordingly I have done: But considering that they came from the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Lauderdale, and Lord Wentworth; and that the Esteem they have of the Presbyterian Party (whom Hamilton calls Rogues, and Lauderdale thinks they are very well rid of) and the Pleasure they take in their present pure Cavalierish Composition, may help to satisfy those displeas’d Friends, I thought it my Duty to transmit you Copies of them, till his Excellency can send the Originals, I being so much nearer than he is.

‘I am confident the Duke speaks their very Heart, not knowing the Danger of the Consequence as the other did, who writ accordingly; And we expect, Day by Day, the Lord will more open their Eyes, to see the Snare whereunto himself in Judgment hath led them: So that the Terrors of the Lord will prove a sorer Enemy to them than we.

‘My Lord Howard’s Son commanded a Troop at Carlisle, whom ’ere this I had secured, but that he is his Son. He took off with him but 12 of his Troop (as the Major-General and the Governor of Carlisle inform me), which would have been cashiered, had we had Opportunity, and they staid. The Riddance of such are no Loss to us, nor their Accession Strength to them.

‘The Major-General will be this Night, I hope, in their Rear, and I am hastening to get the Van, and if possible to recover the Middle Parts of Lancashire before; for which Purpose, the Lord pleasing, I design this Night to be at Skipton, and so towards Preston or Manchester, as Providence shall direct.

‘If the Enemy keep constant Motion he might be near Preston this Night, as he lay at Kendal on Saturday, which is but about 35 Miles distant, and so may put us a little to it to reach him. I know the

Major-General will not let their Rear go off quietly, whereby he may easily clog their March.

'My Lord General is in Northumberland, and Sir Arthur Hazelrigge writes me he will be at Hexham on Tuesday; I believe sooner, knowing he will make Haste.

'The Lord, prepare all our Hearts for the great Mercy he will shortly show us (whereof thro' his Grace, we do not in the least doubt), and help us to cry to him for Strength against his and our inward Enemies, whilst he strengthens us against his and our outward Enemies. Pardon my Rudeness; I am upon my March, and in some Haste subscribe myself,

Your most humble Servant,

T. HARRISON.'

XI.

BOLTON in Lancashire *15th Day of the 6th Month, 1651, near Two in the Morning.*

My Lord,

'I Receiv'd yours of the 11th Inst. by Mr. Paine, and one before by your other Messenger; I must crave your Pardon that I have not written to you since. I was at Ripon, expecting a Conjunction with Major-General Lambert, and I forbore these two Days, till I might have something considerable to signify. Yesterday we joined on Hasle-Moor, and are now about 6000 Horse in the Van of the Enemy. The Enemy made some Halt on Elhill-Moor, four miles on this side Lancaster, whereby we were somewhat amazed, thinking they might be on Councils for a timely Retreat to their own Country; but this Day, about Noon, we received Understanding of their Advance for Preston, and soon after of their March through a Town on this Side; in Design, probably, to get before us to the Pass at Warrington, where we have about 3000 Foot (waiting Conjunction with us) from Cheshire and Staffordshire. Thereupon we marched to this Place, and To-Morrow Morning, by Day-light, shall be setting forth for Warrington, the Lord willing, whereabouts the Country being more open and champainous, after the Accession of these Foot, we trust we shall be used by our God, to bring it to a speedy and glorious Issue.

'Their King, we hear, is discontented and cast down, that his Subjects, as he still calls them, come in no faster to him; his Expectations being great therein, though answered inconsiderably either as to Persons or Numbers, many more of their old Soldiers running away from them daily than we can understand of any Access to them. There is a Rumor of their Intendment for the landing of some troops in North Wales from the Isle of Man; but of that no Certainty; though it may be a further Argument to you that the Isle of Man should be well guarded.

‘Cheshire hath been very forward in their Levies upon this Emergency, most of the Foot above-mentioned being from thence. Six hundred of Col. Jennings’s Horse are come to Manchester, whom I have sent to, that they may meet us at Warrington.

‘There are several things I should have touched to your Lordship, but I hope you shall receive a further account from Warrington, in the Evening. I commend your weighty Affairs to the Grace of an approved good Lord, in whom we rest absolutely assured of a wonderful and glorious Issue of the Work in Hand: remaining,

My Lord,

Your most faithful Servant to my Power,

T. HARRISON.’

XII.

*At the Camp near WARRINGTON BRIDGE, the
16th Day of the 6th Month, about Eleven in
the Morning.*

My Lord,

‘Having join’d with Major-General Lambert, about Twelve at Noon, on the 13th Inst. on Hasle-Moor within seven Miles of Preston; the Enemy, according to our best Intelligence, lying then on Elhill-Moor, four miles on this Side Lancaster, and that Evening march’d to Haworth-Moor, within eight miles of Preston and yesterday through Preston towards Wigan; designing as we conceive, to get up to Warrington-Bridge before us; and yesterday receiving a sudden Account of their marching through the Town, we crossed the Country, and about One of the Clock this Morning reached Bolton; and, after some short Stay for refreshing our Men, we marched away for Warrington, where we are now, in Conjunction with about 4000 Foot and Dragoons, raised in Cheshire and Staffordshire.

‘We are improving the little Time we have got before them here, to the spoiling the Fords and Passes on the River, especially between us and Manchester; leaving those only open to them where, if they attempt a Passage, we may be most considerable to make Opposition; and, if the Lord will, engage them. Wherein we wait his Pleasure and Providence concerning us, not questioning but if we be clearly call’d to give them Battle, or if they seek us out and force us to it, (as in reason it seems to be much their Interest) before my Lord-General comes up with the Foot and Train, which is by this time about Barnard Castle, we shall find our Hearts filled with a heavenly Power from the Lord, and see his antient Arm lifted up, as in former Times, against his Enemies. I am

Your most humble Servant,

T. HARRISON.’

‘P. S. We expect this Day they will attempt to force their Passage at some of the narrowest Passes, where they apprehend our Resistance

least considerable. We are appointing a Council to consider whether we should not withdraw, tho' there be a Spirit given generally to press to engage them, if the Lord should vouchsafe an open Field for it.'

XIII.

*Upon the March from KNOTSFORD towards
CONGLETON, Aug. 17, 1651, about Nine of the Clock.*

Sir,

'Yesterday, the 16th, the Enemy came on with their whole Army, and press'd to pass at the Bridge, and Fort near it, which we had broken down and spoil'd as well as we could in so short a Time. A Company of our Foot were drawn down to the Barricade of the Bridge, who behaved themselves gallantly, and gave the Enemy Opposition till we saw Cause to draw them off, securing their Retreat by Parties of Horse; which we did, because we were unwilling to engage the whole Army, where our Horse could not come to make Service, thro' the Inclosures; The Enemy thereupon hastened over their whole Army, and their King in the Van, if not Forlorne, which was his own Life Guard, as some Prisoners told us since; and press'd hard upon our Rear, whereof Col. Rich had the Guard, who wheel'd off Parties, and charged them thrice as they came on, and the Lord every Time caused those of the Enemy, that were so forward, to fly before us.

'We killed the Officer that commanded one of their Parties, and two or three Troopers; and some Countrymen since bring us in word that 28 of theirs were slain in the several skirmishes, and but four of ours that I can hear of, there, and at the Bridge.

'As they fell on they cried, Oh you Rogues, we will be with you before your Cromwell comes; which made us think they would press to engage us with all Speed.

'We are drawing up at Knotsford-Moor to wait them, though we hear since, that they marched a good Part of the Night on the London Road.'

Your faithful Servant,

THO. HARRISON.'

XIV.

LEEKE, Aug. 18, 1651.

SIR,

'THIS Night we quartered with our Forces at Leeke, in Staffordshire, intending for Cheadle, towards Bagot's Bromley To-morrow. The Enemy seems to be much discouraged by the seasonable Preparation of Forces the Parliament is making thereabouts; by the Country's forbearing to come into them as they expected; and, lastly, by the Inconsiderableness of the Earl of Derby's Forces; who, after all that Noise, can make but 250 Foot and 60 unarm'd Horse, as our best Intelligence

saith, with whom he landed on Saturday last, at Wier-Water, in Lancashire, hasting to his King, if not interrupted in the Way, which we hope he will be. Their Army, we heard this morning, lay last Night about Northwich, and this Evening advanced between Nantwich and Chester; their Councils seem very unsteady.'

XV.

PRESTON, *7th day of the 7th Month [1651].*

SIR,

'I make no Question but you have had a large Account, from my Lord General, of the Mercy at Worcester, which was very eminent, and as a Crown to all the Lord vouchsafed us formerly. The Battle being turned by our God, it pleased his Excellency to appoint me the Pursuit; and having a little breathing Time, I judge it my Duty to give you the best Account I can of the Lord's Goodness to us therein, which I have duly dispatched to his Excellency by Letter, or some Officer, as I could for Time.

'And I conceive he hath transmitted to you all, that is yet to come to him, considerable: And therefore I shall not trouble you much with the Passages of the Evening and Night of the third Instant, and the Day following, wherein were taken and slain in the Pursuit (and so dispersed that the Country might bring them in) at least 2000 Horse and Foot, according to our best Guess; and amongst them the Earls of Derby, Cleveland, Lauderdale, and other considerable Officers..

'On the fifth Day of the Month we had Intelligence that the Enemy divided and took three Ways, and accordingly I divided the Forces with me. Appointing Colonel Sanders, with his Regiment, to the Pursuit of those that might take through Derbyshire and Yorkshire; Colonel Blundel, and Colonel Barton, with 800 Horse, and four or five Troops of Dragoons, to Manchester ward; and fourteen Troop of Horse to Warrington, and so onward on that Hand, with whom I kept: Giving the Colonels Directions (and taking the same Course also myself) to keep out commanded Parties of the ablest Horse close after the Enemy, while our Troops follow as they can.

'A Party of the Enemy, of about 500, passed over into Lancashire, at Hollin Ferry near Warrington (the Bridge being kept against them) of whom we had the Pursuit Yesterday; and, between that and Lancaster, took about 300 Horse, and amongst them the Viscount Kenmuir and his Brother, and Colonel Hume, with many considerable Officers.

'Those that escaped of this Party were so scattered, that the Country People will bring them in; I have so sent to the Commissioners that the Country People might get together in their several Divisions and Hundreds, with what Arms they had for that Purpose.

'Just now I am informed of 100 more taken near Bolton Yesterday, and 60 rendered themselves Prisoners to Capt. Carter and Capt. Ellatson of my Lord General's Regiment of Foot.

'The greatest Body that is left of the Enemy, being about 1000, I find is turned off some Way towards Yorkshire; but I hope some of the afore-mentioned Parties will light on them, the Work being, through the Lord's Goodness to us, so well over this Way. I am crossing the Country to Skipton, to fall in with them also, to do further upon the Remainder of the Enemy, as the Lord shall give Strength to our Forces, and minister Opportunity.

'The commanded Party that pursued on this Road (drawn out of Colonel Riche's, Colonel Lilburne's, Colonel Barton's, and my own Regiment) having most of them reached Lancaster the last Night, I hasten what may be towards Appulby, that they may join with what fresh Horse the Governor of Carlisle can raise, and attend what Providence may offer; not knowing (tho' none of the Enemy be on this Road in their Van) but that some may dribble down that Way: Giving them also Directions to get up to Hexham, with what Speed may be, where, possibly, they may get the Van of the Enemy, and be very useful to encourage the Country to rise before them.

'They are, undoubtedly, at a great Loss, and we have great Reason to hope few or none of them will escape out of England; and, if any do, I hope our Friends in Scotland (having had timely Notice of this Mercy) will be in a good Readiness to receive them.

'The Lord grant that the Parliament (whom he hath thus further honoured, and owned in the Eyes of all the World) may improve this Mercy, intrusted to their management, according to the Will of God, in establishing the Ways of Righteousness and Justice; yet more relieving of the Oppressed, and opening a wide Door to the publishing of the Everlasting Gospel of our only Lord and Saviour, who is worthy to be loved, honoured, exalted, and admired by all his People; and it will be so, through the Spirit that he will give them, and all his Enemies shall be made his Footstool. I commend you to his free Grace, which is exceeding abundant towards his poor People; remaining,

Your most humble Servant,

T. HARRISON.'

TITLES OF PAMPHLETS RELATING TO HARRISON.

- (1.) A true relation of the Proceedings of the Northern forces under the Command of Col. Lambert and Col. Harrison
4to 1648
[British Museum E. 446 (12)]
- (2.) Another Victory in Lancashire obtained against the Scots by Major-Gen. Harrison & Colonel Lilburn. Together with the manner of My Lord General Cromwell coming up & noble reception by the City of London
4to 1651
[British Museum E. 641 (14)]

- (3.) Plain Dealing | or | The Countreymans doleful Complaint | and faithful Watchword, to | The Statesmen of the Times, | whether in the | Parliament or Army. | Wherein is set down | The Rise, Nature, and Species of | Right Government, | with | The corruption thereof in former, and this our | Generation, to this present time.
By Edward Harrison of Keensworth | in Hertfordshire, sometimes preacher to | Col: Harrison's Regiment.

Micah 6. 8. He hath shewed thee, o man what is good: And what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, & to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God:

London. Printed for J. Harris, and are to be sold at Addle-Hill, 1649
[4to]

- (4.) The | Speeches | and | Prayers | of | Some of the late King's Judges, viz. | Major General Harrison, Octob. 13 | Mr John Carew, Octob. 15. | Mr Justice Cooke, Mr Hugh Peters, Octob. 16. | Mr Tho. Scot, Mr Gregory Clement, Col. Adrian Scroop, Col. John Jones, Octob. 17. | Col. Daniel Axtell, & Col. Fran Hacker, Octob. 19. | 1660 | The times of their Death | Together with | Several occasional Speeches and Passages | in their Imprisonment till they came to | The place of Execution. | Faithfully and impartially collected for | further satisfaction.

Heb. 11. 4. And by it he being Dead, yet speaketh.

Printed Anno. Dom. 1660.

[Two pages 'To the Reader,' & 96 pp. of speeches & passages.]

- (5.) A Complete Collection of the Lives, Speeches, Private Passages, Letters, & Prayers of those persons lately executed With observations on the same, Wherein their pretended sanctity is rejected, and a further inspection made into the lives and practises of those unhappy & traitorous polititians. By a person of Quality.
I Cor. 13. 3. Though I give my body to be burned & have not charity it profiteth me nothing."

London 1661 802

Some copies of this are entitled 'Rebels No Saints,' & contain a different frontspiece as well as a new title-page. Both pamphlets are simply a reprint of 'Speeches & Passages,' with lives and observations added.

- (6.) A Declaration of Maj.-Gen. Harrison prisoner in the Tower of London; with his rules & precepts to all publike Churches & private Congregations: And an answer thereto; Also the Revolution of the Fifth Monarchy men Anabaptists, Quakers, & others

London, printed for Nathaniel Tomkins 1660. 4to

The first page purports to give Harrison's views on public worship, preaching & observance of the Sabbath. The remaining 4 pp. are wordy observations of a gentleman who stood by in answer to Harrison. Pamph. 112.

- (7.) Observations upon the last actions and words of Major General Harrison. Written by a Minister in a letter to a Country-gentlewoman who seemed to take some offence at the same.

London 4to 1660

[Comments on Harrison's speech and demeanour at his execution in order to destroy the effect produced by them. "These fanatick sectaries what through such licentious pamphlets and their own surmises & traditions, are so hardened from the hearing of this man's resolution and his like (which they call the spirit of fortitude), that some of them (up and down the country) stick not to profess that they are now more settled in their opinions than ever; and mean to die martyrs."]

Bodleian Library (Wood. 369).

- (8.) A funeral sermon thundered forth by John Feake in his private congregation for the loss of their dearly beloved champion, Major General Harrison.

London. Printed I. P. in the year 1660

4to

[British Museum E 1046 (16). Dated by Thomason Oct. 23. The text is taken from 'The Honourable History of the Seven Champions of Christendom.' Chap. xv. ver. 20. 'Thou speakest in vain, reply'd St George, not all the Treasures hidden in the deepest seas, nor all the golden mines of rich America, shall redeem thy life.' The discourse contains, on p. 11, a letter 'from our deceased champion' to his wife, dated 'a barathro infernali Octob. 16 1660' A royalist satire, very much in the style of Gayton or Flatman]

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