

= Henry Vane the Younger =

Sir Henry Vane (baptised 26 March 1613 ? 14 June 1662) , son of Henry Vane the Elder (often referred to as Harry Vane to distinguish him from his father) , was an English politician , statesman , and colonial governor . He was briefly present in North America , serving one term as the Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony , and supported the creation of Roger Williams ' Rhode Island Colony and Harvard College . A proponent of religious tolerance , he returned to England in 1637 following the Antinomian controversy that led to the banning of Anne Hutchinson from Massachusetts .

He was a leading Parliamentarian during the English Civil War and worked closely with Oliver Cromwell . He played no part in the execution of King Charles I , and refused to take oaths that expressed approval of the act . Vane served on the Council of State that functioned as the government executive during the Interregnum , but split with Cromwell over issues of governance and removed himself from power when Cromwell dissolved Parliament in 1653 . He returned to power during the short @-@ lived Commonwealth period in 1659 ? 1660 , and was arrested under orders from King Charles II following his restoration to the throne . After long debate , Vane was exempted from the Indemnity and Oblivion Act , and was thus denied amnesty granted to most people for their roles in the Civil War and Interregnum .

Although he was formally granted clemency by Charles II , he was charged with high treason by Parliament in 1662 . In a court proceeding in which he was denied counsel and the opportunity to properly prepare a defence , he was convicted by a partisan jury . Charles withdrew his earlier clemency , and Vane was beheaded on Tower Hill on 14 June 1662 .

Vane was recognised by his political peers as a competent administrator and a wily and persuasive negotiator and politician . His politics was driven by a desire for religious tolerance in an era when governments were used to establish official churches and suppress dissenting views . Although his views were in a small minority , he was able to successfully build coalitions to advance his agenda . His actions were often ultimately divisive , and contributed to both the rise and downfall of the English Commonwealth . His books and pamphlets written on political and religious subjects are still analyzed today , and Vane is remembered in Massachusetts and Rhode Island as an early champion of religious freedom .

= = Early life = =

Henry Vane was baptised on 26 May 1613 at Debden , Essex . He was the eldest child of Sir Henry Vane the Elder , who came from the landed gentry , and Frances Darcy , who came from minor nobility . The elder Vane used the family 's money to purchase positions at court , rising by 1629 to be Comptroller of the Household . Vane was educated at Westminster School , where his classmates included Arthur Heselrige and Thomas Scot , two other men who would figure prominently in English politics . Vane 's friend and biographer George Sikes wrote that Vane was " [ignorant] of God " and of a temperament that made him " acceptable to those they call good fellows " , but that he had a religious awakening at 14 or 15 , after which he " and his former jolly company came to a parting blow . " Vane then enrolled at Magdalen Hall , Oxford , where he studied in spite of his refusal to take the necessary matriculation oaths . He then traveled to Europe , where he was reported to be studying at Leiden and possibly in France and at Geneva .

Vane 's father had been upset by his open adoption of Puritan views , fearing this would hamper his opportunities for advancement at court . In 1631 he sent the young Vane to Vienna as an assistant to Robert Anstruther , the English ambassador . This was apparently a quite privileged role , for Vane 's writings of the time include messages written in French and in cipher . During this trip the elder Vane was sent to negotiate with Swedish King Gustavus for an alliance ; King Charles ' unwillingness to act in the matter meant the effort was in vain . He was introduced to the king after returning to England , and encouraged by his father to seek a position in the privy chamber . His father engaged in numerous attempts to get him to give up his nonconformist views , without success . In order to worship as he chose , Vane then decided to go the New World , joining the

Puritan migration .

= = New England = =

Vane left for the Massachusetts Bay Colony , arriving in Boston in October 1635 on a ship also carrying John Winthrop the Younger and Hugh Peter . The elder John Winthrop described Vane as " a young gentleman of excellent parts " , and by the following month he had already been admitted as a freeman in the colony . He began playing a role in its judicial administration , deciding whether legal disputes had sufficient merit to be heard by a full court . Vane was instrumental in brokering the resolution to a dispute between the elder Winthrop and Thomas Dudley concerning matters of judicial conduct . In the spring of 1637 Vane was elected governor of the colony , succeeding John Haynes . The situation he faced was complex , with issues on religious , political and military fronts . His biographers describe his term in office as " disastrous " .

The colony was split over the actions and beliefs of Anne Hutchinson . She had come with her husband and children to the colony in 1634 , and began holding Bible sessions at home , gaining a wide audience and sharing her opinions that the colonial leaders labeled as Antinomianism , the view that existing laws and practices were not necessary for salvation . Most of the older colonial leadership , including Dudley and Winthrop , espoused a more Legalist view . Vane was a supporter of Hutchinson , as was at first the influential pastor John Cotton , and this was the faction that propelled Vane into the governor 's seat in 1636 . Vane , however , immediately alienated some of the colonists by insisting on flying the English flag over Boston 's fort . The flag had recently been the subject of controversy , since its depiction of the Cross of St George was seen by many colonists as a symbol of papacy , and John Endecott had notoriously cut the cross out of the Salem militia 's flag . Vane 's popularity went down further when he learned in December 1636 that there were issues in England requiring his presence , and he attempted to resign . Although the court of assistants accepted his resignation , he withdrew it upon the request of the congregation of the Boston church .

During Vane 's tenure a dispute with the Pequot tribe of present @-@ day southeastern Connecticut boiled over into war . In 1636 the boat of a Massachusetts trader named John Oldham was found near Block Island , overrun by Indians . Further examination by the discoverers (after the Indians fled in canoes) uncovered Oldham 's body on board . The attackers were at the time believed to be from tribes affiliated with the Narragansetts , but Narragansett leaders claimed that those responsible had fled to the protection of the Pequots . The Pequots were aggressively expansionist in their dealings with the surrounding native tribes (including the Narragansett) , but had until then generally kept the peace with nearby English colonists . Massachusetts authorities were already angry that the Pequots had failed to turn over men implicated in the killing of another trader on the Connecticut River ; the slaying of Oldham led to calls for action . Despite the fact that Roger Williams had warned him that the Narragansetts were more likely responsible for Oldham 's slaying , Governor Vane in August 1636 placed John Endecott at the head of a 90 @-@ man force to extract justice from the Pequots . Endecott 's heavy @-@ handed expedition did little more than destroy Pequot settlements , and sparked a military backlash . The Pequots struck back at settlements recently established on the Connecticut River by colonists from Massachusetts , and at the Saybrook Colony of the younger John Winthrop . In April 1637 the ostensibly pacifist Vane called a session of the general court that authorized the colonial militia to assist the other New England colonies in continuing the war , which resulted in the destruction of the Pequots as a tribal entity .

Vane lost his position to the elder John Winthrop in the 1637 election . The contentious election was marked by a sharp disagreement over the treatment of John Wheelwright , another Hutchinson supporter . Winthrop won in part because the location of the vote was moved to Cambridge , reducing the power of Vane 's Boston support . In the aftermath of the election Anne Hutchinson was put on trial , and eventually banished from the colony . Many of her followers seriously considered leaving after the election . At the urging of Roger Williams , some of these people , including Hutchinson , founded the settlement of Portsmouth on Aquidneck Island in the

Narragansett Bay (later named Rhode Island and joined to Providence to form the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations) . Vane decided to return to England , apparently with the notion that he would acquire a royal governorship to trump the colonial administration . Before his departure , he published A Brief Answer to a Certain Declaration , a response to Winthrop 's defense of the Act of Exclusion ; this act was passed after the election to restrict the immigration of people with views not conforming to the colony 's religious orthodoxy .

Despite their political differences , Vane and Winthrop developed an epistolary relationship in the following years . Vane 's legacy from his time in the New World includes the colonial legislation appropriating £ 400 for the establishment of an institute of higher learning now known as Harvard University , and his support of Roger Williams in the acquisition of Aquidneck Island from the local Indians that resulted in the formal beginnings of Rhode Island . The surviving accounts do not say that Vane provide the funds for the acquisition ; Williams credits Vane as being " an instrument in the hand of God for procuring this island " .

According to historian Michael Winship , Vane 's experiences in Massachusetts significantly radicalized his religious views , in which he came to believe that clergy of all types , including Puritan ministers , " were the second beast of Revelations 13 : 11 " , " pretending to visible Sainthood " . This conviction drove his political activities in England , where he sought to minimize the power and influence of all types of clergy . Biographer Violet Rowe writes that " Vane 's guiding principles in religious policy seem to have been two : a rooted distrust of clerical power , whether of bishops or presbyters , and a belief that the State should abstain from interference in church matters altogether . "

Vane 's stance can be seen in the way the first Rhode Island patent was drafted in 1643 , when he sat on the Parliamentary committee charged with colonial affairs . Unique among all of the early English colonial charters , it contains provisions guaranteeing freedom of religion . (Vane assisted Roger Williams again in 1652 , when the latter sought a confirmation of the Rhode Island charter and the revocation of a conflicting charter that had been issued to William Coddington .)

= = Return to England = =

On his return to England , he procured , with the assistance of the Earl of Northumberland and his father , a position as Treasurer of the Royal Navy in 1639 . In this position he had the personally distasteful yet highly profitable task of collecting the hated ship money (a tax to support the Navy imposed by Charles I without Parliamentary approval) . In June 1640 he was awarded a knighthood by King Charles . He married Frances Wray , daughter of Sir Christopher Wray , on 1 July 1640 , after which his father settled upon him most of the family 's holdings . These included Fairlawn in Kent , and Raby Castle , where Vane would make his home . According to his biographers , the relationship with Frances was anchored by shared spiritual goals and intimacy , and was happy and fulfilling .

The connection with the admiralty secured for him election to the Short and Long Parliaments representing Hull . Vane had already formed or renewed associations with prominent opponents of Charles ' policies , including John Pym and John Hampden . In the Short Parliament he was noted to be " capable of managing great affairs " , with a " penetrating judgment " and an " easy and graceful manner of speaking . " With others like Nathaniel Fiennes , he represented a younger generation of Puritans in the leadership of the Long Parliament that effectively managed affairs : as identified by Clarendon in his history , these included Hampden , Pym , and Oliver St John in the Commons , and Earl of Bedford and Viscount Saye and Sele in the Lords .

Vane was instrumental in the 1641 impeachment and execution of the Earl of Strafford , a member of the Privy Council . Vane discovered some confidential notes his father had made of a council meeting , and passed them to John Pym . The wording in those notes could be interpreted to mean that Strafford had proposed that Charles use the Irish Army to subjugate England . The evidence against Strafford was weak , and the impeachment failed . Pym consequently orchestrated the passage of a bill of attainder against Strafford , who was then executed in May 1641 . The illicit means by which Pym acquired the notes caused a rift between the Vanes that only healed when the

elder Vane eventually came to oppose the king .

In the Root and Branch petition debate in the Commons , from December 1640 and into 1641 , Vane supported , as did Nathaniel Fiennes , the call for radical reforms in the Church of England , a position that put Vane in opposition to his father . Amid a sea of complaints about church governance , he and Fiennes in February 1641 were added to a committee that had been established the previous November to draft a report on the state of the kingdom . Their efforts led Vane to introduce the Root and Branch Bill in May 1641 . The debate on the bill was acrimonious , and resulted in a clear indication of parliamentary support for church reform . In its wake mobs invaded churches , removing " scandalous images " and other signs of " popery " . Vane made an impassioned speech that brought him to the front of his faction , claiming episcopacy (the governing structure of the Church of England) was a corrupt doctrine " hastening us back again to Rome . " The bill died without a vote in August , when more critical matters arose to occupy Parliament . When Charles went to Scotland to rally Scottish forces to the royalist cause , the Commons began drafting what became known as the Grand Remonstrance . Many historians have claimed Vane had a role in drafting some of its language ; this matter is disputed , but either way Vane did not participate in the debate . Narrowly passed by the Commons in November 1641 , the document catalogued many grievances against the king and church , and served to further polarize political affairs . The king refused to enact any of the requested reforms . Upon his return from Scotland , the king also deprived both Vanes , father and son , of their administrative posts , in revenge for their roles in the execution of Strafford .

= = Civil War = =

= = = Early years = = =

In the first six months of 1642 , relations between the king and Parliament broke down completely , and factions supporting both sides took up arms . Parliament returned Vane to his post as Treasurer of the Navy , where he used connections to bring significant naval support to the Parliamentary side after Charles attempted to arrest five MPs on charges of high treason in December 1641 . In June 1642 Charles rejected the Nineteen Propositions , the last substantive set of demands made by Parliament prior to the outbreak of the First English Civil War . After hostilities began that June with the Siege of Hull , Vane was given a seat on the Committee of Safety , which oversaw Parliamentary military activities .

After the failure of the Root and Branch Bill , Parliament in 1643 called together the Westminster Assembly of Divines , a body of lay politicians , lords , and clergy whose purpose was to reform church governance . Vane sat on this body , which met periodically until 1648 , as one of the lay representatives of the Independent faction . Not long after its first meeting in July , Vane was sent at the head of a Parliamentary commission seeking military assistance from the Scots . The Scots , who had been opposed to Charles in the Bishop 's Wars (1639 ? 40) over religious issues , were willing to assist the English Parliament if the latter were willing to allow the extension of the Presbyterian system of church polity to England . Vane was opposed to both Presbyterianism and Episcopalianism , but found a way to finesse an agreement . He proposed that the agreement , which covered a combination of religious and political topics , be called the Solemn League and Covenant , and he introduced slippery language into the agreement concerning " the example of the best Reformed churches " . This language permitted the Scots to believe that their ideas would be adopted , while the English could interpret it to mean that English (i.e. Independent) practices could be adopted . The league and covenant were eventually approved by authorities in Scotland , England , and Ireland , and paved the way for Scottish entry into the war .

Following Vane 's success in negotiating the Scottish agreement , the death of John Pym at the end of 1643 propelled Vane into the leadership of Parliament , along with Oliver St John , Henry Marten , and Arthur Heselrige . He promoted , and became a chief member of , the Committee of Both Kingdoms , established in February 1644 as a point where English and Scottish authorities could

coordinate war activities . Vane was then sent to York in June 1644 , then besieged by three Parliament armies , to urge Sir Thomas Fairfax and the Earl of Manchester to divert some of those forces to face Prince Rupert of the Rhine , who had recently taken Liverpool and was pillaging properties of Parliamentary supporters in Lancashire . While there he also proposed to the generals the establishment of a government without the king . This idea was roundly rejected by the old guard generals who believed Charles could still be accommodated , but found support with the rising star of Oliver Cromwell .

On 13 September 1644 Vane acted with St John and Cromwell in the Commons to set up a " Grand Committee for the Accommodation " , designed to find a compromise on religious issues dividing the Westminster Assembly . He sought in its debate to identify loopholes for religious tolerance on behalf of the Independents . This exposed Vane 's opposition to Presbyterianism , and created a rift between the pro @-@ war Independents , led by Vane and Cromwell , and the pro @-@ peace Scots and other supporters of Presbyterianism . The latter included the Earl of Essex , whose failures in the west of England reduced popular support for his cause , even as the military success of Cromwell at Marston Moor raised his profile . Robert Baillie , on the realization that the Parliamentary Independents , despite previous claims of support by Vane , were not on the side of the Scots , wrote " Sir Henry Vane and The Solicitor [St John] ... without any regard for us , who have saved their nation and brought their two persons to the height of power now they enjoy and use to our prejudice " .

= = = Parliamentary victory = = =

Overtures for peace talks were begun in November 1644 between king and Parliament . Vane was one of many negotiators sent to Uxbridge in a failed attempt to negotiate peace . Vane and the Independents were seen by some as a principal reason for the failure of these talks , because the Scots and Charles were prepared to agree on issues of church polity and doctrine and the Independents were not . The talks , which lasted from late January through most of February 1645 , were overshadowed by the execution after impeachment by attainder of Archbishop Laud .

Parliament began discussing a reorganization of its military as early as November 1644 , in part to remove some poorly @-@ performing commanders , and to eliminate the regional character of the existing forces . In debate that principally divided the Commons from the Lords , Vane and Cromwell supported passage of the Self @-@ denying Ordinance , forbidding military officers from serving in Parliament , and the establishment of the New Model Army , which would be capable of fighting anywhere in the country . The provisions of the Self @-@ denying Ordinance also extended to individuals (like Vane) who held civil service posts , but included exceptions for those (like Vane) who had been turned out office by Charles and restored by Parliament . Vane then began drawing on fees and stipends that he had previously refused , and failed to pay half of his treasurer 's fees to Parliament , as required by the law .

Following the decisive Parliamentary victory at Naseby in June 1645 , the first phase of the civil war was effectively over , but it dragged on for another year , before Charles surrendered to Scottish army commanders . During this time , a new political faction began to rise within the military . Known as Levellers and led by John Lilburne and others , this populist force was in favour of greater press freedoms , and was opposed to at least some of the privileges of the aristocracy , including the existence of the House of Lords .

In January 1646 , amid ongoing peace negotiations , Charles attempted to separate the Independents from other factions by proposing in letters to Vane an alliance with his faction against the Presbyterians . Vane was not amused by this , and responded by pointing out that he preferred the rights of " tender consciences " to be granted by Parliament than by the duplicitous king (papers exposing the king 's negotiating positions as facades had been captured at Naseby , and had largely silenced the Royalist elements in Parliament) . The Vane estates were not spared in the maelstrom of war ; Vane 's father reported that Raby Castle had been " visited four times " , suffering damages of £ 16 @, @ 000 . In September 1645 , the Vanes succeeded in getting Parliamentary approval to fortify Raby .

= = = Interwar politics = = =

By the end of the war the Presbyterian group in the Commons , led by Denzil Holles , William Strode , and Sir Philip Stapleton , was slightly stronger than the Independents . They proceeded to introduce legislation hostile to the views on religious tolerance held by Vane and Independents in the army . Vane apparently came to realize that the Presbyterian actions posed a threat equal to that of the Episcopalians , and that military action , having sidelined the latter , might also work against the former . There was also mutual distrust between Vane and the Levellers , because Vane held the somewhat aristocratic view that voting rights should be reserved to the propertied gentry . The Independents attempted to negotiate terms favourable to them with Charles , but these were unsuccessful .

In 1647 Vane and Oliver Cromwell , the leader of the army 's Independents , came to work closely together . The Presbyterian majority sought to disband the army to reduce the threat of those Independents , but issues over pay (which was in arrears) , widows ' pensions , and other grievances , prompted the Presbyterians to enter into negotiations with the army . A bitter debate over an army petition led Levellers to charge the Independents , Vane among them , with attempting to " oppress the people " and wanting to " hold the reins of power ... not for a year , but forever . " Cromwell was eventually able to appease the army , but a Parliamentary purge of Independent officers followed , and the army was ordered to disband . Some Parliamentary leaders also began negotiating with the Scots for the return of their army , this time to oppose the English army . The Parliament army mutinied , and under Cromwell 's orders (possibly prompted by a warning from Vane) a detachment of troops seized Charles , who had been placed under a comfortable house arrest at Holmby . This forced the Presbyterian leadership to meet the army 's demands for pay . They also established a commission to treat with the army , on which they placed Vane , presumably because of his influence with the military .

The negotiations between the army and Parliament were acrimonious . Mobs in Presbyterian @-@ dominated London threatened Vane and other Independents . More than 50 Independent MPs , Vane among them , fled the city on 2 August for the protection of the army . The army then marched on London , with Vane and others at its head , and the Independents were again seated in Parliament . The Parliament then debated the army 's Heads of Proposals for fixing the term and powers of Parliament and church governance . Key among its terms of interest to Vane was one that effectively stripped the church , either Episcopal or Presbyterian , of any coercive powers . The Heads of Proposals was also sent to Charles , who indicated agreement to some of its terms and opposition to others , and proposed further negotiations .

The king 's proposal split the Independents between those , such as Vane and Cromwell , who were willing to negotiate with the king , and those who were not . Reverend Hugh Peter spoke out in favor of the " non @-@ addresses " (i.e. no longer negotiating with the king) , as did the Levellers . John Lilburne was particularly critical , saying " I clearly see Cromwell 's and Vane 's designs , which is to keep the poor people everlastingly (if they can) in bondage and slavery . " In November 1647 , while the debate continued , Charles escaped his confinement at Hampton Court and made his way to the Isle of Wight . There he was recaptured and imprisoned in Carisbrook Castle . Offered proposals by the Scots and the Independents , he chose alliance with the Scots . Sectional violence between royalists , Presbyterians , and Independents , spread throughout the country , although the army maintained a tenuous peace in London .

= = = War renewed = = =

Violence flared throughout the country as the various factions armed and organized . A mutiny in the Royal Navy in May thrust Vane into attempts to prevent it from spreading , and to regain the support of the mutineers , who had declared for Charles . By mid @-@ July , the army had regained control of most of England , and Cromwell defeated the Scottish army in August at the Battle of Preston . In the tumult , Vane appeared at times to be in opposition to some of the Independent

factions , even having a falling out (quickly healed) with Cromwell , and many factions came to distrust him . Despite this he was one of the Parliamentary representatives for negotiations with Charles at Newport in September 1648 . He was widely blamed for the failure of those negotiations over his insistence on " an unbounded liberty of conscience " .

In the debates of late 1648 concerning the king 's fate , Vane argued that the Parliament should constitute a government without the king " to make themselves the happiest nation and people in the world . " His forceful speech on 2 December suggesting that the king would need to be eliminated as a political force was opposed by others , including Nathaniel Fiennes , who claimed that the concessions the king had made to date were sufficient that an agreement might be reached . Others suggested that rather than dividing the house by opposition to the king , it be divided by separating those who had gained in the war from those who had not , and that financial contributions be made from one group to the other . After an impassioned conciliatory speech by William Prynne , Parliament finally voted on 5 December that the king 's concessions were sufficient , but Clement Walker and other opponents of Vane whispered that both Vanes had abused their positions of power during the war for profit . Walker compiled a long list of MPs he claimed had acted corruptly , but Vane was not on it . Instead , Walker charged the Vanes with benefiting by buying at a discount " sleeping pensions " , or debts owed by the public purse to individuals , and then pursuing payment of them to enrich themselves . There is today no substantive way to assess the validity of Walker 's charges .

On 6 December , the military stepped in to take control of matters . Troops led by Thomas Pride surrounded the Houses of Parliament , and systematically arrested arriving MPs who had been supportive of negotiation with the king . Vane did not appear that day ? he either was aware of what was going to happen , or he may have stayed away because his side had lost the vote . This action , known as " Pride 's Purge " , resulted in the exclusion of more than 140 MPs . The Parliament that sat became known as the Rump Parliament , and its first main order of business was the trial and execution of King Charles . During this process Vane refused to attend Parliament , although he was present as a spectator when the trial began on 20 January 1649 . He later claimed to oppose putting the king on trial because of " tenderness of blood " , and continued to fulfill the duties of his government posts , signing admiralty papers on the day Charles was executed .

= = The Commonwealth and Oliver Cromwell = =

After the execution of Charles , the House of Commons voted to abolish both the crown and the House of Lords . To replace the executive functions of the crown , it established a Council of State to which Vane was appointed . He refused to be seated until he could do so without taking any oath , in particular the first one , which required an expression of approval for the regicide . Vane served on many of the council 's committees . In his role on committees overseeing the military he directed the provisioning of supplies for Cromwell 's conquest of Ireland . As a leading member of the committee overseeing the navy (where he was joined by schoolmate Thomas Scot) , he directed affairs in the naval First Anglo @-@ Dutch War (1652 ? 1654) . After the navy 's disastrous performance against the Dutch in 1652 , Vane headed the committee that reformed the navy , drafting new Articles of War and formally codifying naval law . Vane 's reforms were instrumental in the navy 's successes later in the war . He was also involved in foreign diplomacy , going on a mission to France (whose purpose is unknown) in 1652 to meet with Cardinal de Retz , and traveling again to Scotland to organize the government there after Cromwell 's victories in the Third English Civil War .

Vane was also active in domestic affairs . He sat on a committee that disposed of Charles I 's art collection , and made many enemies in his role on the committees for Compounding and Sequestration . These committees , on which Vane had also sat in the 1640s , were responsible for the distribution of assets seized from royalists and other government opponents , and for negotiating with those who had failed to pay taxes and other government charges . Some of the enemies he made while engaged in this work would one day sit in judgment against him .

The process by which the Parliament carried out the duties of the executive was cumbersome , and

this became an issue with Cromwell and the army , who sought the ability to act more decisively . This attitude drove a wedge between Cromwell and Vane . Under pressure from Cromwell for new elections , the Parliament began to consider proposals for electoral reform . In January 1653 a committee headed by Vane made one such proposal . It called for suffrage to be allowed on the basis of property ownership , and it specifically sought to eliminate a number of so @-@ called " rotten boroughs " , which had small numbers of voters and were controlled by wealthy patrons . The proposal also called for some of the current members , whose republican credentials were deemed suitable , to retain their seats , so that the fledgling commonwealth might , as Harry Marten put it , would be shepherded by " the mother that brought it forth " . This latter clause was specifically proposed at the urging of the army by Vane , who realised that those who were charged with its implementation would be able to retain power . However , Cromwell , seeking a general election , was opposed to this scheme , and the two sides were unable to reconcile .

Although Parliamentary leaders , Vane among them , had promised Cromwell on 19 April 1653 to delay action on the election bill , Vane was likely one of the ringleaders that sought to have the bill enacted the next day before Cromwell could react . Cromwell was however alerted by a supporter , and interrupted the proceedings that would otherwise have passed the bill . Bringing troops into the chamber , he put an end to the debate , saying " You are no Parliament . I say you are no Parliament . I will put an end to your sitting . " Vane protested , " This is not honest ; yea , it is against morality and common honesty " , to which Cromwell shouted in response , " O Sir Henry Vane , Sir Henry Vane ; the Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane ! " This ended the commonwealth , and Cromwell began to rule as Lord Protector . Vane , " daily missed and courted for his assistance " , was invited to sit on Cromwell 's council , but refused .

Effectively in retirement , Vane wrote the Retired Man 's Meditations , published in 1655 amid rumors that Vane was fomenting rebellion against Cromwell , principally among Quakers and Fifth Monarchists . This work , a jargon @-@ laden religious treatise in which Vane wanders between literal and symbolic interpretation of Biblical scriptures , was treated by contemporaries and later analysts , including David Hume , as " absolutely unintelligible " and " cloudily formed " . The same year , after Cromwell called for a fast day to consider methods by which his government might be improved , Vane wrote A Healing Question . In this more carefully structured political work , he proposed a new form of government , insisting as before upon a Parliament supreme over the Army . He was encouraged to publish it by Charles Fleetwood , who had shown it to Cromwell . In a postscript to the work Vane wrote the words " the good old cause " , a coinage that became a rallying cry in the next few years for Vane 's group of republicans .

A Healing Question was seen by John Thurloe , Cromwell 's Secretary of State , as a thinly @-@ veiled attack on Cromwell , and its publication prompted a number of opposition political groups to step up their activities . Rumors circulated that protests raised by fringe religious groups like the Anabaptists and Quakers were due to Vane 's involvement , prompting Cromwell 's council to issue an order on 29 July 1656 , summoning Vane to appear . Vane was ordered to post a bond of £ 5 @,@ 000 " to do nothing to the prejudice of the present government and the peace of the Commonwealth " , but refused . He was arrested shortly afterward and imprisoned in Carisbrooke Castle . While there he addressed a letter to Cromwell in which he repudiated the extra @-@ parliamentary authority Cromwell had assumed . Vane was released , still unrepentant , on 31 December 1656 .

During Vane 's retirement he established a religious teaching group , which resulted in a group of admirers known as " Vanists " . The Puritan pastor Richard Baxter classified Seekers , Ranters , Behmenists and Vanists together , as religious wild men . He also cultivated pamphleteers and other surrogates to promote his political views . Henry Stubbe , introduced to Vane by Westminster head Richard Busby , became a supporter , and defended him in his Essay in Defence of the Good Old Cause , and in Malice Rebuked (1659) .

= = Richard Cromwell and after = =

Following Oliver Cromwell 's death in September 1658 , his son Richard succeeded him as Lord

Protector . The younger Cromwell lacked the political and military skills of his father , and the political factionalism of the earlier Commonwealth began to resurface . When elections were called for a new parliament in December 1658 , Cromwell attempted to prevent the election of both royalists and republicans . Vane , as a leader of the republican faction , was specifically targeted , but managed to win election representing Whitchurch . In the parliament 's session , the republicans questioned Cromwell 's claim to power , argued in favour of limiting it , and spoke against the veto power of the Cromwellian House of Lords , which was packed with supporters of the protector . The republicans were unsuccessful in enacting any substantive changes .

Vane formed an alliance with a group of republican military officers known as the Wallingford House party , who met secretly in violation of laws enacted to limit military participation in political matters . The Cromwellian factions in the parliament overreached in their attempts to control republican sentiment in the military , and Cromwell was forced to dissolve the parliament in April 1659 . Cromwell , with little support in the military , abdicated several days later . Following a purge of pro @-@ Cromwell supporters from the military and a widespread pamphleteering campaign , Cromwell 's council recalled the Rump Parliament in May .

In the reconstituted Rump Parliament , Vane was appointed to the new council of state . He also served as commissioner for the appointment of army officers , managed foreign affairs , and examined the state of the government 's finances , which were found to be in dismal condition . Through his work General John Lambert was sent to quell Booth 's Rebellion , a royalist uprising in August 1659 . Lambert 's support of non @-@ mainstream religious views like Quakerism , however , ensured his political downfall . After he and other officers were stripped of their command by Parliament in October , they rallied their troops and marched on Parliament , forcibly dissolving it . A committee of safety was formed , composed of the army grandees , and including Vane . He agreed to serve in part because he feared the republican cause was destined to fail without army support . This committee only served until December , when the advance of General George Monck 's army from Scotland led to the melting away of Lambert 's military support , and the restoration of the full Long Parliament . For taking part in the committee of safety , Vane was expelled (over vocal objections from allies like Heselrige) from the Commons , and ordered into house arrest at Raby Castle . He went to Raby in February 1660 , but only stayed there briefly , and eventually returned to his house at Hampstead .

During the tumultuous year of the late 1650s proposals for how the government should be structured and how powers should be balanced were widely debated , in private , in public debates in Parliament , and through the publication of pamphlets . Vane used all of these methods to promote his ideas . In 1660 he published A Needful Corrective or Balance in Popular Government . This open letter was essentially a response to James Harrington 's The Commonwealth of Oceana , a 1656 treatise describing Harrington 's view of a utopian government , which included limitations on property ownership and a legislature with an elected upper chamber . Harrington 's thesis was that power arose from property ownership , and concentrated land ownership led to oligarchic and monarchic forms of government . Vane disagreed with this , arguing instead that power came from godliness , and presented a somewhat apocalyptic argument in support of his idea . Vane supporter Henry Stubbe stated openly in October 1659 that permanent Senators would be required . These proposals caused a terminal split in Vane 's alliance with Heselrige , whose followers mostly deserted Vane .

= = The Restoration = =

In March 1660 the Long Parliament finally dissolved itself , and elections were held for the Convention Parliament , which sat in May . This body , dominated by royalists and Presbyterians , formally proclaimed Charles II as king , and he was restored to the throne on 29 May 1660 . In order to minimize acts of reprisal and vengeance for acts taken during the Interregnum , the parliament passed the Indemnity and Oblivion Act , under whose terms most actions were forgiven . Specific exceptions were made for those directly involved in the regicide , and after long debate , Vane was also named as an exception . The act was not passed until August 1660 , and Vane was arrested on

1 July 1660 on the orders of the king and imprisoned in the Tower of London . The parliament , after passing the Indemnity Act , petitioned Charles to grant clemency to Vane and others , asking that his life might be spared . This petition was granted .

Despite the clemency , Vane remained in the Tower , and the income from his estates was seized . He suffered the privations of the prison , and was unable to discharge debts that ran to £ 10 @, @ 000 . He was transferred to the Isles of Scilly in October 1661 in order to limit access to him by potential conspirators who might be scheming to free him . He continued to write , principally on religious themes , seeking to come to terms with the political state of affairs and his condition . According to *The People 's Case Stated* , written by Vane in this time , power originated with God , but resided primarily with the people : " The power which is directive , and states and ascertains the morality of the rule of obedience , is in the hand of God ; but the original , from whence all just power arises , which is magistratical and co @-@ ercitive , is from the will or free gift of the people , who may either keep the power in themselves or give up their subjection and will in the hand of another . " King and people were bound by " the fundamental constitution or compact " , which if the king violated , the people might return to their original right and freedom .

Following Vane 's move to Scilly , the Cavalier Parliament passed a resolution in November 1661 demanding his return to the Tower for trial . Charles temporized , and in January 1662 the Parliament renewed the demand . Vane was moved back to the Tower in April 1662 , and on 2 June 1662 he was arraigned on charges of high treason against Charles II . The trial began on 6 June before the Court of King 's Bench , with four judges headed by Lord Chief Justice Robert Foster presiding , and with the king 's attorney general Sir Geoffrey Palmer prosecuting . As was typical of those accused of treason , Vane was denied legal representation . He defended himself against charges of making war against the king during the civil war by asserting the sovereign power of parliament . Accused of imagining the death of the king in 1659 , he argued that it was not possible to commit treason against a king not in possession of the crown . When the prosecution argued that the king was always in de jure possession , Vane pointed out that this rendered invalid the charges that he conspired to keep Charles II from exercising his power . The judges stepped in to point out this was irrelevant . The jury , which was packed with royalists , convicted him after thirty minutes of debate .

Vane attempted to appeal his conviction , and tried to get the magistrates to sign a Bill of Exclusion in which Vane catalogued all the problems he saw with his trial . However , the magistrates refused . Informed of Vane 's conduct before and during the trial , Charles II now felt that Vane was too dangerous a man to be left alive , and retracted his clemency . (Unlike Vane , John Lambert at his trial had thrown himself on the mercy of the court , and was consequently exiled to Guernsey after his conviction .) Although Vane had been sentenced to the commoner 's death of being hanged and then drawn and quartered , Charles was persuaded to grant him the gentleman 's death of beheading . On 14 June 1662 Vane was taken to Tower Hill and beheaded . Noted diarist Samuel Pepys was there and recorded the event :

He made a long speech , many times interrupted by the Sheriff and others there ; and they would have taken his paper out of his hand , but he would not let it go . But they caused all the books of those that writ after him to be given the Sheriff ; and the trumpets were brought under the scaffold that he might not be heard . Then he prayed , and so fitted himself , and received the blow ; but the scaffold was so crowded that we could not see it done He had a blister , or issue , upon his neck , which he desired them not hurt : he changed not his colour or speech to the last , but died justifying himself and the cause he had stood for ; and spoke very confidently of his being presently at the right hand of Christ ; and in all things appeared the most resolved man that ever died in that manner , and showed more of heat than cowardize , but yet with all humility and gravity . One asked him why he did not pray for the King . He answered , " Nay , " says he , " you shall see I can pray for the King : I pray God bless him ! "

In his final days Vane had made his peace with God , and had also carefully prepared the speech he intended to make at the execution . In order to preserve the speech , he gave copies to close friends who visited him in those days , which were later printed . Many viewed him as a martyr for continuing to espouse his cause , and some thought the king had lost more than he gained by

having him executed . His body was returned to his family , who interred him in the church at Shipbourne , near the family estate of Fairlawn in Kent .

= = Family = =

Vane and his wife Frances had ten children . Of their five sons , only the last , Christopher , had children , and succeeded to his father 's estates . He was created Baron Barnard by William III .

= = Works = =

A number of Vane 's speeches to Parliament and other bodies were printed during his lifetime or shortly after , including The Speech Intended to Have been Spoken on the Scaffold , published in 1662 .

Vane 's other printed works include :

A Brief Answer to a Certain Declaration , 1637

The Retired Man 's Meditations , 1655

A Healing Question Propounded , 1656

Of Love of God and Union with God , 1657 ?

The Proceeds of the Protector ... Against Sir Henry Vane , Knight , 1658

A Needful Corrective or Balance in Popular Government , 1659

Two Treatises : " Epistle General to the Mystical Body of Christ " and " The Face of the Times " , 1662

The Cause of the People of England Stated , 1689 (written 1660 @-@ 1662 ; the title may have been intended to be " Case " instead of " Cause ")

A Pilgrimage into the Land of Promise , 1664

The Trial of Sir Henry Vane , Knight , 1662

The last work contains , in addition to his last speech and details relating to the trial , The People 's Case Stated , The Valley of Jehoshaphat , and Meditations concerning Man 's Life .

Some contemporary works were incorrectly attributed to him . Clarendon , in his History of the Rebellion , assigns to Vane credit for one speech in support of the Self @-@ Denying Ordinance ; later historians find this attribution spurious . The Speech against Richard Cromwell is probably the composition of a later writer , while The Light Shining out of Darkness may have been written by Henry Stubbe .

= = Reputation = =

Vane was widely recognized by contemporary chroniclers as a gifted administrator and a forceful orator . Even the royalist Clarendon had good words for him , and wrote of him as follows : " He had an unusual aspect , which ... made men think there was something in him of the extraordinary ; and his whole life made good that imagination . " Also , Clarendon credited Vane with having possessed " extraordinary parts , a pleasant wit , a great understanding , a temper not to be moved " , and in debate " a quick conception and a very sharp and weighty expression " . The 1662 biography The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane the Younger by Vane 's chaplain George Sikes included John Milton 's " Sonnet 17 " , written in 1652 in praise of Vane , and presented to Vane that year .

The religious writings of Vane were so unusual as to have been found difficult to understand , even baffling , by readers as varied as Richard Baxter , Clarendon , Gilbert Burnet and David Hume , and continue to be seen so today . Civil War historian Blair Worden comments that " Vane 's opaque political ideas and religious beliefs are now barely intelligible " , and biographer David Parnham writes " He presented himself as a ' witness ' of light , as a spiritualist , as one dispensing advanced wisdoms in the epistemological setting of an imminent and apocalyptic age of the Spirit " .

Vane 's reputation was at its height in the nineteenth century , especially in the United States . English historian John Andrew Doyle wrote of Vane that he had acquired " a more dazzling reputation than has been granted to the lofty public spirit and statesmanlike foresight of Winthrop . "

William Wordsworth referenced Vane in his sonnet Great Men Have Been Among Us (1802) . Charles Dickens included the exchange between Vane and Cromwell at the end of the Rump Parliament in his A Child 's History of England , part @-@ published in the early 1850s . In English Traits (1856) , Ralph Waldo Emerson placed Vane on a list of historical English greats . Sean Gabb , a modern British libertarian , notes that Vane was in the vanguard on issues of religious freedom . Although he was " among a small and easily defeated minority " , his successors 150 years later " were responsible for the clearest and most solid safeguards of civil and religious freedom ever adopted into a constitution . "

In 1897 the Royal Society of the Arts marked Vane 's demolished Hampstead house on Rosslyn Hill , Vane House , with a blue plaque .

James Kendall Hosmer , editing Winthrop 's Journal in 1908 , wrote of Vane :

... his heroic life and death , his services to Anglo @-@ Saxon freedom , which make him a significant figure even to the present moment , may well be regarded as the most illustrious character who touches early New England history . While his personal contact with America was only for a brief space , his life became a strenuous upholding of American ideas : if government of , by , and for the people is the principle which English @-@ speaking men feel especially bound to maintain , the life and death of Vane contributed powerfully to cause this idea to prevail .