

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE INVASION OF SCOTLAND

Charles II (1630–1865), King of England and Scotland (1649–1685)
to Lieutenant-General John Middleton (c. 1608–1674)

Paris, 27 January 1653/1654 [OS]

1. When it shall please God that you arrive in Our Kingdom of Scotland, We shall not need to require you to commend Us very heartily to all those who have behaved themselves well in Our service, and in the making and conducting those levies which you shall find there ready. We forebear at this time to write many particular letters to them because you know Our sense and esteem of most of the several persons, and can well assure them that We shall never forget what they have done and suffered for Us and for the vindication of their country from the slavery and dishonour it groans under, but that We shall requite them all in such a manner when We shall be able, that their posterity shall have cause as well to remember how gracious We have been to them as how faithful they have been to Us.
2. You shall let all Our good subjects know the reason why We have no sooner sent you to their assistance, nor been hitherto able to send them greater supplies of arms and ammunition. That though We designed and empowered you for this service as soon as you had made your happy escape out of the hands of the rebels,¹ and shortly after sent you into Holland with such power and instructions as We thought necessary, both for the encouragement of Our subjects at home and procuring assistance for them from abroad, yet We thought it not fit to oblige you to go thither in person 'till you might go so seconded and supplied as might carry some terror to the enemies and rebels, as well as comfort and security to Our good subjects.

That from the beginning of the war between the Dutch and our rebels, We promised Ourselves that every month would produce greater fruit to Us from those differences than has yet appeared, and in this expectation We have not been more disappointed (We conceive) than all Christendom has been; and therefore We had reason to differ Our own motion and Our particular designs, which were to be pursued with many difficulties, 'till We might see what would result from thence to Our advantage, and which in probability would render many things easy for Us which otherwise would be hardly practicable.

That We had not yet hastened your repair thither so soon but for two reasons, the one to prevent those factions and divisions which We too well discover the artifices of ill men endeavour to breed amongst and between those who are really and heartily well-affected to Our service, and to the common end desired by us all. The other that you may as soon as is possible upon the view of Our strength and power there, and of all other conveniences which may be depended upon return Us your opinion and counsel, upon conference with those whose affections and judgments are to be relied upon, whether it be fit and necessary for Us to repair thither in person. For you may assure them all that if We shall receive such encouragement, and have not in the meantime some other opportunity to make such an attempt upon Our rebels as may more divide and distract them than Our presence in Scotland would do, We will not fail to be with them and to run all distresses and hazards with them. And in this point you will send Us so particular advertisements that We may be as well informed as is possible.

3. You shall use your utmost diligence and dexterity to compose all differences and factions amongst those who wish well to Our service, We having (as We have often expressed to you) a greater apprehension of mischief from that fountain than from the strength and power of the rebels, and therefore you must be the more vigilant to prevent it and use all severity against those who are instruments towards such dis-union, of which We have said so much upon all occasions that We think it unnecessary further in this place to enlarge Ourselves.

¹ Middleton was wounded and captured while commanding Royalist forces at the Battle of Worcester (September 1651). Imprisoned in the Tower of London to await his execution, he soon escaped and made his way to the Continent.

4. Though We do not restrain you to any old forms and rules of proceeding, either in the martial or civil affairs, in regard that the same may not so well agree with the present exigents, yet We are well assured that you will use all necessary cautions in the orderly raising of contributions and making levies, and cause the same to be done upon such counsel and by such rules as may be most just and equal, and give best satisfaction to Our good subjects. And to that purpose We recommend unto you the consideration of the commission and instructions formerly sent by Us, which though it be not in force, yet may not for the method of it be utterly useless to you, and We know all who wish well to Us will join with you and give you their best assistance in the managing any province you shall assign them to.
5. You shall, upon due consultation with those principle persons who are entrusted by Us, cause the rents due to any who are in rebellion against Us to be sequestered and applied to Our service, and shall likewise in Our name proclaim all such who do apparently assist and join with the rebels in any war-like action to be rebels, and proceed against them accordingly. But in this particular We advise you to use all due deliberation, and not to comply with the passion and animosity of any, and well to weigh whether their credits may not thereby be advanced with the rebels, and so they may have the power to do hurt. And in all things of this nature that you use as much moderation as may consist with the well governing of Our affairs, and that you make not any desperate of whose return to their duty you may reasonably presume. Having as much care on the other hand that unseasonable lenity may not discourage those who suffer for doing their duty by seeing others not suffer for their disobedience and rebellion.
6. You shall desire the Moderator of the Commission of the Kirk to recommend unto you such faithful and godly ministers for the several charges in the army as may be most like to advance the good work in hand. And your own experience abroad has sufficiently informed you how necessary moderation and temper is in that particular, that no persons of entire and unquestionable affection to Us and Our interest may find themselves disobliged by any unnecessary rigour and severity, but all men encouraged to do their utmost against the common enemy, who must be made alike odious to all.
7. That you give notice to all men that they do not correspond with Colonel Joseph Bampffield,¹ who had no trust from Us, nor did We know of his going into Scotland, and We are so far from being satisfied with his integrity that We would not have any of Our well-affected subjects have any correspondence with him, by letters or otherwise.
8. You will cause such a declaration to be emitted as is necessary, with a due consideration of getting as many friends and making as few enemies as the lowness of Our and your condition requires.

C.H. Firth, ed. *Scotland and the Protectorate* (Edinburgh: University Press, 1899):25–28. [modernized]

¹ Joseph Bampffield (c. 1621–c. 1685), Royalist soldier, spy, and adventurer. In 1653, without Royal consent or knowledge, he began co-operating with Lord Balcarres to plot a rising of the Highlanders.