The life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford : containing, I. An account of the Chancellor's life from his birth to the Restoration in 1660. II. A continuation of the same, and of his History of the grand rebellion, from the Restoration to his banishment in 1667 / Written by himself. Printed from his original manuscripts, given to the University of Oxford, by the heirs of the late Earl of Clarendon.

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THE

LIFE

OF

EDWARD Earl of *CLARENDON*,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR of *ENGLAND*,

AND

CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY of *OXFORD*,

From his Birth to the Reſtoration in 1660.

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Lord High Chancellor of ENGLAND,

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Prob. his Birth to the Reformation in 1660.

Clarking Hens College

THE

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CONTAINING,

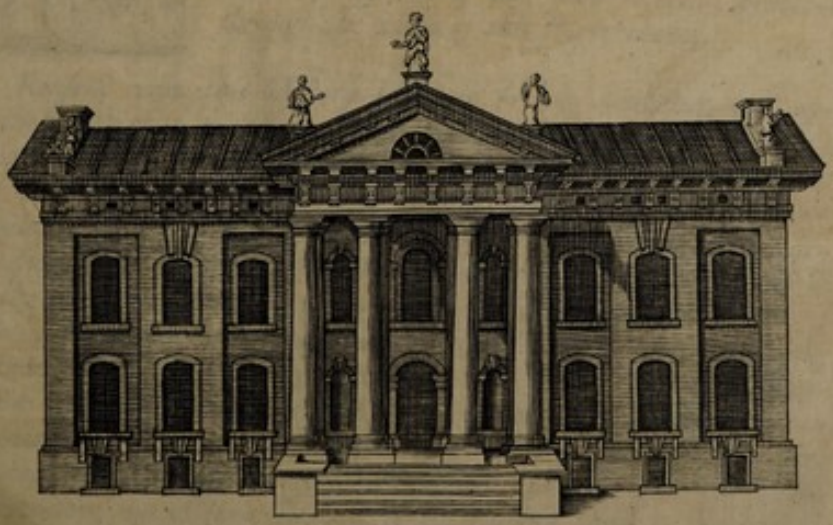
I. An Account of the CHANCELLOR'S LIFE from his BIRTH to the RESTORATION in 1660.

II. A Continuation of the ſame, and of his HISTORY of the GRAND REBELLION, from the RESTORATION to his BANISHMENT in 1667.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

Printed from his ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, given to the UNIVERSITY of *OXFORD*, by the Heirs of the late EARL of *CLARENDON*.

Ne quid Falſi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.



OXFORD,

At the CLARENDON PRINTING-HOUSE. M.DCC.LIX.

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ORMOND STREET W.C. LONDON
WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE

THE PREFACE.

THE Reader can deſire no better Recommendation of the Hiſtory now publiſhed, than to be aſſured that it is the genuine Work of the Great Earl of Clarendon. *The Work it ſelf bears plain Characteriſticks of its Author. The ſame Dignity of Sentiment, and Style, which diſtinguiſhes* THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, *and all other the Works of this noble Writer, breathes through the whole of this Performance.*

THE Reaſon, why this Hiſtory has lain ſo long concealed, will appear from the * *Title of it, which ſhews that his Lordſhip intended it* only for the Information of his Children. *But the late Lord* Hyde, *judging that ſo faithful and authentick an Account of this intereſting Period of our Hiſtory would be an uſeful and acceptable Preſent to the Publick, and bearing a grateful Remembrance of this Place of his Education, left by his Will this, and the other Remains of his Great Grandfather, in the Hands of Truſtees, to be printed at our Preſs, and directed* that the Profits ariſing from the Sale ſhould be employed towards the eſtabliſhing a Riding-School in the Univerſity. *But Lord* Hyde *dying before his Father, the then Earl of* Clarendon, *the Property of theſe Papers never became veſted in him, and conſequently this Bequeſt was void. However, the noble Heireſſes of the Earl of* Clarendon, *out of their Regard to the Publick, and to this Seat of Learning, have been pleaſed to fulfill the kind Intentions of Lord* Hyde, *and adopt a Scheme recommended both by him,* † *and his Great Grand-*

* See Continuation, Page 1. † See his Dialogue on Education, P. 325, &c.

father. To this End They have ſent to the Univerſity this Hiſtory, to be printed at our Preſs, on Condition that the Profits ariſing from the Publication or Sale of this Work be applied, as a Beginning for a Fund for ſupporting a Manage, or Academy for Riding, and other uſeful Exerciſes, in *Oxford.*

THE Work here offered to the Publick conſiſts of two Parts. The Second, which is the moſt important and intereſting Part of the Work, is THE HISTORY OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON'S LIFE FROM THE YEAR 1660 TO 1667, *from the Reſtoration to the Time of his Baniſhment, and includes in it the moſt memorable Tranſactions of thoſe Times. It may be therefore conſidered in two Views. It is a Second Part of* LORD CLARENDON'S LIFE: *and is alſo a Continuation of his former Hiſtory, entitled* THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION, *from the Year* 1660, *where that ends, to the Year* 1667. *This is carefully printed, without any material Variations, from a Manuſcript all of Lord* Clarendon's *own Hand-writing, excepting ſome few Pages in the Hand of his Amanuenſis, which are only Tranſcripts from two Papers, the one,* a Letter from the Chancellor to the King on the Subject of his Majeſty's declared Diſpleaſure; *the other,* a Paper containing his Reaſons for withdrawing himſelf, *which He left behind him to be preſented to the Houſe of Peers.*

TO this our noble Benefactreſſes have thought fit to prefix, as a Firſt Part, THE HISTORY OF THE EARL OF CLARENDON'S LIFE, FROM HIS BIRTH, TO THE YEAR 1660, *extracted from another Manuſcript of Lord* Clarendon's *own Hand-writing. This other Manuſcript is entitled by his Lordſhip,* THE HISTORY OF HIS OWN LIFE, *and contains likewiſe the Subſtance of* THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION. *However, it is not the Manuſcript from whence that Hiſtory was printed, but appears rather to be the rough Draught, from whence that Hiſtory, or however great Part of it, was afterwards compiled. For although He tells us towards the Cloſe of this Work, that He wrote the firſt four Books of* THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION *in the Iſland of* Jerſey, (*many Years before the Date of this* HISTORY OF HIS LIFE) *yet He likewiſe informs us, that He did not proceed to compleat that Hiſtory till after his Baniſhment. It is therefore ſuppoſed by the Family (and the Suppoſition ſeems to carry with it great Probability) that, ſeeing an unjuſt and cruel Perſecution prevail againſt him, He was induced at that Time to extend the original Plan of his Work, by introducing the particular Hiſtory of his own Life, from his earlieſt Days down to the Time of his Diſgrace, as the moſt effectual Means of vindicating his Character, wickedly traduced by his Enemies, and artfully miſrepreſented to a Maſter, whom he had long and faithfully ſerved, whoſe Countenance and Favour being transferred to the Authors and Abettors of his Ruin, might probably in the Eyes of the World, give too much Colour to their Aſperſions. But afterwards, on more mature Thoughts, his great Benevolence, and publick Spirit, prevailed on him to drop the Defence of his own private Character, and reſume his original Plan of* THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION. *However his noble Deſcendants, willing to do Juſtice to the Memory of their Great Grandfather, and thinking it might be alſo of Service to the Publick to deliver his Exemplary Life as compleat, as They could authentically collect it, have cauſed ſuch Parts of this Manuſcript, as related to the Earl of* Clarendon's *private Life, to be extracted, and according to their Directions it is printed.*

The Directions are as follows.

"THE LIFE OF LORD CHANCELLOR CLARENDON FROM HIS BIRTH TO "THE RESTORATION OF THE ROYAL FAMILY, is extracted from a large "Manuſcript in his own Hand-writing, in which is contained what has al- "ready been printed in THE HISTORY OF THE REBELLION; and there- "fore Care has been taken to tranſcribe only what has never yet been "publiſhed: But as thoſe Paſſages are often intermixed with the Hiſtory "already printed, it has been found neceſſary to preſerve Connection, by "giving †Abſtracts of ſome Parts of the printed Hiſtory, with References "to the Pages, where the Reader may be ſatisfied more at large. And, "as great Pains have been taken to put this Firſt Part in the Order it now "ſtands, it is deſired that in this firſt Edition it may be printed exactly "after the Copy to be ſent.

"THE original Manuſcript of THE CONTINUATION OF LORD CHAN- "CELLOR CLARENDON'S LIFE FROM 1660 TO 1667 INCLUSIVE is very in- "correct, many Words being omitted, that muſt neceſſarily be ſupplied: "But it is deſired that no other Alterations may be made, except in the "Orthography, or where literal, or grammatical Errors require it, or "where little Inaccuracies may have eſcaped the Attention of the Author. "The Work muſt be printed entire, as it now ſtands, no Part of it left "out, not an Abſtract, nor a Reference omitted.

THESE Directions have been punctually obſerved. The Second Part is printed from his Lordſhip's Manuſcript entire, without any Omiſſion, or Variation, except as above. And with Regard to the Firſt Part, the Extract ſent to us has been carefully compared with the Original Manuſcript it ſelf, and found to agree: So that the Whole here offered to the Publick is the genuine Work of the Lord Chancellor CLARENDON. *And both theſe Valuable Original Manuſcripts are given to the Univerſity by our noble Benefactreſſes, to be depoſited in the Publick Library.*

† Thoſe Paſſages are indented. Thoſe printed in *Italicks*, Pages 59, 82, 90, 135, the Note Page 100, and ſome others ſtill leſs material, were added with the ſame View.

The LIFE of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*

OSMOND STREET W.C. LONDON. WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE

From his Birth to the Reſtoration of the ROYAL FAMILY in the Year 1660.

PART the FIRST.

Montpelier, 23 *July* 1668.

HE was born in *Dinton* in the County of *Wilts*, ſix Miles from *Saliſbury*, in the Houſe of his Father who was *Henry Hyde*, the third Son of *Laurence Hyde*, of *Weſt-Hatch*, Eſq; which *Laurence* was the younger Son of *Robert Hyde* of *Norbury* in the County of *Cheſter*, Eſq; which Eſtate of *Norbury* had continued in that Family, and deſcended from Father to Son from before the Conqueſt, and continues to this Day in *Edward Hyde*, who is poſſeſſed thereof: The other Eſtate of *Hyde* having ſome Ages ſince fallen into that of *Norbury*, by a Marriage, and continues ſtill in that Houſe. *Place of Mr. E. Hyde's Birth.* *His Genealogy.*

LAURENCE, being as was ſaid, the younger Son of *Robert Hyde* of *Norbury*, and the Cuſtom of that County of *Cheſter* being, to make ſmall Proviſions for the younger Sons of the beſt Families, was by the Care and Providence of his Mother, well educated, and when his Age was fit for it, was placed as a Clerk in one of the Auditor's Offices of the Exchequer, where He gained great Experience, and was employed in the Affairs and Buſineſs of Sir *John Thynne*, who under the Protection and Service of the *Some Account of his Family: of his Grandfather.*

Duke of *Somerſet*, had in a ſhort Time raiſed a very great Eſtate, and was the firſt of that Name who was known, and left the Houſe of *Longleat* to his Heir, with other Lands to a great Value. *Laurence Hyde* continued not above a Year (or very little more) in that Relation, and never gained any Thing by it; but ſhortly after married *Anne*, the Relict and Widow of *Matthew Calthurſt*, Eſq; of *Claverton* near *Bath* in the County of *Somerſet*, by whom He had a fair Fortune: And by her had four Sons and four Daughters, that is to ſay, *Robert*, *Laurence*, *Henry*, and *Nicholas*, *Joanna*, married to *Edward Younge* of *Durnford* near *Saliſbury*, Eſq; *Alice*, married to *John St. Loe* of *Kingſton* in the County of *Wilts*, Eſq; *Anne*, married to *Thomas Baynard* of *Wanſtrow* in the County of *Somerſet*, Eſq; and *Suſanna*, married to Sir *George Fuy* of *Kyneton* in the County of *Wilts*, Knight: And theſe four Sons and four Daughters lived all above forty Years after the Death of their Father.

LAURENCE, ſhortly after his Marriage with *Anne*, purchaſed the Manor of *Weſt-Hatch*, where He died, and ſeveral other Lands; and having taken Care to breed his Sons at the Univerſity of *Oxford*, and Inns of Court, leaving his Wife, the Mother of all his Children, poſſeſſed of the greateſt Part of his Eſtate, preſuming that She would be careful and kind to all their Children, upon that Account left the Bulk of his Eſtate to *Robert* his eldeſt Son, who married *Anne* the Daughter of —— *Caſtilian* of *Benham* in the County of *Berks*, Eſq; who had many Children, and lived to the Age of eighty, and left his Eſtate, a little impaired by the Marriage of many Daughters, to his Son. To *Laurence* his ſecond Son, (who was afterwards Sir *Laurence*, and Attorney General to Queen *Anne*, and a Lawyer of great Name and Practice) He left the impropriate Rectory of *Dinton*, after the Life of *Anne* his Mother, charged with an Annuity of forty Pounds *per Annum* to his third Son *Henry* for his Life; and He charged ſome other Part of his Eſtate with an Annuity of thirty Pounds *per Annum* to his youngeſt Son *Nicholas*, for his Life, relying upon the Goodneſs of his Wife, who was left very rich, as well by his Donation, as from her Huſband *Calthurſt*, that She would provide for the better Support of the younger Children; two of which raiſed their Fortunes by the Law, *Laurence*, as was ſaid before, being Attorney General to the Queen, and *Nicholas*, the youngeſt Son, living to be Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, and dying in that Office; both of them leaving behind them many Sons and Daughters.

Of his Father. HENRY, the third Son, being of the Middle Temple at his Father's Death, and being thought to be moſt in the Favour of his Mother, and being ready to be called to the Bar, though He had ſtudied the Law very well, and was a very good Scholar, having proceeded Maſter of Arts in *Oxford*, had yet no Mind to the Practice of the Law, but had long had an Inclination to travel beyond the Seas, which in that ſtrict Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, was not uſual, except to Merchants, and ſuch Gentlemen who reſolved to be Soldiers; and at laſt prevailed with his Mother to give him Leave to go to the *Spa* for his Health, from whence He followed his former Inclinations, and paſſing through *Germany*, He went into *Italy*, and from *Florence* He went to *Syena*, and thence to *Rome:* Which was not only ſtrictly inhibited to all the Queen's Subjects, but was very dangerous to all the *Engliſh* Nation who did not profeſs themſelves *Roman Catholicks*; to which Profeſſion He was very averſe, in Regard of the great Animoſity *Sixtus Quintus* (who was then Pope) had to the Perſon of Queen *Elizabeth:* Yet Cardinal *Allen*, who was the laſt *Engliſh* Cardinal, being then in *Rome*, He received ſo much

much Protection from him, that during the Time He ſtaid there, which was ſome Months, He received no Trouble, though many *Engliſh* Prieſts murmured very much, and ſaid, "that my Lord Cardinal was much to "be blamed for protecting ſuch Men, who came to *Rome*, and ſo ſeeing "the Eccleſiaſtical Perſons of that Nation, diſcovered them afterwards when "They came into *England*, and ſo They were put to Death."

AFTER He was returned into *England* his Mother was very glad, and perſuaded him very earneſtly to marry, offering him in that Caſe, that whereas She had the Rectory of *Dinton* in Jointure for her Life, upon which He had only an Annuity of forty Pounds *per Annum*, for his Life, the Remainder being to come to *Laurence* the ſecond Brother and his Heirs for ever, She would immediately reſign her Term to him, for his better Support, and would likewiſe purchaſe of *Laurence*, the ſaid Rectory for the Life of *Henry*, and ſuch a Wife as He ſhould marry; upon which Encouragement, and depending ſtill upon his Mother's future Bounty, about the thirtieth Year of his Age, He married *Mary*, one of the Daughters and Heirs of *Edward Langford* of *Trowbridge* in the County of *Wilts*, Eſq; by whom in preſent, and after her Mother, He had a good Fortune, in the Account of that Age. From that Time, He lived a private Life at *Dinton* aforeſaid, with great Chearfulneſs and Content, and with a general Reputation throughout the whole Country; being a Perſon of great Knowledge and Reputation, and of ſo great Eſteem for Integrity, that moſt Perſons near him referred all Matters of Contention and Difference which did ariſe amongſt them, to his Determination; by which, that Part of the Country lived in more Peace and Quietneſs than many of their Neighbours. During the Time of Queen *Elizabeth* He ſerved as a Burgeſs for ſome neighbour Boroughs in many Parliaments; but from the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, He never was in *London*, though He lived above thirty Years after; and his Wife, who was married to him above forty Years, never was in *London* in her Life; the Wiſdom and Frugality of that Time being ſuch, that few Gentlemen made Journies to *London*, or any other expenſive Journies, but upon important Buſineſs, and their Wives never; by which Providence, They enjoyed and improved their Eſtates in the Country, and kept good Hoſpitality in their Houſes, brought up their Children well, and were beloved by their Neighbours; and in this Rank, and with this Reputation this Gentleman lived till He was ſeventy Years of Age; his younger Brother the Chief Juſtice dying ſome Years before him, and his two elder Brothers outliving him: The great Affection between the four Brothers, and towards their Siſters, of whom all, enjoyed Plenty and Contentedneſs, was very notorious throughout the Country, and of Credit to them all.

HENRY HYDE, the third Son of *Laurence*, by his Intermarriage with *Mary Langford*, had four Sons and five Daughters, and being by the Kindneſs and Bounty of his Mother, who lived long, and till He had ſeven or eight Children, poſſeſſed of ſuch an Eſtate as made his Condition eaſy to him, lived ſtill in the Country, as was ſaid before. *Laurence* his eldeſt Son died young; *Henry* his ſecond Son lived till He was twenty ſix or twenty ſeven Years of Age; *Edward* his third Son was He who came afterwards to be Earl of *Clarendon*, and Lord High Chancellor of *England*; *Nicholas* died young; *Henry* and *Edward* were both in the Univerſity of *Oxford* together; *Henry* being Maſter of Arts the Act before his younger Brother *Edward* came to the Univerſity, who was deſigned by his Father to the Clergy.

Time of the Author's Birth. His Education.

EDWARD HYDE, being the third Son of his Father, was born at *Dinton* upon the eighteenth Day of *February* in the Year 1608, being the fifth Year of King *James*; and was always bred in his Father's Houſe under the Care of a Schoolmaſter, to whom his Father had given the Vicarage of that Pariſh, who having been always a Schoolmaſter, had bred many good Scholars, and this Perſon of whom we now ſpeak, principally by the Care and Converſation of his Father, (who was an excellent Scholar, and took Pleaſure in conferring with him, and contributed much more to his Education than the School did) was thought fit to be ſent to the Univerſity ſoon after He was thirteen Years of Age; and being a younger Son of a younger Brother, was to expect a ſmall Patrimony from his Father, but to make his own Fortune by his own Induſtry; and in Order to that, was ſent by his Father to *Oxford* at that Time, being about *Magdalen* Election Time, in Expectation that He ſhould have been choſen Demy of *Magdalen* College, the Election being to be at that Time, for which He was recommended by a ſpecial Letter from King *James* to Dr. *Langton* then Preſident of that College; but upon Pretence that the Letter came too late, though the Election was not then begun, He was not choſen, and ſo remained in *Magdalen* Hall (where He was before admitted) under the Tuition of Mr. *John Oliver*, a Fellow of that College, who had been Junior of the Act a Month before, and a Scholar of Eminency.

He is ſent to Oxford.

THE Year following, the Preſident of the College having received Reprehenſion from the Lord *Conway* then Secretary of State, for giving no more Reſpect to the King's Letter, He was choſen the next Election in the firſt Place, but that whole Year paſſed without any Avoidance of a Demy's Place, which was never known before in any Man's Memory; and that Year King *James* died, and ſhortly after, *Henry* his elder Brother, and thereupon his Father having now no other Son, changed his former Inclination, and reſolved to ſend his Son *Edward* to the Inns of Court: He was then entered in the middle Temple by his Uncle *Nicholas Hyde*, who was then Treaſurer of that Society, and afterwards Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench; but by Reaſon of the great Plague then at *London* in the firſt Year of King *Charles*, and the Parliament being then adjourned to *Oxford*, whither the Plague was likewiſe then brought by Sir *James Huſſy*, one of the Maſters of the Chancery, who died in *New-College* the firſt Night after his Arrival at *Oxford*, and ſhortly after Dr. *Chaloner* Principal of *Alban-Hall*, who had ſupped that Night with Sir *James Huſſy*, He did not go to the middle Temple till the *Michaelmaſs* Term after the Term at *Reading*, but remained partly at his Father's Houſe, and partly at the Univerſity, where He took the Degree of Bachelor of Arts, and then left it, rather with the Opinion of a young Man of Parts and Pregnancy of Wit, than that He had improved it much by Induſtry, the Diſcipline of that Time being not ſo ſtrict as it hath been ſince, and as it ought to be; and the Cuſtom of Drinking being too much introduced and practiſed, his elder Brother having been too much corrupted in that Kind, and ſo having at his firſt Coming given him ſome Liberty, at leaſt ſome Example towards that Licenſe, inſomuch as He was often heard to ſay, "that it was "a very good Fortune to him, that his Father ſo ſoon removed him from "the Univerſity", though He always reſerved a high Eſteem of it.

Mr. Hyde *entered of the Middle Temple.*

BEFORE the Beginning of *Michaelmaſs* Term (which was in the Year 1625) the City being then clear from the Plague, He went from *Marlborough* after the Quarter Seſſions with his Uncle *Nicholas Hyde* to *London*, and arrived there the Eve of the Term, being then between ſixteen and ſeven-

teen

teen Years of Age: In the Evening He went to Prayers to the Temple Church, and was there ſeized upon by a Fit of an Ague very violently, which proved a Quartan, and brought him in a ſhort Time ſo weak, that his Friends much feared a Conſumption, ſo that his Uncle thought fit ſhortly after *Alhollandtide* to ſend him into the Country to *Pirton* in *North Wiltſhire*, whither his Father had removed himſelf from *Dinton*; chuſing rather to live upon his own Land, the which He had purchaſed many Years before, and to rent *Dinton*, which was but a Leaſe for Lives, to a Tenant. He came Home to his Father's Houſe very weak, his Ague continuing ſo violently upon him (though it ſometimes changed its Courſe from a quartan to a tertian, and then to a quotidian, and on new Year's Day he had two hot Fits and two cold Fits) until *Whitſunday* following, that all Men thought him to be in a Conſumption; it then left him, and he grew quickly ſtrong again. In this Time of his Sickneſs his Uncle was made Chief Juſtice: It was *Michaelmaſs* following before He returned to the Middle Temple, having by his Want of Health loſt a full Year of Study, and when He returned, it was without great Application to the Study of the Law for ſome Years, it being then a Time when the Town was full of Soldiers, the King having then a War both with *Spain* and *France*, and the Buſineſs of the Iſle of *Ree* ſhortly followed; and He had gotten into the Acquaintance of many of thoſe Officers, which took up too much of his Time for one Year; but as the War was quickly ended, ſo He had the good Fortune quickly to make a full Retreat from that Company, and from any Converſation with any of them, and without any Hurt or Prejudice; inſomuch as He uſed often to ſay, "that ſince it pleaſed God to "preſerve him whilſt He did keep that Company (in which He wonder-"fully eſcaped from being involved in many Inconveniences) and to with-"draw him ſo ſoon from it, He was not ſorry that He had ſome Expe-"rience in the Converſation of ſuch Men, and of the Licence of thoſe "Times", which was very exorbitant: Yet when He did indulge himſelf that Liberty, it was without any ſignal Debauchery, and not without ſome Hours every Day, at leaſt every Night, ſpent amongſt his Books; yet He would not deny that more than to be able to anſwer his Uncle, who almoſt every Night put a Caſe to him in Law, He could not bring himſelf to an induſtrious Purſuit of the Law Study; but rather loved polite Learning and Hiſtory, in which, eſpecially in the *Roman*, he had been always converſant.

Removed to Pirton.

Returns to the Middle Temple.

In the Year 1628 his Father gave him Leave to ride the Circuit in the Summer with his Uncle the Chief Juſtice, who then rode the *Norfolk* Circuit; and indeed deſired it, both that He might ſee thoſe Counties, and eſpecially that He might be out of *London* in that Seaſon, when the Small Pox raged very furiouſly, and many Perſons, ſome whereof were much acquainted with him, died of that Diſeaſe in the Middle Temple itſelf: It was about the Middle of *July* when that Circuit began, and *Cambridge* was the firſt Place the Judges begun at; Mr. Juſtice *Harvey*, (one of the Judges of the Common Pleas) was in Commiſſion with the Chief Juſtice: They both came into *Cambridge* on the *Saturday* Night, and the next Day Mr. *Edward Hyde* fell ſick, which was imputed only to his Journey the Day before in very hot Weather; but He continued ſo ill the Day or two following, that it was apprehended that He might have the Small Pox; whereupon He was removed out of *Trinity* College, where the Judges were lodged, to the *Sun* Inn, over againſt the College Gate, the Judges being to go out of Town the next Day; but before they went, the Small

Sets out on the Norfolk Circuit.

Falls ſick of the Small Pox at Cambridge.

Pox appeared; whereupon his Uncle put him under the Care of Mr. *Crane* an eminent Apothecary, who had been bred up under Dr. *Butler*, and was in much greater Practice than any Phyſician in the Univerſity; and left with him *Laurence St. Loe* one of his Servants, who was likewiſe his Nephew, to aſſiſt and comfort him: It pleaſed God to preſerve him from that devouring Diſeaſe, which was ſpread all over him very furiouſly, and had ſo far prevailed over him, that for ſome Hours both his Friends and Phyſician conſulted of nothing but of the Place and Manner of his Burial; but as I ſaid, by God's Goodneſs He eſcaped that Sickneſs, and within few Days more than a Month after his firſt Indiſpoſition, He paſſed in moderate Journeys to his Father's Houſe at *Pirton*, where He arrived a Day or two before *Bartholemew* Day.

Returns again to Pirton *after his Recovery.*

He was often wont to ſay, that He was reading to his Father in *Camden*'s Annals, and that particular Place, in which it is ſaid, "*Johannes* "*Feltonus, qui Bullam Pontificiam valvis Palatii Epiſcopi Londinenſis af-* "*fixerat jam deprehenſus, cum fugere nollet, factum confeſſus quod tamen* "*crimen agnoſcere noluit*, &c." when a Perſon of the Neighbourhood knocked at the Door, and being called in, told his Father, that a Poſt was then paſſed through the Village to *Charleton*, the Houſe of the Earl of *Berkſhire*, to inform the Earl of *Berkſhire* that the Duke of *Buckingham* was killed the Day before, (being the 24th of *Auguſt*, *Bartholemew* Day, in the Year 1628) by one *John Felton*, * which diſmal Accident happening in the Court, made a great Change in the State, produced a ſudden Diſbanding of all Armies, and a due Obſervation of, and Obedience to the Laws; ſo that there being no more Mutations in View (which uſually affect the Spirits of young Men, at leaſt hold them ſome Time at Gaze) Mr. *Hyde* returned again to his Studies at the Middle Temple, having it ſtill in his Reſolution to dedicate himſelf to the Profeſſion of the Law, without declining the politer Learning, to which his Humour and his Converſation kept him always very indulgent; and to lay ſome Obligation upon himſelf to be fixed to that Courſe of Life, He inclined to a Propoſition of Marriage, which having no other Paſſion in it, than an Appetite to a convenient Eſtate, ſucceeded not, yet produced new Acquaintance, and continued the ſame Inclinations.

And from Pirton *to the* Middle Temple.

About this Time his Uncle Sir *Nicholas Hyde* Lord Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench, died of a malignant Fever, gotten from the Infection of ſome Goal in his Summer Circuit: He was a Man of excellent Learning for that Province He was to govern, of unſuſpected and unblemiſhed Integrity, of an exemplar Gravity and Auſterity, which was neceſſary for the Manners of that Time, corrupted by the marching of Armies, and by the Licence after the diſbanding them; and though upon his Promotion ſome Years before, from a private Practicer of the Law, to the ſupreme Judicatory in it, by the Power and Recommendation of the great Favourite, of whoſe Council He had been, He was expoſed to much Envy and ſome Prejudice; yet his Behaviour was ſo grateful to all the Judges, who had an entire Confidence in him, his Service ſo uſeful to the King in his Government, his Juſtice and Sincerity ſo conſpicuous throughout the Kingdom, that the Death of no Judge had in any Time been more lamented.

Death and Character of his Uncle Sir Nicholas Hyde.

The Loſs of ſo beneficial an Encouragement and Support in that Profeſſion, did not at all diſcourage his Nephew in his Purpoſe; rather added

* For the Particulars of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Death, and of the Alterations it produced at Court and in publick Affairs, Vid. Hiſt. of the Reb. Fol. Vol. 1. Page 22, &c.

new Reſolution to him; and to call Home all ſtraggling and wandering Appetites, which naturally produce Irreſolution and Inconſtancy in the Mind, with his Father's Conſent and Approbation, He married a young Lady very fair and beautiful, the Daughter of Sir *George Ayliffe*, a Gentleman of a good Name and Fortune in the County of *Wilts*, where his own Expectations lay, and by her Mother (a *St. John*) nearly allied to many noble Families in *England*. He enjoyed this Comfort and Compoſure of Mind a very ſhort Time, for within leſs than ſix Months after He was married, being upon the Way from *London* towards his Father's Houſe, ſhe fell ſick at *Reading*, and being removed to a Friend's Houſe near that Town, the Small Pox diſcovered themſelves, and (ſhe being with Child) forced her to miſcarry; and She died within two Days. He bore her Loſs with ſo great Paſſion and Confuſion of Spirit, that it ſhook all the Frame of his Reſolutions, and nothing but his entire Duty and Reverence to his Father, kept him from giving over all Thoughts of Books, and tranſporting himſelf beyond the Seas, to enjoy his own Melancholy; nor could any Perſuaſion or Importunity from his Friends, prevail with him in ſome Years to think of another Marriage. There was an ill Accident in the Court befel a Lady of a Family nearly allied to his Wife, whoſe Memory was very dear to him, and there always continued a firm Friendſhip in him to all her Alliance, which likewiſe ever manifeſted an equal Affection to him; amongſt thoſe was *William* Viſcount *Grandiſon*, a young Man of extraordinary Hope, between whom and the other there was an entire Confidence: The Injury was of that Nature, that the young Lord thought of nothing but repairing it his own Way; but thoſe Imaginations were quickly at an End, by the King's rigorous and juſt Proceeding againſt the Perſons offending, in committing them both to the Tower, and declaring that "ſince He was ſatisfied that there was a Promiſe of Marriage in the "Caſe, the Gentleman ſhould make good his Promiſe by marrying the "Lady; or be kept in Priſon, and for ever baniſhed from all Pretence or "Relation to the Court", where He had a very great Credit and Intereſt: This Declaration by the King, made the neareſt Friends of the Lady purſue the Deſign of this Reparation more ſolicitouſly, in which They had all Acceſs to the King, who continued ſtill in his declared Judgment in the Matter: In this Purſuit Mr. *Hyde*'s paſſionate Affection to the Family embarked him, and They were all as willing to be guided by his Conduct; the Buſineſs was to be followed by frequent Inſtances at Court, and Conferences with thoſe who had moſt Power and Opportunity to confirm the King in the Senſe He had entertained; and thoſe Conferences were wholly managed by him, who thereby had all Admiſſion to the Perſons of Alliance to the Lady, and ſo concerned in the Diſhonour, which was a great Body of Lords and Ladies of principal Relations in Court, with whom in a ſhort Time He was of great Credit and Eſteem; of which the Marquis of *Hamilton* was one, who having married an excellent Lady, Couſin-German to the injured Perſon, ſeemed the moſt concerned and moſt zealous for her Vindication, and who had at that Time the moſt Credit of any Man about the Court, and upon that Occaſion entered into a Familiarity with him, and made as great Profeſſions of Kindneſs to him as could paſs to a Perſon at that Diſtance from him, which continued till the End and Concluſion of that Affair, when the Marquis believed that Mr. *Hyde* had diſcovered ſome Want of Sincerity in him in that Proſecution, which He pretended ſo much to aſſert.

Mr. Hyde's Marriage.

Death of his Wife.

The Occaſion of Mr. Hyde's Introduction to the Marquis of Hamilton.

The Mention of this particular little Story, in itſelf of no ſeeming Conſequence, is not inſerted here only as it made ſome Alterations, and accidentally introduced him into another Way of Converſation than He had formerly been accuſtomed to, and which in Truth by the Acquaintance, by the Friends and Enemies, He then made, had an Influence upon the whole Courſe of his Life afterwards; but as it made ſuch Impreſſions upon the whole Court, by dividing the Lords and Ladies, both in their Wiſhes and Appearances, that much of that Faction grew out of it, which ſurvived the Memory of the Original; and from this Occaſion (to ſhew us from how ſmall Springs great Rivers may ariſe) the Women, who till then had not appeared concerned in publick Affairs, began to have ſome Part in all Buſineſs; and having ſhewn themſelves warm upon this Amour, as their Paſſions or Affections carried them, and thereby entered into new Affections, and formed new Intereſts; the Activity in their Spirits remained ſtill vigorous when the Object which firſt inſpired it was vaniſhed and put in Oblivion. Nor were the very Miniſters of State vacant upon this Occaſion; They who for their own Sakes, or, as They pretended, for the King's Dignity, and Honour of the Court, deſired the Ruin of the Gentleman, preſſed the Magnitude of the Crime, in bringing ſo great a Scandal upon the King's Family, which would hinder Perſons of Honour from ſending their Children to the Court; and that there could be no Reparation without the Marriage, which They therefore only inſiſted upon, becauſe They believed He would prefer Baniſhment before it; others who had Friendſhip for him and believed that He had an Intereſt in the Court, which might accommodate himſelf and them if this Breach were cloſed any Way, therefore if the King's Severity could not be prevailed upon, wiſhed it concluded by the Marriage; which neither himſelf nor They upon whom He moſt depended, would ever be brought to conſent to; ſo that all the Jealouſies and Animoſities in the Court or State, came to play their own Prizes in the widening or accommodating this Contention: In the Concluſion, on a ſudden, contrary to the Expectation of any Man of either Party, the Gentleman was immediately ſent out of the Kingdom, under the Formality of a temporary and ſhort Baniſhment, and the Lady commended to her Friends, to be taken care of till her Delivery; and from that Time never Word more ſpoken of the Buſineſs, nor ſhall their Names ever come upon the Stage by any Record of mine: It was only obſerved, that at this Time there was a great Change in the Friendſhips of the Court, and in thoſe of the Marquis of *Hamilton*, who came now into the Queen's Confidence, towards whom He had always been in great Jealouſy; and another Lady more appeared in View, who had for the moſt Part before continued behind the Curtain; and who in few Years after came to a very unhappy and untimely End.

Now after a Widowhood of near three Years, Mr. *Hyde* inclined again to marry, which He knew would be the moſt grateful Thing to his Father (for whom He had always a profound Reverence) He could do; and though He needed no other Motive to it, He would often ſay, that though He was now called to the Bar, and entered into the Profeſſion of the Law, He was not ſo confident of himſelf that He ſhould not ſtart aſide, if his Father ſhould die, who was then near ſeventy Years of Age, having long entertained Thoughts of Travels, but that He thought it neceſſary to lay ſome Obligation upon himſelf, which would ſuppreſs and reſtrain all thoſe Appetites; and thereupon reſolved to marry, and ſo being about the Age of twenty four Years, in the Year of our Lord 1632, He married the

His ſecond Marriage

Daughter of Sir *Thomas Aylesbury* Baronet, Master of Requests to the King; by whom He had many Children of both Sexes, with whom He lived very comfortably in the most uncomfortable Times, and very joyfully in those Times when Matter of Joy was administered, for the Space of five or six and thirty Years; what befell him after her Death will be recounted in its Place. From the Time of his Marriage He laid aside all other Thoughts but of his Profession, to the which He betook himself very seriously; but in the very Entrance into it, He met with a great Mortification; some Months after He was married, He went with his Wife to wait upon his Father and Mother at his House at *Pirton*, to make them Sharers in that Satisfaction which They had so long desired to see, and in which They took great Delight.

HIS Father had long suffered under an Indisposition (even before the Time his Son could remember) which gave him rather frequent Pains, than Sickness; and gave him Cause to be terrified with the Expectation of the Stone, without being exercised with the present Sense of it; but from the Time He was sixty Years of Age, it increased very much, and four or five Years before his Death, with Circumstances scarce heard of before, and the Causes whereof are not yet understood by any Physician; He was very often, both in the Day and the Night, forced to make Water, seldom in any Quantity, because He could not retain it long enough, and in the Close of that Work, without any sharp Pain in those Parts, He was still and constantly seized on by so sharp a Pain in the left Arm, for Half a Quarter of an Hour, or near so much, that the Torment made him as pale (whereas He was otherwise of a very sanguine Complexion) as if He were dead; and He used to say, "that He had passed the Pangs of "Death, and He should die in one of those Fits"; as soon as it was over, which was quickly, He was the chearfullest Man living; eat well such Things as He could fancy, walked, slept, digested, conversed with such a Promptness and Vivacity upon all Arguments (for He was *omnifariam doctus,*) as hath been seldom known in a Man of his Age: But He had the Image of Death so constantly before him in those continual Torments, that for many Years before his Death, He always parted with his Son, as to see him no more; and at Parting still shewed him his Will, discoursing very particularly and very chearfully of all Things He would have performed after his Death.

His Father's Removal to Salisbury.

HE had for some Time before resolved to leave the Country, and to spend the Remainder of his Time in *Salisbury*, where He had caused a House to be provided for him, both for the Neighbourhood of the Cathedral Church, where He could perform his Devotions every Day, and for the Conversation of many of his Family who lived there, and not far from it; and especially that He might be buried there, where many of his Family and Friends lay; and He obliged his Son to accompany him thither before his Return to *London*; and He came to *Salisbury* on the *Friday* before *Michaelmas* Day in the Year 1632, and lodged in his own House that Night; the next Day He was so wholly taken up in receiving Visits from his many Friends, being a Person wonderfully reverenced in those Parts, that He walked very little out of his House. The next Morning, being *Sunday*, He rose very early, and went to two or three Churches, and when He returned, which was by eight of the Clock, He told his Wife and his Son, "that He had been to look out a Place to be "buried in, but found none against which He had not some Exception, "the Cathedral only excepted, where He had made Choice of a Place

" near a Kinſman of his own Name, and had ſhewed it to the Sexton, whom " He had ſent for to that Purpoſe; and wiſhed them to ſee him buried " there;" and this with as much Compoſedneſs of Mind as if it had made no Impreſſion on him; then went to the Cathedral to Sermon, and ſpent the whole Day in as chearful Converſation with his Friends (ſaving only the frequent Interruptions his Infirmity gave him once in two or three Hours, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs) as the Man in the moſt confirmed Health could do. *Monday* was *Michaelmaſs* Day, when in the Morning He went to viſit his Brother Sir *Laurence Hyde*, who was then making a Journey in the Service of the King, and from him went to the Church to a Sermon, where He found himſelf a little preſſed as He uſed to be, and therefore thought fit to make what Haſte He could to his Houſe, and was no ſooner come thither into a lower Room, than having made Water, and the Pain in his Arm ſeizing upon him, He fell down dead, without the leaſt Motion of any Limb: The Suddenneſs of it made it apprehended to be an Apoplexy, but there being nothing like Convulſions, or the leaſt Diſtortion or Alteration in the Viſage, it is not like to be from that Cauſe, nor could the Phyſicians make any reaſonable Gueſs from whence that mortal Blow proceeded. He wanted about ſix Weeks of attaining the Age of ſeventy, and was the greateſt Inſtance of the Felicity of a Country Life that was ſeen in that Age; having enjoyed a competent, and to him a plentiful Fortune, a very great Reputation of Piety and Virtue, and his Death being attended with univerſal Lamentation. It cannot be expreſſed with what Agony his Son bore this Loſs, having as He was uſed to ſay, " not only loſt the beſt Father, but the beſt Friend and the beſt " Companion He ever had or could have;" and He was never ſo well pleaſed, as when He had fit Occaſions given him to mention his Father, whom He did in Truth believe to be the wiſeſt Man He had ever known, and He was often heard to ſay, in the Time when his Condition was at higheſt, " that though God Almighty had been very propitious to him, in " raiſing him to great Honours and Preferments, He did not value any " Honour He had ſo much, as the being the Son of ſuch a Father and " Mother, for whoſe Sakes principally He thought God had conferred thoſe " Bleſſings upon him."

And Death.

THERE fell out at this Time or thereabouts, a great Alteration in the Court and State, by the Death of the Earl of *Portland*, Lord High Treaſurer of *England*. The King from the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham* had not only been very reſerved in his Bounty, but ſo frugal in his own Expenſe, that He had retrenched much of what had formerly iſſued out for his Houſhold, inſomuch as every Year ſomewhat had been paid of his Debts. He reſolved now to govern his Treaſury by Commiſſion, and to take a conſtant Account of it; and thereby to diſcover what had been of late done amiſs: The Commiſſioners He appointed were, the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* Dr. *Laud*, (formerly Biſhop of *London*) the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, and other principal Officers of State, who together with the Lord *Cottington* (who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and by his Office of the Quorum in that Commiſſion) were to ſupply the Office of Treaſurer in all Particulars. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who till now had only intended the good Government of the Church, without intermeddling in ſecular Affairs, otherwiſe than when the Diſcipline of the Church was concerned, in which He was very ſtrict, both in the high Commiſſion, and in all other Places, where He ſat as a privy Counſellor, well foreſeeing, as He made manifeſt upon ſeveral Occaſions, the Growth

The Treaſurer's Office given to Commiſſioners.

Of whom Archbiſhop Laud *is one.*

of the *Schiſmaticks*, and that if They were not with Rigour ſuppreſſed, They would put the whole Kingdom into a Flame, which ſhortly after fell out to be too confeſſed a Truth; though for the preſent his Providence only ſerved to increaſe the Number of his Enemies, who had from that his Zeal contracted all the Malice againſt him that can be imagined, and which He, out of the Conſcience of his Duty, and the Purity of his Intentions, and his Knowledge of the King's full Approbation of his Vigilance and Ardour, too much undervalued; I ſay, as ſoon as He was made Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, He thought himſelf obliged to take all the Pains He could to underſtand that Employment, and the Nature of the Revenue, and to find out all poſſible Ways for the Improvement thereof, and for the preſent Managery of the Expenſe. Many were of Opinion that He was the more ſolicitous in that Diſquiſition, and the more inquiſitive into what had been done, that He might make ſome Diſcovery of paſt Actions, which might reflect upon the Memory of the late Treaſurer, the Earl of *Portland*, and call his Wiſdom and Integrity in Queſtion, who had been ſo far from being his Friend, That He had always laboured to do him all the Miſchief He could, and it was no ſmall Grief of Heart to him, and much Occaſion of his ill Humour, to find that the Archbiſhop had too much Credit with the King, to be ſhaken by him; and the Archbiſhop was not in his Affections behind hand with him, looking always upon him as a *Roman Catholick*, though He diſſembled it by going to Church; and as the great Countenancer and Support of that Religion; all his Family being of that Profeſſion, and very few reſorting to it, or having any Credit with him but ſuch: It is very true, the Archbiſhop had no great Regard for his Memory, or for his Friends, and was willing enough to make any Diſcovery of his Miſcarriages, and to inform his Majeſty of them, who He believed had too good an Opinion of him and his Integrity.

THE Truth is, the Archbiſhop had laid down one Principle to himſelf, which He believed would much advance the King's Service, and was without Doubt very prudent; that the King's Duties being provided for, and chearfully paid, the Merchants ſhould receive all the Countenance and Protection from the King that They could expect; and not be liable to the Vexation particular Men gave them for their private Advantage; being forward enough to receive Propoſitions which tended to the King's Profit, but careful that what accrued of Burthen to the Subject, ſhould redound entirely to the Benefit of the Crown, and not enrich Projectors at the Charge of the People; and there is Reaſon to believe that if this Meaſure had been well obſerved, much of that Murmur had been prevented, which contributed to that Jealouſy and Diſcontent which ſoon after brake out. This Vigilance and Inclination in the Archbiſhop, opened a Door to the Admiſſion of any Merchants or others to him, who gave him Information of this Kind; and who being ready to pay any Thing to the King, deſired only to be protected from private Oppreſſions. The Archbiſhop uſed to ſpend as much Time as He could get, at his Country Houſe at *Croydon*, and then his Mind being unbent from Buſineſs, He delighted in the Converſation of his Neighbours, and treated them with great Urbanity.

THERE was a Merchant of the greateſt Reputation, *(Daniel Harvey)* who having a Country Houſe within the Diſtance of a few Miles from *Croydon*, and underſtanding the whole Buſineſs of Trade more exactly than moſt Men, was always very welcome to the Archbiſhop, who uſed to aſk him many Queſtions upon ſuch Matters as He deſired to be informed in; and

received much Satisfaction from him. Upon an Accidental Diſcourſe between them, what Encouragement Merchants ought to receive, who brought a great Trade into the Kingdom, and paid thereupon great Sums of Money to the King, Mr. *Harvey* mentioned the Diſcouragements They had received in the late Times, by the Rigour of the Earl of *Portland*, in Matters that related nothing to the King's Service, but to the Profit of private Men; and thereupon remembered a Particular, that, after the Diſſolution of the Parliament in the fourth Year of the King, and the Combination amongſt many Merchants to pay no more Cuſtoms or Impoſitions to the King, becauſe They had not been granted in Parliament, which produced thoſe Suits and Decrees in the Exchequer, which are generally underſtood, and a general Diſtraction in Trade; many Merchants of the greateſt Wealth and Reputation reſolved to continue the Trade; and in a ſhort Time reduced it into ſo good Order, and by their Advice and Example diſpoſed others to make a punctual Entry of their Goods, and to pay their Duties to the King, that the Trade ſeemed to be reſtored to the Nation, and the Cuſtoms to riſe above the Value They had ever yielded to the Crown; which was no ſooner brought to paſs, than the Earl of *Portland* (who endeavoured to perſuade the King that this great Work was entirely compaſſed by his Wiſdom, Intereſt, and Dexterity) diſobliged the Merchants in a very ſenſible Degree, in requiring them to unlade their Ships at the Cuſtom-Houſe Quay, and at no other Quay or Wharf, upon Pretence that thereby the King would have his Cuſtoms well paid, of which otherwiſe He would be in Danger to be cozened; and alledged an Order that had been formerly made in the Court of the Exchequer, that fine Goods which were portable (as Silks and fine Linens) and might eaſily be ſtolen, ſhould always be landed at the Cuſtom-Houſe Quay: The Merchants looked upon this Conſtraint and Reſtraint, as a great Oppreſſion, and applied themſelves to him for Reparation and Redreſs; They undertook to make it evident to him, that it was merely a Matter which concerned the private Benefit of the particular Wharfingers, and not in the leaſt Degree the King's Profit; that the Cuſtom Houſe Quay was of great Value to the Owner of it, who had a very great Rent for it, but that it yielded the King nothing, nor would in fifty Years or thereabouts, there being a Leaſe yet to come for that Term; that the Mention of fine Goods, and the Order of the Exchequer, was not applicable to the Queſtion; that They diſputed not the Landing of fine Goods, but that the Pretence was to compel them to bring their groſſeſt, and their Merchandize of the greateſt Bulk to that Quay, whereas They had been always free to ſhip or unſhip ſuch Goods at what Wharf They would chuſe for their Conveniences; there being the ſworn Waiters of the Cuſtom Houſe attending in the one, as well as the other; that the reſtraining them to one Wharf, and obliging all the Ships to be brought thither, muſt prove much to their Prejudice, and make them depend upon the good Will of the Wharfinger for their Diſpatch, who in Truth, let his Deſire be never ſo good, could not be able to perform the Service, without obliging them to wait very long, and thereby to loſe their Markets: All this Diſcourſe how reaſonable ſoever, made no Impreſſion upon the Treaſurer, but He diſmiſſed them with his uſual Roughneſs, and reproached them that They deſired all Occaſions to cozen the King of his Cuſtoms; which They looked upon as an ill Reward for the Service They had done, and a great Diſcouragement to Trade. The Archbiſhop heard this Diſcourſe with great Trouble and Indignation, and being then interrupted by the Coming of

Mr. Harvey's Complaint to the Archbiſhop of the Earl of Portland.

Perſons

Perſons of Quality, told him, He would ſome other Time run over all theſe Particulars again, and that He ſhould recollect himſelf for other Inſtances of that ſtrange Nature.

THE next Time the Archbiſhop returned to *Croydon*, which He uſually did once in the Week during the Summer, and ſtaid a Day or two, impatient to underſtand more of the Matter, He ſent for Mr. *Harvey*, and told him, "that his laſt Diſcourſe had given him much Cauſe of Sorrow, in "finding how the King had been uſed, and that He knew his Nature ſo "well, that He could confidently ſay, that He never knew of that Kind "of Proceeding, and that He wondered that the Merchants had not then "petitioned the King, to hear the Matter himſelf;" He anſwered, "that "They had left no Way unattempted for their Eaſe, having no Fear of "diſpleaſing the Treaſurer; that They had cauſed a Petition to be drawn "by their Council, which was ſigned by all the principal Merchants in "the City, wherein (to obviate the Calumny concerning refuſing to pay, "or ſtealing Cuſtoms) They declared, that They were all very willing to "pay all Duties to his Majeſty, and would never refuſe the ſame, (which "was a Declaration, would have been much valued a Year or two before, "and ought to have been ſo then) only deſired to be left at Liberty to ſhip "and land their Goods as They had been accuſtomed to; that They had "given this Petition to a Secretary of State to preſent it to the King, who "referred it to the Conſideration of the Treaſurer; and thereupon They "purſued it no further, knowing how He ſtood reſolved, and the Cauſe "of it, which troubled them moſt, *viz.* that that Cuſtom Houſe Quay "did, though not in his own Name, in Truth belong to Sir *Abraham* "*Dawes*, one of the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, and the only Favourite of "the Lord Treaſurer, all the other Farmers being offended with the Or-"der, which They ſaw would offend the Merchants:" The Archbiſhop aſked "where that Petition was, that He thought it ſtill of that Moment, "that He would be glad to ſee it:" He anſwered, "He knew not where "it was; but He believed it to remain in the Hands of Mr. *Hyde*, who "had drawn it, and was of Council with the Merchants throughout the "whole Proceedings; and was ſo warm in it, that He had exceedingly "provoked the Lord Treaſurer, who would have ruined him if He could:" He aſked who that Mr. *Hyde* was, and where He was; the other ſaid, "He was a young Lawyer of the *Middle Temple*, who was not afraid of "being of Council with them, when all Men of Name durſt not appear "for them; and that He was confident that He, having been always pre-"ſent at all Debates, remembered many Circumſtances in the Buſineſs "which the other had forgotten; that He was generally known; and had "lately married the Daughter of Sir *Thomas Ayleſbury*."

Mr. Harvey *mentions Mr.* Hyde *to the Archbiſhop.*

WITHIN a few Days after, the Archbiſhop meeting Sir *Thomas Ayleſbury* at Court, aſked him whether He had married his Daughter to one Mr. *Hyde* a Lawyer, and where He was; He anſwered, He had done ſo, and that He lived in his Houſe, when He was not at his Chamber in the *Middle Temple:* The Archbiſhop deſired him to ſend him to Him, for He heard well of him; and the next Morning He attended him, and found him walking alone in his Garden at *Lambeth*; He received him civilly according to his Manner, without much Ceremony; and preſently aſked him, whether He had not been of Council with ſome Merchants in ſuch a Buſineſs, and where that Petition now was; He anſwered him, not knowing why He aſked, "that He had been about two Years paſt, of "Council with ſome Merchants about ſuch an Affair, in which the Earl

Mr. Hyde *attends the Archbiſhop.*

" of *Portland* had been much incenſed againſt him, that He remembered " He had drawn ſuch a Petition, which was ſigned by all the conſiderable " Merchants of *London*, but that there was little Progreſs made thereupon, " by Reaſon of the Aſperity of the Treaſurer:" He aſked ſtill for the Petition that was ſo ſigned; He told him, He thought He had it himſelf, if He had it not, He was confident He could find who had it: He deſired him, that He would find it out, and bring it to Him, and any other Papers concerning that Affair, or the Buſineſs of the Cuſtoms: He ſaid, " the King had, contrary to his Deſire, made him one of the Commiſ- " ſioners of the Treaſury; that He underſtood nothing of that Province, " but was willing to take any Pains which might enable him to do his " Maſter Service, which made him inquiſitive into the Cuſtoms, the prin- " cipal Branch of the Revenue; that his Neighbour *Daniel Harvey* had " ſpoken much Good of him to Him; and informed him of that Com- " plaint of the Merchants, which He thought had much Reaſon in it, but " it was like other Acts of the Earl of *Portland*; that He would be wil- " ling to receive any Information from him, and that He ſhould be wel- " come when He came to him." He told him, in ſhort (which He heard would pleaſe him beſt) two or three Paſſages that happened in that Tranſaction; and ſome haughty Expreſſions which fell from the Treaſurer, when upon his urging that the Farmers would not hold their Farm, if He did not ſtrictly hold the Merchants to Cuſtom Houſe Quay; He told him, " that if the Farmers were weary of their Bargain, He would help " the King to forty thouſand Pounds a Year above the Rent They paid, " and that They ſhould be paid all the Money They had advanced within " one Week;" upon which the Earl indeed had let himſelf out into an indecent Rage, uſing many Threats to him; which He found was not ingrateful to the Archbiſhop, upon whom He attended within a Day or two again, and delivered him the Petition, and many other uſeful Papers, which pleaſed him abundantly; and He required him to ſee Him often.

By this Accident Mr. *Hyde* came firſt to be known to the Archbiſhop, who ever afterwards uſed him very kindly, and ſpoke well of him upon all Occaſions, and took particular Notice of him when He came of Council in any Cauſes depending at the Council Board, as He did frequently; and deſired his Service in many Occaſions, and particularly in the raiſing Monies for the building St. *Paul*'s Church, in which He made a Journey or two into *Wiltſhire* with good Succeſs; which the Archbiſhop ſtill acknowledged, in a more obliging Way than He was accuſtomed to; inſomuch as it was ſo much taken notice of, that Mr. *Hyde* (who well knew how to cultivate thoſe Advantages) was uſed with more Countenance by all the Judges in *Weſtminſter Hall*, and the eminent Practiſers, than was uſually given to Men of his Years; ſo that He grew every Day in Practice, of which He had as much as He deſired, and having a competent Eſtate of his own, He enjoyed a very pleaſant and a plentiful Life, living much above the Rank of thoſe Lawyers, whoſe Buſineſs was only to be rich; and was generally beloved and eſteemed by moſt Perſons of Condition and great Reputation. Though He purſued his Profeſſion with great Diligence and Intentneſs of Mind, and upon the Matter wholly betook himſelf to Buſineſs, yet He made not himſelf a Slave to it; but kept both his Friends at Court, and about the Town, by his frequent Application and conſtant Converſation; in Order to which, He always gave himſelf at Dinner to thoſe who uſed to meet together at that Hour, and in ſuch Places as was mutually agreed between them; where They enjoyed themſelves

Mr. Hyde receives Encouragement in his Profeſſion.

His Method of ſpending his Time.

ſelves with great Delight, and publick Reputation, for the Innocence, and Sharpneſs, and Learning of their Converſation: For He would never ſuffer himſelf to be deprived of ſome Hours (which commonly He borrowed from the Night) to refreſh himſelf with polite Learning, in which He ſtill made ſome Progreſs: The Afternoons He entirely dedicated to the Buſineſs of his Profeſſion, taking Inſtructions and the like; and very rarely ſupped, except He was called out by ſome of his Friends, who ſpared him the more, becauſe He always complied with thoſe Summons; otherwiſe He never ſupped, for many Years (before the Troubles brought in that Cuſtom) both for the gaining that Time for himſelf, and that He might riſe early in the Morning according to his Cuſtom, and which He would ſay, He could never do when He ſupped. The Vacations He gave wholly to his Study and Converſation, never going out of *London* in thoſe Seaſons, except for two Months in the Summer, which He ſpent at his own Houſe in the Country, with great Chearfulneſs amongſt his Friends, who then reſorted to him in good Numbers.

He never did ride any Country Circuits with the Judges, which He often repented afterwards, ſaying, that beſides the knowing the Gentry, and People, and Manners of *England* (which is beſt attained that Way) there is a very good and neceſſary Part of the Learning in the Law, which is not ſo eaſily got any other Way, as in riding thoſe Circuits, which as it ſeems to have much of Drudgery, ſo is accompanied with much Pleaſure and Profit; and it may be, the long Lives of Men of that Profeſſion (for the Lawyers uſually live to more Years than any other Profeſſion) may very reaſonably be imputed to the Exerciſe They give themſelves by their Circuits, as well as to their other Acts of Temperance and Sobriety: And as He had denied himſelf that Satisfaction purely to have that Time to himſelf for other Delight, ſo He did reſolve, if the Confuſion of the Time had not ſurprized him, for three or four Years, (longer He did not intend) to have improved himſelf by the Experience of thoſe Journies.

He was often heard to ſay, that, "next the immediate Bleſſing and "Providence of God Almighty, which had preſerved him throughout the "whole Courſe of his Life (leſs ſtrict than it ought to have been) from "many Dangers and Diſadvantages, in which many other young Men "were loſt; He owed all the little He knew, and the little Good that "was in him, to the Friendſhips and Converſation He had ſtill been uſed "to, of the moſt excellent Men in their ſeveral Kinds that lived in that "Age; by whoſe Learning, and Information, and Inſtruction, He formed "his Studies, and mended his Underſtanding; and by whoſe Gentleneſs "and Sweetneſs of Behaviour, and Juſtice, and Virtue, and Example, He "formed his Manners, ſubdued that Pride, and ſuppreſſed that Heat "and Paſſion, He was naturally inclined to be tranſported with." And He never took more Pleaſure in any Thing, than in frequently mentioning and naming thoſe Perſons, who were then his Friends, or of his moſt familiar Converſation; and in remembring their particular Virtues and Faculties; and uſed often to ſay, "that He never was ſo proud, or "thought himſelf ſo good a Man, as when He was the worſt Man in the "Company;" all his Friends and Companions being in their Quality, in their Fortunes, at leaſt in their Faculties and Endowments of Mind, very much his Superiors; and He always charged his Children to follow his Example in that Point, in making their Friendſhips and Converſation; proteſting, that in the whole Courſe of his Life, He never knew one Man, of what Condition ſoever, arrive to any Degree of Reputation in the World,

who made choice or delighted in the Company or Converſation of thoſe, who in their Qualities were inferior, or in their Parts not much ſuperior to himſelf.

Some Account of his chief Acquaintance whilſt only a Student of the Law.

WHILST He was only a Student of the Law, and ſtood at Gaze, and irreſolute what Courſe of Life to take, his chief Acquaintance were *Ben. Johnſon*, *John Selden*, *Charles Cotton*, *John Vaughan*, Sir *Kenelm Digby*, *Thomas May*, and *Thomas Carew*, and ſome others of eminent Faculties in their ſeveral Ways. *Ben. Johnſon*'s Name can never be forgotten, having by his very good Learning, and the Severity of his Nature and Manners, very much reformed the Stage; and indeed the *Engliſh* Poetry itſelf: His natural Advantages were, Judgment to order and govern Fancy, rather than Exceſs of Fancy, his Productions being ſlow and upon Deliberation, yet then abounding with great Wit and Fancy, and will live accordingly; and ſurely as He did exceedingly exalt the *Engliſh* Language in Eloquence, Propriety, and maſculine Expreſſions; ſo He was the beſt Judge of, and fitteſt to preſcribe Rules to Poetry and Poets, of any Man who had lived with, or before him, or ſince: If Mr. *Cowley* had not made a Flight beyond all Men, with that Modeſty yet, to aſcribe much of this, to the Example and Learning of *Ben. Johnſon*. His Converſation was very good, and with the Men of moſt Note; and He had for many Years an extraordinary Kindneſs for Mr. *Hyde*, till He found He betook himſelf to Buſineſs, which He believed ought never to be preferred before his Company: He lived to be very old, and till the Palſy made a deep Impreſſion upon his Body, and his Mind.

Character of Ben Johnſon.

Of Mr. Selden.

Mr. SELDEN was a Perſon, whom no Character can flatter, or tranſmit in any Expreſſions equal to his Merit and Virtue; He was of ſo ſtupendous Learning in all Kinds, and in all Languages (as may appear in his excellent and tranſcendent Writings) that a Man would have thought He had been entirely converſant amongſt Books, and had never ſpent an Hour but in Reading and Writing; yet his Humanity, Courteſy, and Affability was ſuch, that He would have been thought to have been bred in the beſt Courts, but that his good Nature, Charity, and Delight in doing good, and in communicating all He knew, exceeded that Breeding: His Stile in all his Writings ſeems harſh and ſometimes obſcure; which is not wholly to be imputed to the abſtruſe Subjects of which He commonly treated, out of the Paths trod by other Men; but to a little undervaluing the Beauty of a Stile, and too much Propenſity to the Language of Antiquity; but in his Converſation He was the moſt clear Diſcourſer, and had the beſt Faculty in making hard Things eaſy, and preſenting them to the Underſtanding, of any Man that hath been known. Mr. *Hyde* was wont to ſay, that He valued himſelf upon nothing more than upon having had Mr. *Selden*'s Acquaintance from the Time He was very young; and held it with great Delight as long as They were ſuffered to continue together in *London*; and He was very much troubled always when He heard him blamed, cenſured, and reproached, for ſtaying in *London*, and in the Parliament, after They were in Rebellion, and in the worſt Times, which his Age obliged him to do; and how wicked ſoever the Actions were, which were every Day done, He was confident He had not given his Conſent to them; but would have hindered them if He could, with his own Safety, to which He was always enough indulgent. If He had ſome Infirmities with other Men, They were weighed down with wonderful and prodigious Abilities and Excellencies in the other Scale.

CHARLES COTTON was a Gentleman born to a competent Fortune, and so qualified in his Perſon, and Education, that for many Years He continued the greateſt Ornament of the Town, in the Eſteem of thoſe who had been beſt bred: His natural Parts were very great, his Wit flowing in all the Parts of Converſation; the Superſtructure of Learning not raiſed to a conſiderable Height, but having paſſed ſome Years in *Cambridge*, and then in *France*, and converſing always with learned Men, his Expreſſions were ever proper, and ſignificant, and gave great Luſtre to his Diſcourſe, upon any Argument; ſo that He was thought by thoſe who were not intimate with him, to have been much better acquainted with Books than He was. He had all thoſe Qualities which in Youth raiſe Men to the Reputation of being fine Gentlemen; ſuch a Pleaſantneſs and Gaiety of Humour, ſuch a Sweetneſs and Gentleneſs of Nature, and ſuch a Civility and Delightfulneſs in Converſation, that no Man in the Court, or out of it, appeared a more accompliſhed Perſon; all theſe extraordinary Qualifications being ſupported by as extraordinary a Clearneſs of Courage, and Fearleſſneſs of Spirit, of which He gave too often Manifeſtation. Some unhappy Suits in Law, and Waſte of his Fortune in thoſe Suits, made ſome Impreſſion upon his Mind; which being improved by domeſtick Afflictions, and thoſe Indulgences to himſelf, which naturally attend thoſe Afflictions, rendered his Age leſs reverenced, than his Youth had been; and gave his beſt Friends Cauſe to have wiſhed, that He had not lived ſo long. *Of Mr. Cotton.*

JOHN VAUGHAN was then a Student of the Law in the *Inner Temple*, but at that Time indulged more to the politer Learning; and was in Truth a Man of great Parts of Nature, and very well adorned by Arts and Books; and ſo much cheriſhed by Mr. *Selden*, that He grew to be of entire Truſt and Friendſhip with him, and to that owed the beſt Part of his Reputation; for He was of ſo magiſterial and ſupercilious a Humour, ſo proud and inſolent a Behaviour, that all Mr. *Selden*'s Inſtructions, and Authority, and Example, could not file off that Roughneſs of his Nature, ſo as to make him very grateful. He looked moſt into thoſe Parts of the Law, which diſpoſed him to leaſt Reverence to the Crown, and moſt, to popular Authority; yet without Inclination to any Change in Government; and therefore, before the Beginning of the Civil War, and when He clearly diſcerned the Approaches to it in Parliament (of which He was a Member) He withdrew himſelf into the Faſtneſſes of his own Country, *North Wales*, where He enjoyed a ſecure, and as near an innocent Life, as the Iniquity of that Time would permit; and upon the Return of King *Charles* the Second, He appeared under the Character of a Man, who had preſerved his Loyalty entire, and was eſteemed accordingly by all that Party. *Of Mr. Vaughan.*

HIS Friend Mr. *Hyde*, who was then become Lord High Chancellor of *England*, renewed his old Kindneſs and Friendſhip towards him, and was deſirous to gratify him all the Ways He could, and earneſtly preſſed him to put on his Gown again, and take upon him the Office of a Judge; but He excuſed himſelf upon his long Diſcontinuance (having not worn his Gown, and wholly diſcontinued the Profeſſion from the Year 1640, full twenty Years) and upon his Age, and expreſſly refuſed to receive any Promotion; but continued all the Profeſſions of Reſpect and Gratitude imaginable to the Chancellor, till it was in his Power to manifeſt the contrary, to his Prejudice, which He did with Circumſtances very uncommendable.

Of Sir Kenelm Digby. Sir *Kenelm Digby* was a Perſon very eminent and notorious throughout the whole Courſe of his Life, from his Cradle to his Grave; of an ancient Family and noble Extraction; and inherited a fair and plentiful Fortune, notwithſtanding the Attainder of his Father. He was a Man of a very extraordinary Perſon and Preſence, which drew the Eyes of all Men upon him, which were more fixed by a wonderful graceful Behaviour, a flowing Courteſy and Civility, and ſuch a Volubility of Language, as ſurprized, and delighted; and though in another Man it might have appeared to have ſomewhat of Affectation, it was marvellous graceful in him, and ſeemed natural to his Size, and Mould of his Perſon, to the Gravity of his Motion, and the Tune of his Voice and Delivery. He had a fair Reputation in Arms, of which He gave an early Teſtimony in his Youth, in ſome Encounters in *Spain*, and *Italy*, and afterwards in an Action in the *Mediterranean* Sea, where He had the Command of a Squadron of Ships of War, ſet out at his own Charge under the King's Commiſſion; with which, upon an Injury received, or apprehended from the *Venetians*, He encountered their whole Fleet, killed many of their Men, and ſunk one of their Galeaſſes; which in that drowſy and unactive Time, was looked upon with a general Eſtimation, though the Crown diſavowed it. In a Word, He had all the Advantages that Nature, and Art, and an excellent Education could give him, which, with a great Confidence and Preſentneſs of Mind, buoyed him up againſt all thoſe Prejudices, and Diſadvantages, (as the Attainder, and Execution of his Father, for a Crime of the higheſt Nature; his own Marriage with a Lady, though of an extraordinary Beauty, of as extraordinary a Fame; his changing, and re-changing his Religion; and ſome perſonal Vices, and Licences in his Life) which would have ſuppreſſed and ſunk any other Man, but never clouded or eclipſed him, from appearing in the beſt Places, and the beſt Company, and with the beſt Eſtimation and Satisfaction.

Of Mr. May. Thomas May was the eldeſt Son of his Father, a Knight, and born to a Fortune, if his Father had not ſpent it; ſo that He had only an Annuity left him, not proportionable to a liberal Education; yet ſince his Fortune could not raiſe his Mind, He brought his Mind down to his Fortune, by a great Modeſty and Humility in his Nature, which was not affected, but very well became an Imperfection in his Speech, which was a great Mortification to him, and kept him from entering upon any Diſcourſe but in the Company of his very Friends. His Parts of Nature, and Art were very good, as appears by his Tranſlation of *Lucan* (none of the eaſieſt Work of that Kind) and more by his Supplement to *Lucan*, which being entirely his own, for the Learning, the Wit, and the Language, may be well looked upon as one of the beſt Epic Poems in the *Engliſh* Language; He writ ſome other commendable Pieces, of the Reign of ſome of our Kings; He was cheriſhed by many Perſons of Honour, and very acceptable in all Places; yet (to ſhew that Pride and Envy have their Influences upon the narroweſt Minds, and which have the greateſt Semblance of Humility) though He had received much Countenance, and a very conſiderable Donative from the King; upon his Majeſty's refuſing to give him a ſmall Penſion, which He had deſigned and promiſed to another very ingenious Perſon, whoſe Qualities He thought inferior to his own, He fell from his Duty, and all his former Friends; and proſtituted himſelf to the vile Office of celebrating the infamous Acts of thoſe who were in Rebellion againſt the King; which He did ſo meanly, that He ſeemed to all Men to have loſt his Wits, when He left his Honeſty; and

ſo ſhortly after, died miſerable and neglected; and deſerves to be forgotten.

THOMAS CAREW was a younger Brother of a good Family, and of excellent Parts, and had ſpent many Years of his Youth in *France*, and *Italy*; and returning from Travel, followed the Court; which the Modeſty of that Time diſpoſed Men to do ſome Time, before They pretended to be of it; and He was very much eſteemed by the moſt eminent Perſons in the Court, and well looked upon by the King himſelf, ſome Years, before He could obtain to be Sewer to the King; and when the King conferred that Place upon him, it was not without the Regret even of the whole *Scotch* Nation, which united themſelves in recommending another Gentleman to it; of ſo great Value were thoſe Relations held in that Age, when Majeſty was beheld with the Reverence it ought to be. He was a Perſon of a pleaſant and facetious Wit, and made many Poems (eſpecially in the amorous Way) which for the Sharpneſs of the Fancy, and the Elegancy of the Language, in which that Fancy was ſpread, were at leaſt equal, if not ſuperior to any of that Time: But his Glory was, that after fifty Years of his Life, ſpent with leſs Severity or Exactneſs than it ought to have been, He died with the greateſt Remorſe for that Licence, and with the greateſt Manifeſtation of Chriſtianity, that his beſt Friends could deſire. *Of Mr. Carew.*

AMONG theſe Perſons Mr. *Hyde*'s uſual Time of Converſation was ſpent, till He grew more retired to his more ſerious Studies, and never diſcontinued his Acquaintance with any of them, though He ſpent leſs Time in their Company; only upon Mr. *Selden* He looked with ſo much Affection, and Reverence, that He always thought himſelf beſt, when He was with him; but He had then another Conjunction and Communication, that He took ſo much Delight in, that He embraced it in the Time of his greateſt Buſineſs and Practice, and would ſuffer no other Pretence, or Obligation to withdraw him from that Familiarity and Friendſhip; and took frequent Occaſions to mention their Names with great Pleaſure; being often heard to ſay, "that if He had any Thing good "in him, in his Humour, or in his Manners, He owed it to the Example, "and the Information He had received in, and from that Company, with moſt of whom He had an entire Friendſhip:" And They were in Truth, in their ſeveral Qualifications, Men of more than ordinary Eminence, before They attained the great Preferments many of them lived to enjoy: The Perſons were, Sir *Lucius Carey*, eldeſt Son to the Lord Viſcount *Falkland*, Lord Deputy of *Ireland*; Sir *Francis Wenman* of *Oxfordſhire*; *Sidney Godolphin* of *Godolphin* in *Cornwall*; *Edmund Waller* of *Becconsfield*; Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*; Dr. *George Morley*; Dr. *John Earles*; Mr. *John Hales* of *Eton*; and Mr. *William Chillingworth*. *Characters of Mr. Hyde's more intimate Friends.*

WITH Sir *Lucius Carey* He had a moſt entire Friendſhip without Reſerve, from his Age of twenty Years, to the Hour of his Death, near twenty Years after; upon which there will be Occaſion to enlarge when We come to ſpeak of that Time, and often before, and therefore we ſhall ſay no more of him in this Place, than to ſhew his Condition, and Qualifications, which were the firſt Ingredients into that Friendſhip, which was afterwards cultivated, and improved by a conſtant Converſation and Familiarity, and by many Accidents which contributed thereto. He had the Advantage of a noble Extraction, and of being born his Father's eldeſt Son, when there was a greater Fortune in Proſpect to be inherited (beſides what He might reaſonably expect by his Mother) than came afterwards to his *Of Sir Lucius Carey.*

Poſſeſſion. His Education was equal to his Birth, at leaſt in the Care, if not in the Climate; for his Father being Deputy of *Ireland*, before He was of Age fit to be ſent abroad, his Breeding was in the Court, and in the Univerſity of *Dublin*; but under the Care, Vigilance, and Direction of ſuch Governors and Tutors, that He learned all thoſe Exerciſes and Languages, better than moſt Men do in more celebrated Places; inſomuch as when He came into *England*, which was when He was about the Age of eighteen Years, He was not only Maſter of the *Latin* Tongue, and had read all the Poets, and other of the beſt Authors with notable Judgment for that Age, but He underſtood, and ſpake, and writ *French*, as if He had ſpent many Years in *France*.

He had another Advantage, which was a great Ornament to the reſt, that was, a good, a plentiful Eſtate, of which He had the early Poſſeſſion. His Mother was the ſole Daughter and Heir of the Lord Chief Baron *Tanfield*, who having given a fair Portion with his Daughter in Marriage, had kept himſelf free to diſpoſe of his Land, and his other Eſtate, in ſuch Manner as He ſhould think fit; and He ſettled it in ſuch Manner upon his Grandſon Sir *Lucius Carey*, without taking Notice of his Father, or Mother, that upon his Grandmother's Death, which fell out about the Time that He was nineteen Years of Age, all the Land, with two very good Houſes very well furniſhed (worth above £2000 *per Annum*) in a moſt pleaſant Country, and the two moſt pleaſant Places in that Country, with a very plentiful perſonal Eſtate, fell into his Hands and Poſſeſſion, and to his entire Diſpoſal.

With theſe Advantages, He had one great Diſadvantage (which in the firſt Entrance into the World is attended with too much Prejudice) in his Perſon and Preſence, which was in no Degree attractive or promiſing: His Stature was low, and ſmaller than moſt Men; his Motion not graceful; and his Aſpect ſo far from inviting, that it had ſomewhat in it of Simplicity; and his Voice the worſt of the three, and ſo untuned, that inſtead of reconciling, it offended the Ear, ſo that no Body would have expected Muſick from that Tongue; and ſure no Man was leſs beholden to Nature for its Recommendation into the World; but then no Man ſooner, or more diſappointed this general and cuſtomary Prejudice; that little Perſon and ſmall Stature was quickly found to contain a great Heart, a Courage ſo keen, and a Nature ſo fearleſs, that no Compoſition of the ſtrongeſt Limbs, and moſt harmonious and proportioned Preſence and Strength, ever more diſpoſed any Man to the greateſt Enterprize; it being his greateſt Weakneſs to be too ſolicitous for ſuch Adventures; and that untuned Tongue and Voice, eaſily diſcovered itſelf to be ſupplied, and governed, by a Mind and Underſtanding ſo excellent, that the Wit and Weight of all He ſaid, carried another Kind of Luſtre, and Admiration in it, and even another Kind of Acceptation from the Perſons preſent, than any Ornament of Delivery could reaſonably promiſe itſelf, or is uſually attended with; and his Diſpoſition and Nature was ſo gentle and obliging, ſo much delighted in Courteſy, Kindneſs, and Generoſity, that all Mankind could not but admire, and love him.

In a ſhort Time after He had Poſſeſſion of the Eſtate his Grandfather had left him, and before He was of Age, He committed a Fault againſt his Father, in marrying a young Lady, whom He paſſionately loved, without any conſiderable Portion, which exceedingly offended him; and diſappointed all his reaſonable Hopes and Expectation, of redeeming and repairing his own broken Fortune, and deſperate Hopes in Court, by ſome

advantageous Marriage of his Son; about which He had then ſome probable Treaty. Sir *Lucius Carey* was very conſcious to himſelf of his Offence and Tranſgreſſion, and the Conſequence of it, which though He could not repent, having married a Lady of a moſt extraordinary Wit, and Judgment, and of the moſt ſignal Virtue, and exemplary Life, that the Age produced, and who brought him many hopeful Children, in which He took great Delight; yet He confeſſed it, with the moſt ſincere and dutiful Applications to his Father for his Pardon, that could be made; and for the Prejudice He had brought upon his Fortune, by bringing no Portion to him, He offered to repair it, by reſigning his whole Eſtate to his Diſpoſal, and to rely wholly upon his Kindneſs for his own Maintenance and Support; and to that Purpoſe, He had cauſed Conveyances to be drawn by Council, which He brought ready engroſſed to his Father, and was willing to ſeal, and execute them, that They might be valid; but his Father's Paſſion and Indignation ſo far tranſported him (though He was a Gentleman of excellent Parts,) that He refuſed any Reconciliation, and rejected all the Offers that were made him of the Eſtate; ſo that his Son remained ſtill in the Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate againſt his Will; for which He found great Reaſon afterwards to rejoice; but He was for the preſent, ſo much afflicted with his Father's Diſpleaſure, that He tranſported himſelf and his Wife into *Holland*, reſolving to buy ſome military Command, and to ſpend the Remainder of his Life in that Profeſſion; but being diſappointed in the Treaty He expected; and finding no Opportunity to accommodate himſelf with ſuch a Command, He returned again into *England*; reſolving to retire to a Country Life, and to his Books; that ſince He was not like to improve himſelf in Arms, He might advance in Letters.

In this Reſolution He was ſo ſevere (as He was always naturally very intent upon what He was inclined to) that He declared, He would not ſee *London* in many Years, which was the Place He loved of all the World; and that in his Studies, He would firſt apply himſelf to the *Greek*, and purſue it without Intermiſſion, till He ſhould attain to the full Underſtanding of that Tongue; and it is hardly to be credited, what Induſtry He uſed, and what Succeſs attended that Induſtry; for though his Father's Death, by an unhappy Accident, made his Repair to *London* abſolutely neceſſary, in fewer Years, than He had propoſed for his Abſence; yet He had firſt made himſelf Maſter of the *Greek* Tongue (in the *Latin* He was very well verſed before) and had read not only the *Greek* Hiſtorians, but *Homer* likewiſe, and ſuch of the Poets as were worthy to be peruſed.

Though his Father's Death brought no other Convenience to him, but a Title to redeem an Eſtate, mortgaged for as much as it was worth, and for which He was compelled to ſell a finer Seat of his own; yet it impoſed a Burthen upon him, of the Title of a Viſcount, and an Increaſe of Expenſe, in which He was not in his Nature too provident, or reſtrained; having naturally ſuch a Generoſity and Bounty in him, that He ſeemed to have his Eſtate in Truſt, for all worthy Perſons, who ſtood in want of Supplies and Encouragement, as *Ben. Johnſon*, and many others of that Time, whoſe Fortunes required, and whoſe Spirits made them ſuperior to, ordinary Obligations; which yet They were contented to receive from Him, becauſe his Bounties were ſo generouſly diſtributed, and ſo much without Vanity and Oſtentation, that except from thoſe few Perſons, from whom He ſometimes received the Characters of fit Objects for his Benefits, or whom He intruſted, for the more ſecret deriving them to

them, He did all He could, that the Perſons themſelves who received them, ſhould not know from what Fountain They flowed; and when that could not be concealed, He ſuſtained any Acknowledgment from the Perſons obliged, with ſo much Trouble, and Baſhfulneſs, that They might well perceive, that He was even aſhamed of the little He had given, and to receive ſo large a Recompence for it.

As ſoon as He had finiſhed all thoſe Tranſactions, which the Death of his Father had made neceſſary to be done, He retired again to his Country Life, and to his ſevere Courſe of Study, which was very delightful to him, as ſoon as He was engaged in it; but He was wont to ſay, that He never found Reluctancy in any Thing He reſolved to do, but in his quitting *London*, and departing from the Converſation of thoſe He enjoyed there; which was in ſome Degree preſerved, and continued by frequent Letters, and often Viſits, which were made by his Friends from thence, whilſt He continued wedded to the Country; and which were ſo grateful to him, that during their Stay with him, He looked upon no Book, except their very Converſation made an Appeal to ſome Book; and truly his whole Converſation was one continued *Convivium Philoſophicum*, or *Convivium Theologicum*, enlivened, and refreſhed with all the Facetiouſneſs of Wit, and Good-Humour, and Pleaſantneſs of Diſcourſe, which made the Gravity of the Argument itſelf (whatever it was) very delectable. His Houſe where He uſually reſided (*Tew*, or *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*) being within ten or twelve Miles of the Univerſity, looked like the Univerſity itſelf, by the Company that was always found there. There were Dr. *Sheldon*, Dr. *Morley*, Dr. *Hammond*, Dr. *Earles*, Mr. *Chillingworth*, and indeed all Men of eminent Parts and Faculties in *Oxford*, beſides thoſe who reſorted thither from *London*; who all found their Lodgings there, as ready as in the Colleges, nor did the Lord of the Houſe know of their coming, or going, nor who were in his Houſe, till He came to Dinner, or Supper, where all ſtill met; otherwiſe, there was no troubleſome Ceremony, or Conſtraint to forbid Men to come to the Houſe, or to make them weary of ſtaying there; ſo that many came thither to ſtudy in a better Air, finding all the Books They could deſire, in his Library, and all the Perſons together, whoſe Company They could wiſh, and not find, in any other Society. Here Mr. *Chillingworth* wrote, and formed, and modelled his excellent Book againſt the learned Jeſuit Mr. *Nott*, after frequent Debates upon the moſt important Particulars; in many of which, He ſuffered himſelf to be over-ruled by the Judgment of his Friends, though in others He ſtill adhered to his own Fancy, which was ſceptical enough, even in the higheſt Points.

In this happy and delightful Converſation, and Reſtraint, He remained in the Country many Years; and until He had made ſo prodigious a Progreſs in Learning, that there were very few claſſick Authors in the *Greek*, or *Latin* Tongue, that He had not read with great Exactneſs; He had read all the *Greek*, and *Latin* Fathers; all the moſt allowed and authentick eccleſiaſtical Writers; and all the Councils, with wonderful Care, and Obſervation; for in Religion He thought too careful, and too curious an Enquiry could not be made, amongſt thoſe, whoſe Purity was not queſtioned, and whoſe Authority was conſtantly, and confidently urged, by Men who were furtheſt from being of one Mind amongſt themſelves; and for the mutual Support of their ſeveral Opinions, in which They moſt contradicted each other; and in all thoſe Controverſies, He had ſo diſpaſſioned a Conſideration, ſuch a Candour in his Nature, and ſo profound a Charity in

in his Conſcience, that in thoſe Points, in which He was in his own Judgment moſt clear, He never thought the worſe, or in any Degree declined the Familiarity, of thoſe who were of another Mind; which, without Queſtion, is an excellent Temper for the Propagation, and Advancement of Chriſtianity. With theſe great Advantages of Induſtry, He had a Memory retentive of all that He had ever read, and an Underſtanding and Judgment to apply it ſeaſonably and appoſitely, with the moſt Dexterity and Addreſs, and the leaſt Pedantry and Affectation, that ever Man, who knew ſo much, was poſſeſſed with, of what Quality ſoever: It is not a trivial Evidence of his Learning, his Wit, and his Candour, that may be found in that Diſcourſe of his, againſt the Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*, publiſhed ſince his Death, and from a Copy under his own Hand, though not prepared and digeſted by him for the Preſs, and to which He would have given ſome Caſtigations.

BUT all his Parts, Abilities, and Faculties, by Art and Induſtry, were not to be valued, or mentioned, in Compariſon of his moſt accompliſhed Mind and Manners; his Gentleneſs, and Affability was ſo tranſcendent, and obliging, that it drew Reverence, and ſome Kind of Compliance from the rougheſt, and moſt unpoliſhed, and ſtubborn Conſtitutions; and made them of another Temper in Debate, in his Preſence, than They were in other Places: He was in his Nature ſo ſevere a Lover of Juſtice, and ſo preciſe a Lover of Truth, that He was ſuperior to all poſſible Temptations for the Violation of either; indeed ſo rigid an Exacter of Perfection, in all thoſe Things which ſeemed but to border upon either of them, and by the common Practice of Men were not thought to border upon either, that many who knew him very well, and loved, and admired his Virtue (as all who did know him muſt love, and admire it) did believe, that He was of a Temper and Compoſition, fitter to live in *Republicâ Platonis*, than *in Fæce Romuli*; but this Rigidneſs was only exerciſed towards himſelf; towards his Friend's Infirmities no man was more indulgent. In his Converſation, which was the moſt chearful and pleaſant that can be imagined, though He was young (for all I have yet ſpoken of him doth not exceed his Age of twenty-five or twenty-ſix Years) and of great Gaiety in his Humour, with a flowing Delightfulneſs of Language, He had ſo chaſte a Tongue, and Ear, that there was never known a profane, or looſe Word to fall from him, nor in Truth in his Company; the Integrity, and Cleanlineſs of the Wit of that Time, not exerciſing itſelf in that Licence, before Perſons for whom They had any Eſteem.

Of Sir Francis Wenman.

SIR *Francis Wenman* would not look upon himſelf under any other Character, than that of a Country Gentleman; though no Man of his Quality in *England* was more eſteemed in Court. He was of a noble Extraction, and of an ancient Family in *Oxfordſhire*, where He was poſſeſſed of a competent Eſtate; but his Reputation of Wiſdom, and Integrity, gave him an Intereſt and Credit in that Country, much above his Fortune; and no Man had more Eſteem in it, or Power over it. He was a Neighbour to the Lord *Falkland*, and in ſo entire Friendſhip and Confidence with him, that He had great Authority in the Society of all his Friends, and Acquaintance. He was a Man of a great Sharpneſs of Underſtanding, and of a piercing Judgment; no Man better underſtood the Affections and Temper of the Kingdom, or indeed the Nature of the Nation, or diſcerned farther the Conſequence of Counſels, and with what Succeſs They were like to be attended. He was a very good *Latin* Scholar, but his Ratiocination was above his Learning; and the Sharpneſs of his

Wit incomparable: He was equal to the greateſt Truſt and Employment, if He had been ambitious of it, or ſolicitous for it; but his Want of Health produced a Kind of Lazineſs of Mind, which diſinclined him to Buſineſs, and He died a little before the general Troubles of the Kingdom, which He foreſaw with wonderful Concern, and when many wiſe Men were weary of living ſo long.

Of Mr. Sidney Godolphin.

SIDNEY GODOLPHIN was a younger Brother of *Godolphin*, but by the Proviſion left by his Father, and by the Death of a younger Brother, liberally ſupplied for a very good Education, and for a chearful Subſiſtence, in any Courſe of Life He propoſed to himſelf. There was never ſo great a Mind and Spirit contained in ſo little Room; ſo large an Underſtanding, and ſo unreſtrained a Fancy, in ſo very ſmall a Body; ſo that the Lord *Falkland* uſed to ſay merrily, that He thought it was a great Ingredient into his Friendſhip for Mr. *Godolphin*, that He was pleaſed to be found in his Company, where He was the properer Man; and it may be, the very Remarkableneſs of his little Perſon, made the Sharpneſs of his Wit, and the compoſed Quickneſs of his Judgment and Underſtanding, the more notable. He had ſpent ſome Years in *France*, and in the low Countries; and accompanied the Earl of *Leiceſter* in his Ambaſſage into *Denmark*, before He reſolved to be quiet, and attend ſome Promotion in the Court; where his excellent Diſpoſition and Manners, and extraordinary Qualifications, made him very acceptable. Though every Body loved his Company very well, yet He loved very much to be alone, being in his Conſtitution inclined ſomewhat to Melancholy, and to Retirement amongſt his Books; and was ſo far from being active, that He was contented to be reproached by his Friends with Lazineſs; and was of ſo nice and tender a Compoſition, that a little Rain or Wind would diſorder him, and divert him from any ſhort Journey, He had moſt willingly propoſed to himſelf; inſomuch, as when He rid abroad with thoſe in whoſe Company He moſt delighted, if the Wind chanced to be in his Face, he would (after a little pleaſant murmuring) ſuddenly turn his Horſe, and go Home: Yet the Civil War no ſooner began (the firſt Approaches towards which He diſcovered as ſoon as any Man, by the Proceedings in Parliament, where He was a Member, and oppoſed with great Indignation) than He put himſelf into the firſt Troops which were raiſed in the Weſt for the King; and bore the Uneaſineſs and Fatigue of Winter Marches, with an exemplar Courage and Alacrity; until by too brave a Purſuit of the Enemy, into an obſcure Village in *Devonſhire*, He was ſhot with a Muſket; with which (without ſaying any Word more, than, Oh God, I am hurt) He fell dead from his Horſe; to the exceſſive Grief of his Friends, who were all that knew him; and the irreparable Damage of the Public.

Of Mr. Edmund Waller.

EDMUND WALLER was born to a very fair Eſtate, by the Parſimony, or Frugality, of a wiſe Father and Mother; and He thought it ſo commendable an Advantage, that He reſolved to improve it with his utmoſt Care, upon which in his Nature He was too much intent; and in Order to that, He was ſo much reſerved and retired, that He was ſcarce ever heard of, till by his Addreſs and Dexterity He had gotten a very rich Wife in the City, againſt all the Recommendation, and Countenance, and Authority of the Court, which was thoroughly engaged on the Behalf of Mr. *Crofts*; and which uſed to be ſucceſsful in that Age, againſt any Oppoſition. He had the good Fortune to have an Alliance and Friendſhip with Dr. *Morley*, who had aſſiſted, and inſtructed him in the reading many good Books, to which his natural Parts and Promptitude inclined him,

eſpecially the Poets; and at the Age when other Men uſed to give over writing Verſes (for He was near thirty Years of Age, when He firſt engaged himſelf in that Exerciſe, at leaſt, that He was known to do ſo) He ſurprized the Town with two or three Pieces of that Kind; as if a tenth Muſe had been newly born, to cheriſh drooping Poetry. The Doctor at that Time brought him into that Company, which was moſt celebrated for good Converſation; where He was received, and eſteemed, with great Applauſe, and Reſpect. He was a very pleaſant Diſcourſer, in Earneſt, and in Jeſt, and therefore very grateful to all Kind of Company, where He was not the leſs eſteemed for being very rich.

He had been even nurſed in Parliaments, where He ſat when He was very young; and ſo when They were reſumed again (after a long Intermiſſion) He appeared in thoſe Aſſemblies with great Advantage; having a graceful Way of ſpeaking, and by thinking much upon ſeveral Arguments (which his Temper and Complexion, that had much of Melancholic, inclined him to) He ſeemed often to ſpeak upon the ſudden, when the Occaſion had only adminiſtred the Opportunity of ſaying, what He had thoroughly conſidered, which gave a great Luſtre to all He ſaid; which yet was rather of Delight, than Weight. There needs no more be ſaid to extol the Excellence and Power of his Wit, and Pleaſantneſs of his Converſation, than that it was of Magnitude enough, to cover a World of very great Faults; that is, ſo to cover them, that They were not taken Notice of to his Reproach; *viz.* a Narrowneſs in his Nature to the loweſt Degree; an Abjectneſs, and Want of Courage to ſupport him in any virtuous Undertaking; an Inſinuation, and ſervile Flattery to the Height, the vaineſt, and moſt imperious Nature could be contented with; that it preſerved and won his Life from thoſe, who were moſt reſolved to take it; and in an Occaſion in which He ought to have been ambitious to have loſt it; and then preſerved him again, from the Reproach and Contempt that was due to him, for ſo preſerving it, and for vindicating it at ſuch a Price; that it had Power to reconcile him to thoſe, whom He had moſt offended and provoked; and continued to his Age with that rare Felicity, that his Company was acceptable, where his Spirit was odious; and He was at leaſt pitied, where He was moſt deteſted.

Of Dr. Sheldon.

Of Doctor *Sheldon* there needs no more be ſaid in this Place, than that his Learning, and Gravity, and Prudence, had in that Time raiſed him to ſuch a Reputation, when He was Chaplain in the Houſe to the Lord Keeper *Coventry*, (who exceedingly eſteemed him, and uſed his Service not only in all Matters relating to the Church, but in many other Buſineſſes of Importance, and in which that great, and good Lord was nearly concerned) and when He was afterwards Warden of *All Souls* College in *Oxford*, that He then was looked upon, as very equal to any Preferment the Church could yield, or hath ſince yielded unto him; and Sir *Francis Wenman* would often ſay, when the Doctor reſorted to the Converſation at the Lord *Falkland*'s Houſe, as He frequently did, that "Dr. *Sheldon* "was born, and bred to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*."

Of Dr. Morley.

Doctor *Morley* was a Gentleman of very eminent Parts in all polite Learning; of great Wit, and Readineſs, and Subtilty in Diſputation; and of remarkable Temper, and Prudence in Converſation, which rendered him moſt grateful in all the beſt Company. He was then Chaplain in the Houſe, and to the Family, of the Lord and Lady *Carnarvon*, which needed a wiſe, and a wary Director. From ſome academick Conteſts He had been engaged in, during his living in *Chriſt Church* in *Oxford*, where He was al-

ways of the firſt Eminency, He had by the natural Faction and Animoſity of thoſe Diſputes, fallen under the Reproach of holding ſome Opinions, which were not then grateful to thoſe Churchmen, who had the greateſt Power in eccleſiaſtical Promotions; and ſome ſharp Anſwers and Replies, He uſed to make in accidental Diſcourſes, and which in Truth were made for Mirth and Pleaſantneſs ſake (as He was of the higheſt Facetiouſneſs) were reported, and ſpread abroad to his Prejudice; as being once aſked by a grave Country Gentleman (who was deſirous to be inſtructed what their Tenets and Opinions were) "what the *Arminians* held," He pleaſantly anſwered, that *They held all the beſt Biſhopricks and Deaneries in* England; which was quickly reported abroad, as Mr. *Morley*'s Definition of the *Arminian* Tenets.

Such, and the like harmleſs and jocular Sayings, upon many accidental Occaſions, had wrought upon the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Laud*, (who lived to change his Mind, and to have a juſt Eſteem of him) to entertain ſome Prejudice towards him; and the Reſpect which was paid him by many eminent Perſons, as *John Hampden*, *Arthur Goodwin*, and others, who were not thought Friends to the Proſperity the Church was in, made others apprehend that He was not enough zealous for it: But that Diſaffection, and Virulency (which few Men had then owned and diſcovered) no ſooner appeared, in thoſe,and other Men, but Dr. *Morley* made haſte as publickly to oppoſe them, both in private, and in publick; which had the more Effect to the Benefit of the Church, by his being a Perſon above all poſſible Reproach, and known, and valued by more Perſons of Honour than moſt of the Clergy were; and being not only without the Envy of any Preferment, but under the Advantage of a diſcountenanced Perſon: And as He was afterwards the late King's Chaplain, and much regarded by him, and as long about him, as any of his Chaplains were permitted to attend him; ſo preſently after his Murder, He left the Kingdom, and remained in Baniſhment, till King *Charles* the Second's happy Return.

Of Dr. Earles. Doctor *Earles* was at that Time Chaplain in the Houſe to the Earl of *Pembroke*, Lord Chamberlain of his Majeſty's Houſhold, and had a Lodging in the Court under that Relation: He was a Perſon very notable for his Elegance in the *Greek*, and *Latin* Tongues; and being Fellow of *Merton* College in *Oxford*, and having been Proctor of the Univerſity, and ſome very witty, and ſharp Diſcourſes being publiſhed in Print without his Conſent, though known to be his, He grew ſuddenly into a very general Eſteem with all Men; being a Man of great Piety and Devotion; a moſt eloquent and powerful Preacher; and of a Converſation ſo pleaſant and delightful, ſo very innocent, and ſo very facetious, that no Man's Company was more deſired, and more loved. No Man was more negligent in his Dreſs, and Habit, and Mien; no Man more wary, and cultivated, in his Behaviour, and Diſcourſe; inſomuch as He had the greater Advantage when He was known, by promiſing ſo little before He was known. He was an excellent Poet, both in *Latin*, *Greek*, and *Engliſh*, as appears by many Pieces yet abroad; though He ſuppreſſed many more himſelf, eſpecially of *Engliſh*, incomparably good, out of an Auſterity to thoſe Sallies of his Youth. He was very dear to the Lord *Falkland*, with whom He ſpent as much Time as He could make his own; and as that Lord would impute the ſpeedy Progreſs He made in the *Greek* Tongue, to the Information, and Aſſiſtance He had from Mr. *Earles*, ſo Mr. *Earles* would frequently profeſs, that He had got more uſeful Learning by his Converſation at *Tew* (the Lord *Falkland*'s Houſe) than He had at *Oxford*. In the

firſt ſettling of the Prince his Family, He was made one of his Chaplains; and attended on him when He was forced to leave the Kingdom. He was amongſt the few excellent Men who never had, nor ever could have an Enemy, but ſuch a one, who was an Enemy to all Learning, and Virtue, and therefore would never make himſelf known.

Of Mr. Hales.

Mr. JOHN HALES had been *Greek* Profeſſor in the Univerſity of *Oxford*; and had borne the greateſt Part of the Labour of that excellent Edition and Impreſſion of St. *Chryſoſtom*'s Works, ſet out by Sir *Harry Savile*; who was then Warden of *Merton* College, when the other was Fellow of that Houſe. He was Chaplain in the Houſe with Sir *Dudley Carleton*, Ambaſſador at the *Hague* in *Holland*, at the Time when the Synod of *Dort* was held, and ſo had Liberty to be preſent at the Conſultations in that Aſſembly; and hath left the beſt Memorial behind him, of the Ignorance, and Paſſion, and Animoſity, and Injuſtice of that Convention; of which He often made very pleaſant Relations; though at that Time it received too much Countenance from *England*. Being a Perſon of the greateſt Eminency for Learning, and other Abilities, from which He might have promiſed himſelf any Preferment in the Church, He withdrew himſelf from all Purſuits of that Kind, into a private Fellowſhip in the College of *Eton*, where his Friend Sir *Harry Savile* was Provoſt; where He lived amongſt his Books, and the moſt ſeparated from the World of any Man then living; though He was not in the leaſt Degree inclined to Melancholy, but on the contrary, of a very open and pleaſant Converſation; and therefore was very well pleaſed with the Reſort of his Friends to him, who were ſuch as He had choſen, and in whoſe Company He delighted, and for whoſe ſake He would ſometimes, once in a Year, reſort to *London*, only to enjoy their chearful Converſation.

HE would never take any Cure of Souls; and was ſo great a Contemner of Money, that He was wont to ſay, that his Fellowſhip, and the Burſar's Place (which for the good of the College, He held many Years) was worth him fifty Pounds a Year more than He could ſpend; and yet, beſides his being very charitable to all poor People, even to Liberality; He had made a greater, and better Collection of Books, than were to be found in any other private Library that I have ſeen; as He had ſure read more, and carried more about him, in his excellent Memory, than any Man I ever knew, my Lord *Falkland* only excepted, who I think ſided him. He had, whether from his natural Temper and Conſtitution, or from his long Retirement from all Crowds, or from his profound Judgment, and diſcerning Spirit, contracted ſome Opinions, which were not received, nor by him publiſhed, except in private Diſcourſes; and then rather upon Occaſion of Diſpute, than of poſitive Opinion; and He would often ſay, his Opinions He was ſure did Him no Harm, but He was far from being confident, that They might not do others Harm, who entertained them, and might entertain other Reſults from them, than He did; and therefore He was very reſerved in communicating what He thought Himſelf in thoſe Points, in which He differed from what was received.

NOTHING troubled him more, than the Brawls which were grown from Religion; and He therefore exceedingly deteſted the Tyranny of the Church of *Rome*; more for their impoſing uncharitably upon the Conſciences of other Men, than for the Errors in their own Opinions; and would often ſay, that He would renounce the Religion of the Church of *England* to-morrow, if it obliged him to believe that any other Chriſtians

ſhould be damned; and that nobody would conclude another Man to be damned, who did not wiſh him ſo. No Man more ſtrict and ſevere to himſelf; to other Men ſo charitable as to their Opinions, that He thought that other Men were more in Fault for their Carriage towards them, than the Men themſelves were, who erred; and He thought that Pride, and Paſſion, more than Conſcience, were the Cauſe of all Separation from each others Communion; and He frequently ſaid, that that only kept the World from agreeing upon ſuch a Liturgy, as might bring them into one Communion; all doctrinal Points upon which Men differed in their Opinions, being to have no Place in any Liturgy. Upon an occaſional Diſcourſe with a Friend, of the frequent, and uncharitable Reproaches of Heretick, and Schiſmatick, too lightly thrown at each other, amongſt Men who differ in their Judgment, He writ a little Diſcourſe of Schiſm, contained in leſs than two Sheets of Paper; which being tranſmitted from Friend to Friend in Writing, was at laſt, without any Malice, brought to the View of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, Dr. *Laud*, who was a very rigid Surveyor of all Things which never ſo little bordered upon Schiſm; and thought the Church could not be too vigilant againſt, and jealous of ſuch Incurſions.

He ſent for Mr. *Hales*, whom, when They had both lived in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, He had known well; and told him, that He had in Truth believed him to be long ſince dead; and chid him very kindly for having never come to him, having been of his old Acquaintance; then aſked him, whether He had lately writ a ſhort Diſcourſe of Schiſm, and whether He was of that Opinion, which that Diſcourſe implied; He told him, that He had, for the Satisfaction of a private Friend, (who was not of his Mind) a Year or two before, writ ſuch a ſmall Tract, without any Imagination that it would be communicated; and that He believed it did not contain any Thing, that was not agreeable to the Judgment of the Primitive Fathers; upon which, the Archbiſhop debated with him upon ſome Expreſſions of *Irenæus*, and the moſt ancient Fathers; and concluded with ſaying, that the Time was very apt to ſet new Doctrines on Foot, of which the Wits of the Age were too ſuſceptible; and that there could not be too much Care taken, to preſerve the Peace and Unity of the Church; and from thence aſked him of his Condition, and whether He wanted any Thing, and the other anſwering, that He had enough, and wanted, or deſired no Addition, ſo diſmiſſed him with great Courteſy; and ſhortly after ſent for him again, when there was a Prebendary of *Windſor* fallen, and told him, the King had given him the Preferment, becauſe it lay ſo convenient to his Fellowſhip of *Eton*; which (though indeed the moſt convenient Preferment that could be thought of for him) the Archbiſhop could not without great Difficulty, perſuade him to accept, and He did accept it rather to pleaſe Him, than Himſelf; becauſe He really believed He had enough before. He was one of the leaſt Men in the Kingdom, and one of the greateſt Scholars in *Europe*.

Of Mr. Chillingworth.

Mr. Chillingworth was of a Stature little ſuperior to Mr. *Hales* (and it was an Age, in which there were many great, and wonderful Men of that Size) and a Man of ſo great a Subtilty of Underſtanding, and ſo rare a Temper in Debate; that as it was impoſſible to provoke Him into any Paſſion, ſo it was very difficult to keep a Man's ſelf from being a little diſcompoſed by his Sharpneſs, and Quickneſs of Argument, and Inſtances, in which He had a rare Facility, and a great Advantage over all the Men I ever knew. He had ſpent all his younger Time in Diſputation; and

had arrived to ſo great a Maſtery, as He was inferior to no Man in thoſe Skirmiſhes; but He had, with his notable Perfection in this Exerciſe, contracted ſuch an Irreſolution, and Habit of doubting, that by Degrees He grew confident of nothing, and a Sceptick at leaſt, in the greateſt Myſteries of Faith.

THIS made him from firſt wavering in Religion, and indulging to Scruples, to reconcile himſelf too ſoon, and too eaſily to the Church of *Rome*; and carrying ſtill his own Inquiſitiveneſs about him, without any Reſignation to their Authority (which is the only Temper can make that Church ſure of it's Proſelytes) having made a Journey to *St. Omers*, purely to perfect his Converſion, by the Converſation of thoſe, who had the greateſt Name, He found as little Satisfaction there; and returned with as much Haſte from them; with a Belief that an entire Exemption from Error, was neither inherent in, nor neceſſary to any Church: which occaſioned that War, which was carried on by the Jeſuits with ſo great Aſperity, and Reproaches againſt him, and in which He defended himſelf, by ſuch an admirable Eloquence of Language, and clear, and incomparable Power of Reaſon, that He not only made them appear unequal Adverſaries, but carried the War into their own Quarters; and made the Pope's Infallibility to be as much ſhaken, and declined by their own Doctors (and as great an Acrimony amongſt themſelves upon that Subject) and to be at leaſt as much doubted, as in the Schools of the Reformed or Proteſtant; and forced them ſince, to defend and maintain thoſe unhappy Controverſies in Religion, with Arms and Weapons of another Nature, than were uſed, or known in the Church of *Rome*, when *Bellarmine* died; and which probably will in Time undermine the very Foundation that ſupports it.

SUCH a Levity, and Propenſity to change, is commonly attended with great Infirmities in, and no leſs Reproach, and Prejudice to the Perſon; but the Sincerity of his Heart was ſo conſpicuous, and without the leaſt Temptation of any corrupt End; and the Innocence, and Candour in his Nature ſo evident, and without any Perverſeneſs; that all who knew him, clearly diſcerned, that all thoſe reſtleſs Motions and Fluctuations, proceeded only from the Warmth, and Jealouſy of his own Thoughts, in a too nice Inquiſition for Truth. Neither the Books of the Adverſary, nor any of their Perſons, though He was acquainted with the beſt of both, had ever made great Impreſſion upon him; all his Doubts grew out of himſelf, when He aſſiſted his Scruples with all the Strength of his own Reaſon, and was then too hard for Himſelf; but finding as little Quiet and Repoſe in thoſe Victories, He quickly recovered, by a new Appeal to his own Judgment; ſo that He was in Truth, upon the Matter, in all his Sallies, and Retreats, his own Convert; though He was not ſo totally diveſted of all Thoughts of this World, but that when He was ready for it, He admitted ſome great and conſiderable Churchmen, to be Sharers with him in his publick Converſion.

WHILST He was in Perplexity, or rather ſome paſſionate Diſinclination to the Religion He had been educated in, He had the Misfortune to have much Acquaintance with one Mr. *Lugar*, a Miniſter of that Church; a Man of a Competency of Learning, in thoſe Points moſt controverted with the *Romaniſts*, but of no acute Parts of Wit, or Judgment; and wrought ſo far upon him, by weakening, and enervating thoſe Arguments, by which He found He was governed (as He had all the Logick, and all the Rhetorick, that was neceſſary to perſuade very powerfully Men of the greateſt Talents) that the poor Man, not able to live long in Doubt, too

haſtily deſerted his own Church, and betook himſelf to the *Roman:* nor could all the Arguments, and Reaſons of Mr. *Chillingworth* make him pauſe in the Expedition He was uſing; or reduce him from that Church after He had given himſelf to it; but He had always a great Animoſity againſt him, for having (as He ſaid) unkindly betrayed him, and carried him into another Religion, and there left him. So unfit are ſome Conſtitutions to be troubled with Doubts, after They are once fixed.

He did really believe all War to be unlawful; and did not think that the Parliament (whoſe Proceedings He perfectly abhorred) did in Truth intend to involve the Nation in a Civil War, till after the Battle of *Edge-hill*; and then He thought any Expedient, or Stratagem that was like to put a ſpeedy End to it, to be the moſt commendable: and ſo having too mathematically conceived an Engine, that ſhould move ſo lightly, as to be a Breaſt-work in all Encounters, and Aſſaults in the Field; He carried it, to make the Experiment, into that Part of his Majeſty's Army, which was only in that Winter Seaſon in the Field, under the Command of the Lord *Hopton*, in *Hampſhire*, upon the Borders of *Suſſex*; where He was ſhut up in the Caſtle of *Arundel*; which was forced, after a ſhort, ſharp Siege, to yield for want of Victual; and poor Mr. *Chillingworth* with it, falling into the Rebels Hands; and being moſt barbarouſly treated by them, eſpecially by that Clergy which followed them; and being broken with Sickneſs, contracted by the ill Accommodation, and Want of Meat, and Fire during the Siege, which was in a terrible Seaſon of Froſt and Snow, He died ſhortly after in Priſon. He was a Man of excellent Parts, and of a chearful Diſpoſition; void of all Kind of Vice, and endued with many notable Virtues; of a very publick Heart, and an indefatigable Deſire to do Good; his only Unhappineſs proceeded from his ſleeping too little, and thinking too much; which ſometimes threw him into violent Fevers

This was Mr. Hyde's Company, and Converſation, to which He dedicated his vacant Times, and all that Time which He could make vacant, from the Buſineſs of his Profeſſion; which He indulged with no more Paſſion than was neceſſary to keep up the Reputation of a Man, that had no Purpoſe to be idle; which indeed He perfectly abhorred: and He took always Occaſion to celebrate the Time He had ſpent in that Converſation, with great Satisfaction, and Delight. Nor was He leſs fortunate, in the acquaintance and Friendſhips which He made with the Perſons in his Profeſſion; who were all eminent Men, or of the moſt hopeful Parts; who being all much ſuperior to him in Age, and Experience, and entirely devoted to their Profeſſion, were yet well pleaſed with the Gaiety of his Humour, and inoffenſive, and winning Behaviour; and this good Inclination of theirs was improved by the Intereſt They ſaw He had in Perſons of the beſt Quality, to whom He was very acceptable, and his Condition of living, which was with more Expenſe than young Lawyers were accuſtomed to.

Mr. Hyde's Friends in his Profeſſion.

Those Perſons were, Mr. *Lane*, who was then Attorney to the Prince of *Wales*; and afterwards Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer; and laſtly upon the Death of the Lord *Littleton*, was made Keeper of the Great Seal, who died in Baniſhment with King *Charles* the Second. Mr. *Geoffrey Palmer*, afterwards Attorney General. Mr. *John Maynard*; and *Bulſtrode Whitlock*; all Men of eminent Parts, and great Learning out of their Profeſſions; and in their Profeſſions, of ſignal Reputation; and though the two laſt did afterwards bow their Knees to *Baal*, and ſo ſwerved from

their Allegiance, it was with leſs Rancour and Malice than other Men; They never led, but followed; and were rather carried away with the Torrent, than ſwam with the Stream; and failed through thoſe Infirmities, which leſs than a general Defection, and a proſperous Rebellion could never have diſcovered. With theſe, and very few other Perſons of other Societies, and of more than ordinary Parts in the Profeſſion, He converſed. In Buſineſs, and in Practice, with the reſt of the Profeſſion He had at moſt a formal Acquaintance, and little Familiarity; very ſeldom uſing, when his Practice was at higheſt, ſo much as to eat in the Hall, without which, no Man ever got the Reputation of a good Student; but He ever gave his Time of eating to his Friends; and was wont pleaſantly to ſay, "that He repaired himſelf with very good Company at Dinner, for the ill Company He had kept in the Morning;" and made himſelf amends for the Time He loſt with his Friends, by declining Suppers; and with a Part of that Time which was allowed for Sleep; but He grew every Day more intent on Buſineſs, and more engaged in Practice, ſo that He could not aſſign ſo much Time as He had uſed to do, to his beloved Converſation.

THE Countenance He received from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, who took all Occaſion to mention him as a Perſon He had Kindneſs for; the Favour of the Lord *Coventry*, manifeſted as often as He came before him; the Reception He found with the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of *Mancheſter*, who had raiſed the Court of Requeſts to as much Buſineſs as the Chancery itſelf was poſſeſſed of, and where He was looked upon as a Favourite; the Familiarity uſed towards him by the Lord *Pembroke*, who was Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſe, and a greater Man in the Country than the Court; by the Earl of *Holland*, and many other Lords and Ladies, and other Perſons of Intereſt in the Court, made him looked upon by the Judges in *Weſtminſter Hall*, with much Condeſcenſion; and They, who before He put on his Gown, looked upon him as one who deſigned ſome other Courſe of Life (for though He had been always very punctual in the Performance of all thoſe publick Exerciſes the Profeſſion obliged him to, both before, and after He was called to the Bar; yet in all other Reſpects He ſeemed not to confine himſelf wholly to that Courſe of Life) now when They no ſooner ſaw him put on his Gown, but that He was ſuddenly in Practice, and taken Notice of particularly in all Courts of Juſtice with unuſual Countenance, thought He would make what Progreſs He deſired in that Profeſſion.

AS He had thoſe many Friends in Court, ſo He was not leſs acceptable to many great Perſons in the Country, who leaſt regarded the Court, and were leaſt eſteemed by it; and He had that rare Felicity, that even They, who did not love many of thoſe, upon whom He moſt depended, were yet very well pleaſed with him, and with his Company. The Earl of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Eſſex*, whoſe Intereſts, and Friendſhips were then the ſame; and who were looked upon with Reverence by all who had not Reverence for the Court; and even by all in the Court, who were not ſatisfied there (which was, and always will be a great People) were very kind to him, and ready to truſt him in any Thing that was moſt ſecret; and though He could not diſpoſe the Archbiſhop, or the Earl of *Eſſex* to any Correſpondence, or good Intelligence with each other; which He exceedingly laboured to do, and found an equal Averſion in both towards each other; yet He ſucceeded to his Wiſh in bringing the Archbiſhop, and the Earl of *Hertford* to a very good Acquaintance, and Inclination to each other; *Mr. Hyde reconciles the Archbiſhop, and the Earl of Hertford.*

other; which They both often acknowledged kindly to him, and with which the Earl of *Eſſex* was as much unſatisfied.

THE Perſon whoſe Life this Diſcourſe is to recollect (and who had ſo great an Affection, and Reverence for the Memory of Archbiſhop *Laud*, that He never ſpake of him without extraordinary Eſteem, and believed him to be a Man of the moſt exemplar Virtue, and Piety of any of that Age) was wont to ſay, the greateſt Want the Archbiſhop had, was of a true Friend, who would ſeaſonably have told him of his Infirmities, and what People ſpake of him; and He ſaid, He knew well, that ſuch a Friend would have been very acceptable to him; and upon that Occaſion He uſed to mention a Story of Himſelf; that when He was a young Practiſer of the Law, being in ſome Favour with him (as is mentioned before) He went to viſit him, in the Beginning of a *Michaelmaſs* Term, ſhortly after his Return from the Country, where He had ſpent a Month or two of the Summer.

His free Expoſtulation with the Archbiſhop.

HE found the Archbiſhop early walking in the Garden; who received him according to his Cuſtom, very graciouſly, and continuing his Walk, aſked him, "what good News in the Country?" to which He anſwered, "there was none good; the People were univerſally diſcontented; and "(which troubled him moſt) that many People ſpoke extreme ill of his "Grace, as the Cauſe of all that was amiſs." He replied, "that He was "ſorry for it; He knew He did not deſerve it; and that He muſt not "give over ſerving the King, and the Church, to pleaſe the People, who "otherwiſe would not ſpeak well of him." Mr. *Hyde* told him, "He "thought He need not leſſen his Zeal for either; and that it grieved him "to find Perſons of the beſt Condition, and who loved both King, and "Church, exceedingly indevoted to Him; complaining of his Manner of "treating them, when They had Occaſion to reſort to him, it may be, "for his Directions." And then named him two Perſons of the moſt Intereſt and Credit in *Wiltſhire*, who had that Summer attended the Council Board, in ſome Affairs which concerned the King, and the County; that all the Lords preſent uſed them with great Courteſy, knowing well their Quality, and Reputation; but that He alone ſpake very ſharply to them, and without any Thing of Grace, at which They were much troubled; and one of them, ſuppoſing that ſomebody had done him ill Offices, went the next Morning to *Lambeth*, to preſent his Service to him, and to diſcover, if He could, what Miſrepreſentation had been made of him: that after He had attended very long, He was admitted to ſpeak with his Grace, who ſcarce hearing him, ſharply anſwered him, that "He had no "Leiſure for Compliments;" and ſo hurried away; which put the other Gentleman much out of Countenance: And that this Kind of Behaviour of his was the Diſcourſe of all Companies of Perſons of Quality; every Man continuing any ſuch Story with another like it, very much to his Diſadvantage; and to the Trouble of thoſe who were very juſt to him.

The Archbiſhop's Reply.

HE heard the Relation very patiently, and attentively; and diſcourſed over every Particular with all imaginable Condeſcenſion; and ſaid, with evident Shew of Trouble, that "He was very unfortunate to be ſo ill un- "derſtood; that He meant very well; that He remembered the Time, "when thoſe two Perſons were with the Council; that upon any Delibe- "rations, when any Thing was reſolved, or to be ſaid to any body, the "Council enjoined him to deliver their Reſolutions; which He did al- "ways according to the beſt of his Underſtanding; but by the Imper- "fection He had by Nature, which He ſaid often troubled him, He might

" deliver it in ſuch a Tune, and with a Sharpneſs of Voice, that made " Men believe He was angry, when there was no ſuch Thing; that when " thoſe Gentlemen were there, and He had delivered what He was to ſay, " They made ſome Stay, and ſpake with ſome of the Lords, which not " being according to Order, He thought He gave them ſome Reprehen- " ſion; They having at that Time very much other Buſineſs to do: that " He did well remember, that one of them (who was a Perſon of Honour) " came afterwards to him, at a Time He was ſhut up about an Affair of " Importance, which required his full Thoughts; but that as ſoon as He " heard of the other's being without, He ſent for him, himſelf going into " the next Room, and received him very kindly, as He thought; and ſup- " poſing that He came about Buſineſs, aſked him what his Buſineſs was, " and the other anſwering, that He had no Buſineſs, but continuing his " Addreſs with ſome Ceremony, He had indeed ſaid, that He had not " Time for Compliments; but He did not think that He went out of the " Room in that Manner: and concluded, that it was not poſſible for him " in the many Occupations He had, to ſpend any Time in unneceſſary " Compliments; and that if his Integrity and Uprightneſs, which never " ſhould be liable to Reproach, could not be ſtrong enough to preſerve " him, He muſt ſubmit to God's Pleaſure."

HE was well contented to hear Mr. *Hyde* reply very freely upon the Subject, who ſaid, " He obſerved by what his Grace himſelf had related, " that the Gentlemen had too much Reaſon for the Report They made; " and He did not wonder that They had been much troubled at his Car- " riage towards them; that He did exceedingly wiſh, that He would more " reſerve his Paſſion towards all Perſons, how faulty ſoever; and that He " would treat Perſons of Honour, and Quality, and Intereſt in their Coun- " try, with more Courteſy, and Condeſcenſion; eſpecially when They came " to viſit him, and make Offer of their Service." He ſaid, ſmiling, that " He could only undertake for his Heart; that He had very good Mean- " ing; for his Tongue, He could not undertake, that He would not ſome- " times ſpeak more haſtily, and ſharply, than He ſhould do, (which " oftentimes He was ſorry, and reprehended himſelf for) and in a Tune " which might be liable to Miſinterpretation, with them, who were " not very well acquainted with him, and ſo knew, that it was an In- " firmity, which his Nature, and Education had ſo rooted in him, " that it was in vain to contend with it." For the State, and Diſtance He kept with Men, He ſaid, " He thought it was not more than was " ſuitable to the Place and Degree He held in the Church, and State; " or ſo much as others had aſſumed to themſelves, who had ſat in his " Place; and thereupon He told him ſome Behaviour and Carriage of his " Predeceſſor *Abbot* (who He ſaid was not better born than himſelf) to- " wards the greateſt Nobility of the Kingdom, which He thought was " very inſolent, and inexcuſable;" and was indeed very ridiculous.

AFTER this free Diſcourſe, Mr. *Hyde* ever found himſelf more graciouſly received by him, and treated with more Familiarity; upon which He always concluded, that if the Archbiſhop had had any true Friend, who would, in proper Seaſons, have dealt frankly with him, in the moſt important Matters, and wherein the Errors were like to be moſt penal, He would not only have received it very well, but have profited himſelf by it. But it is the Misfortune of moſt Perſons of that Education (how worthy ſoever) that They have rarely Friendſhips with Men above their own Condition; and that their Aſcent being commonly ſudden, from low to high,

They have afterwards rather Dependants than Friends; and are ſtill deceived, by keeping ſomewhat in Reſerve to themſelves, even from thoſe with whom They ſeem moſt openly to communicate; and which is worſe, receive for the moſt Part, their Informations and Advertiſements from Clergymen, who underſtand the leaſt, and take the worſt Meaſure of human Affairs, of all Mankind, that can write, and read.

UNDER this univerſal Acquaintance, and general Acceptation, Mr. *Hyde* led, for many Years, as chearful, and pleaſant a Life, as any Man did enjoy, as long as the Kingdom took any Pleaſure in itſelf. His Practice grew every Day as much as He wiſhed; and would have been much more, if He had wiſhed it; by which, He not only ſupported his Expenſe, greater much than Men of his Rank, and Pretences, uſed to make, but encreaſed his Eſtate by ſome convenient Purchaſes of Land, adjoining to his other; and He grew ſo much in Love with Buſineſs and Practice, that He gave up his whole Heart to it; reſolving, by a Courſe of ſevere Study, to recover the Time He had loſt upon leſs profitable Learning; and to intend nothing elſe, but to reap all thoſe Benefits, to which that Profeſſion could carry him, and to the purſuing whereof, He had ſo many, and ſo unuſual Encouragements; and towards which it was not the leaſt, that God had bleſſed him with an excellent Wife, who perfectly reſigned herſelf to him; and who then had brought him, before any Troubles in the Kingdom, three Sons, and a Daughter, which He then, and ever, looked upon as his greateſt Bleſſing, and Conſolation.

Mr. Hyde's Reflections on the younger Part of his Life.

BECAUSE we ſhall have little Cauſe hereafter to mention any other Particulars, in the calm Part of his Life, whilſt He followed the Study and Practice of the Law, it will not in this Place appear a very impertinent Digreſſion to ſay, that He was, in that very Time, when Fortune ſeemed to ſmile, and to intend well towards him, and often afterwards, throughout the whole Courſe of his Life, wont to ſay, that "when He "reflected upon himſelf, and his paſt Actions, even from the Time of "his firſt coming to the *Middle Temple*, He had much more Cauſe to be "terrified upon the Reflection, than the Man had, who viewed *Rocheſter* "Bridge in the Morning that it was broken, and which He had galloped "over in the Night; that He had paſſed over more Precipices than the "other had done, for many Nights, and Days, and ſome Years together; "from which, nothing but the immediate Hand of God, could have pre-"ſerved him." For though it is very true, the Perſons before mentioned were the only Men, in whoſe Company, in thoſe Seaſons of his Life, He took Delight; yet He frequently found himſelf in the Converſation of worſe, and indeed of all Manner of Men; and it being in the Time when the War was entered into againſt the two Crowns; and the Expeditions made to, and unproſperous returns from *Cadiz*, and the Iſle of *Ree*, the Town was full of Soldiers, and of young Gentlemen who intended to be Soldiers, or as like them as They could; great Licenſe uſed of all Kinds, in Cloaths, in Diet, in Gaming; and all Kind of Expenſes equally carried on, by Men who had Fortunes of their own to ſupport it, and by others, who having nothing of their own, cared not what They ſpent, whilſt They could find Credit; ſo that there was never an Age, in which in ſo ſhort a Time, ſo many young Gentlemen, who had not Experience in the World, or ſome good tutelar Angel to protect them, were inſenſibly, and ſuddenly overwhelmed in that Sea of Wine, and Women, and Quarrels, and Gaming, which almoſt overſpread the whole Kingdom, and the Nobility, and Gentry thereof. And when He had by God's immediate Bleſſing, diſ-

entangled himſelf from theſe Labyrinths (his Nature and Inclination diſpoſing him rather to paſs through thoſe diſſolute Quarters, than to make any Stay in them) and was enough compoſed againſt any extravagant Excurſions; He was ſtill converſant with a Rank of Men (how worthy ſoever) above his Quality; and engaged in an Expenſe above his Fortune, if the extraordinary Accidents of his Life, had not ſupplied him for thoſe Exceſſes; ſo that it brought no Prejudice upon him, except in the Cenſure of ſevere Men, who thought him a Perſon of more Licenſe than in Truth He was; and who in a ſhort Time, were very fully reconciled to him.

And his own Character.

He had without Doubt, great Infirmities; which by a providential Mercy were ſeaſonably reſtrained from growing into Vices, at leaſt into any that were habitual. He had Ambition enough to keep him from being ſatisfied with his own Condition, and to raiſe his Spirit to great Deſigns of raiſing himſelf; but not to tranſport him to endeavour it by any crooked, and indirect Means. He was never ſuſpected to flatter the greateſt Man; or in the leaſt Degree to diſſemble his own Opinions, or Thoughts, how ingrateful ſoever it often proved; and even an affected Defect in, and Contempt of thoſe two uſeful Qualities coſt him dear afterwards. He indulged his Palate very much, and took even ſome Delight in eating and drinking well; but without any Approach to Luxury; and, in Truth, rather diſcourſed like an Epicure, than was one; having ſpent much Time in the eating Hours, with the Earl of *Dorſet*, the Lord *Conway*, and the Lord *Lumley*, Men who excelled in gratifying their Appetites. He had a Fancy ſharp, and luxuriant; but ſo carefully cultivated, and ſtrictly guarded, that He never was heard to ſpeak a looſe, or a profane Word; which He imputed to the Chaſtity of the Perſons, where his Converſation uſually was; where that rank Sort of Wit was religiouſly deteſted; and a little Diſcountenance would quickly root thoſe unſavoury Weeds out of all Diſcourſes where Perſons of Honour are preſent.

He was in his Nature inclined to Pride and Paſſion; and to a Humour between Wrangling, and Diſputing, very troubleſome; which good Company in a ſhort Time, ſo much reformed, and maſtered, that no Man was more affable and courteous to all Kind of Perſons; and They who knew the great Infirmity of his whole Family, which abounded in Paſſion, uſed to ſay, He had much extinguiſhed the Unrulineſs of that Fire. That which ſupported, and rendered him generally acceptable, was his Generoſity (for He had too much a Contempt of Money) and the Opinion Men had of the Goodneſs, and Juſtice of his Nature which was tranſcendent in him, in a wonderful Tenderneſs, and Delight in obliging. His Integrity was ever without Blemiſh; and believed to be above Temptation. He was firm and unſhaken in his Friendſhips: and though He had great Candour towards others in the Differences of Religion, He was zealouſly, and deliberately fixed in the Principles both of the Doctrine, and Diſcipline of the Church: yet He uſed to ſay to his neareſt Friends, in that Time, when He expected another Kind of Calm for the Remainder of his Life, "though He had ſome glimmering Light of, and Inclination "to Virtue in his Nature, that the whole Progreſs of his Life had been "full of deſperate Hazards; and that only the merciful Hand of God Al-"mighty had prevented his being both an unfortunate, and a vicious Man:" and He ſtill ſaid, that "God had vouchſafed that ſignal Goodneſs to him, "for the Piety, and exemplar Virtue of his Father, and Mother;" whoſe Memory He had always in Veneration; and He was pleaſed with what his neareſt Ally, and Boſom Friend Serjeant *Hyde* (who was afterwards

Chief Juſtice of the King's Bench) uſed at that Time to ſay of him, that his Couſin had paſſed his Time very luckily; and with notable Succeſs; and was like to be very happy in the World; but He would never adviſe any of his Friends to walk in the ſame Paths, or to tread in his Steps.

General State of Europe. A. D. 1639.

It was about the Year 1639, when He was little more than thirty Years of Age; and when *England* enjoyed the greateſt Meaſure of Felicity, that it had ever known; the two Crowns of *France*, and *Spain* worrying each other, by their mutual Incurſions, and Invaſions; whilſt They had both a Civil War in their own Bowels; the former, by frequent Rebellions from their own Factions, and Animoſities; the latter, by the Defection of *Portugal*; and both laboured more to ranſack, and burn each other's Dominions, than to extinguiſh their own Fire. All *Germany* welt'ring in it's own Blood; and contributing to each other's Deſtruction, that the poor Crown of *Sweden* might grow great out of their Ruins, and at their Charge. *Denmark*, and *Poland* being Adventurers in the ſame deſtructive Enterprizes. *Holland*, and the united Provinces wearied, and tired with their long, and chargeable War, how proſperous ſoever They were in it; and beginning to be more afraid of *France*, their Ally, than of *Spain*, their Enemy. *Italy*, every Year infeſted by the Arms of *Spain*, and *France*; which divided the Princes thereof into the ſeveral Factions.

Of all the Princes of *Europe*, the King of *England* alone ſeemed to be ſeated upon that pleaſant Promontory, that might ſafely view the tragick Sufferings of all his Neighbours about him, without any other Concernment, than what aroſe from his own princely Heart, and chriſtian Compaſſion, to ſee ſuch Deſolation wrought by the Pride, and Paſſion, and Ambition of private Perſons, ſupported by Princes, who knew not what themſelves would have. His three Kingdoms flouriſhing in entire Peace, and univerſal Plenty; in Danger of nothing but their own Surfeits; and his Dominions every Day enlarged, by ſending out Colonies upon large, and fruitful Plantations; his ſtrong Fleets commanding all Seas; and the numerous Shipping of the Nation bringing the Trade of the World into his Ports; nor could it with unqueſtionable Security be carried any whither elſe; and all theſe Bleſſings enjoyed, under a Prince of the greateſt Clemency, and Juſtice, and of the greateſt Piety, and Devotion, and the moſt indulgent to his Subjects, and moſt ſolicitous for their Happineſs and Proſperity.

O fortunati nimium, bona ſi ſua nôrint!

In this bleſſed Conjuncture, when no other Prince thought He wanted any Thing, to compaſs what He moſt deſired to be poſſeſſed of, but the Affection and Friendſhip of the King of *England*; a ſmall, ſcarce diſcernable Cloud aroſe in the North; which was ſhortly after attended with ſuch a Storm, that never gave over raging, till it had ſhaken, and even rooted up the greateſt, and talleſt Cedars of the three Nations; blaſted all its Beauty and Fruitfulneſs; brought its Strength to Decay, and its Glory to Reproach, and almoſt to Deſolation; by ſuch a Career, and Deluge of Wickedneſs, and Rebellion, as by not being enough foreſeen, or, in Truth, ſuſpected, could not be prevented.

Upon the Rebellion in *Scotland*, in the Year 1640, the King called a Parliament; which met according to Summons, upon the 3d of *April*.

Mr. Hyde choſen Member for Wotton Baſſet.

Mr. *Hyde* was choſen to ſerve for two Places; for the Borough of *Wotton-Baſſet* in the County of *Wilts*; and for the Borough of *Shafteſbury*, in the County of *Dorſet*; but made choice to ſerve for his Neighbours of the

former Place; and ſo a new Writ iſſued for the Choice of another Burgeſs for *Shafteſbury*.

THE next Day after Mr. *Pym* had recapitulated the whole Series of the Grievances, and Miſcarriages, which had been in the State; Mr. *Hyde* told the Houſe, that "that worthy Gentleman had omitted "one Grievance, more heavy than (as He thought) many of the others; "which was, the Earl Marſhal's Court: a Court newly erected, without "Colour, or Shadow of Law, which took upon it to fine, and impriſon "the King's Subjects; and to give great Damages for Matters which the "Law gave no Damages for." He repeated a pleaſant Story of a Citizen, who being rudely treated, for more than his Fare came to, by a Waterman, who preſſing him, ſtill ſhewed his Creſt, or Badge upon his Coat, the Citizen bad him begone *with his Gooſe*; whereas it was in Truth, a Swan, the Creſt of an Earl, whoſe Servant the Waterman was; whereupon the Citizen was called into the Marſhal's Court, and after a long, and chargeable Attendance, was, *for the opprobrious diſhonouring the Earl's Creſt, by calling the Swan a Gooſe*, fined, and impriſoned, till He had paid conſiderable Damages to the Lord, or at leaſt to the Waterman; which really undid the Citizen. *His firſt Speech in the Houſe of Commons.*

HE told them another Story as ridiculous, of a Gentleman, who owing his Taylor a long Time, a good Sum of Money for Cloaths, and his Taylor coming one Day to his Chamber, with more than ordinary Importunity for his Debt, and not receiving any good Anſwer, threatened to arreſt him; upon which the Gentleman enraged, gave him very ill Words, called him baſe Fellow, and laid his Hands upon him, to thruſt him out of his Chamber; in this Struggle, and under this Provocation, Oppreſſion, and Reproach, the poor Taylor chanced to ſay, that He was as good a Man as the other; for which Words He was called into the Marſhal's Court; and for his Peace, was content to be ſatisfied his Debt, out of his own ill Manners; being compelled to releaſe all his other Demands in Lieu of Damages. The Caſe was known by many, and deteſted by all.

HE told them, that "there was an Appendant to that Court, which "He called the Pageantry of it, the Heralds, who were as grievous to "the Gentry, as the Court was to the People. He ſaid, that ſure the "Knights of that Houſe, when They received that Honour from the "King, though They might think themſelves obliged to live at a higher "Rate, yet They believed, that They might die as good cheap as other "Men; He told them They could not, it would coſt them ten Pounds "more; and yet a Gentleman could not die for nothing." The Heralds had procured ſuch an Order from the Earl Marſhal, to force all Perſons to pay at their Funerals, ſuch ſeveral Sums, according to their ſeveral Degrees. He concluded with a Deſire, that when the Wiſdom of that Houſe provided Remedies againſt the other Grievances, it would likewiſe ſecure the Subject againſt this Exorbitance. This Repreſentation was very acceptable to the Houſe, both in Reſpect of the Matter, which was odious enough; and in Regard of the Perſon that uſurped that monſtrous Juriſdiction, who was in no Degree grateful to them; upon whom He that made the Motion, had not made the leaſt Reflection. The Modeſty of that Time not permitting the Mention of great Men, with any Reproach, until their Offences were firſt examined, and proved; and this being the firſt Part He had acted upon that Stage, brought him much Applauſe; and He was ever afterwards heard with great Benignity.

UPON the warm Debate in the Houſe of Commons, concerning the giving *He endeavours to prevent the Diſſolution of the Parliament.*

giving the King Money, Mr. *Hyde* obſerved by the ſeveral Diſcourſes of many of the Court, who were of near Admiſſion to the King, and Queen, and like to make probable Gueſſes, that They believed, the King would be ſo much diſpleaſed at the Proceedings of the Houſe, that He would diſſolve them; which He believed would prove the moſt fatal Reſolution could be taken. As ſoon as the Houſe was up, He went over to *Lambeth*, to the Archbiſhop; whom He found walking in his Garden, having received a full Account of all that had paſſed, from Perſons who had made more Haſte from the Houſe. He appeared ſad, and full of Thoughts; and calling the other to him, ſeemed willing to hear what He would ſay. He told him, "that He would not trouble him with the Re- "lation of any Thing that had paſſed, of which He preſumed He had re- "ceived a good Account; that his Buſineſs was only to inform him of his "own Fears and Apprehenſions; and the Obſervation He had made "upon the Diſcourſes of ſome conſiderable Men of the Court; as if the "King might be wrought upon, becauſe there had not been that Expe- "dition uſed as He expected, ſpeedily to diſſolve the Parliament. That "He came only to beſeech him to uſe all his Credit, to prevent ſuch a deſ- "perate Counſel; which would produce great Miſchief to the King, and "to the Church: that He was confident the Houſe was as well conſtituted "and diſpoſed, as ever Houſe of Commons was, or would be: that the Num- "ber of the diſaffected to Church, or State, was very ſmall; and though "They might obſtruct for ſome Time the quick reſolving upon what was "fit, They would never be able to pervert their good Inclinations, and "Deſires to ſerve the King."

THE Archbiſhop heard him very patiently, and ſaid, He believed the King would be very angry at the Way of their Proceedings; for that in this Conjuncture, the delaying, and denying to do what He deſired, was the ſame Thing; and therefore He believed it probable that He would diſſolve them; without which He could not enter upon other Counſels. that for his own Part, He was reſolved to deliver no Opinion; but as He would not perſuade the Diſſolution, which might be attended by Conſe- quences He could not foreſee, ſo He had not ſo good an Opinion of their Affections to the King, or the Church, as to perſuade their longer Sitting, if the King were inclined to diſſolve them. As He actually did on the 4th or 5th of *May*, not three Weeks after their firſt Meeting.

He is again returned to ſerve in Parliament.

THE Temper, and Conſtitution of both Houſes of Parliament, which the King was forced to call ſhortly after, and met on the 3d of *November* 1640, was very different from the laſt: and They diſcovered not more Prejudice againſt any Man, than againſt Mr. *Hyde*; who was again returned to ſerve there, and whom They were ſorry to find amongſt them; as a Man They knew well to have great Affection for the Arch- biſhop; and of unalterable Devotion to the Government of the Church; and therefore They firſt laboured to find ſome Defect in his Election; and then to irreconcile thoſe towards him, who They found had any Eſteem, or Kindneſs for him: but not finding the Succeſs in either, an- ſwerable to their Expectation, They lived fairly towards him; and en- deavoured by ſeveral Applications, to gain Credit with him; who re- turned them their own Civilities; having had very particular Acquaintance with many of them, whom He as much endeavoured to preſerve from being prevailed upon.

He procures the ſuppreſſion of the Earl Marſhal's Court.

WITHIN few Days after their Meeting, He renewed the Motion He had made in the laſt Parliament, againſt the Marſhal's Court, (though

He knew the Earl Marſhal had gotten himſelf much into their Favour, by his Application, and ſome Promiſes He had made to them at the Meeting at *York*; and principally by his declared Averſion, and Prejudice to the Earl of *Strafford)* and told them what extravagant Proceedings there had been in that Court, ſince the Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament; and that more Damages had been given there, by the ſole Judgment of the Lord Marſhal, for contumelious and reproachful Words, of which the Law took no Notice, in two Days, than had been given by all the Juries, in all the Courts in *Weſtminſter Hall*, in the whole Term, and the Days for Trial after it was ended. Upon which He got a Committee to be named, of which himſelf ſat in the Chair; and found that the firſt Precedent They had in all their Records, for that Form of Proceeding, which They had uſed, and for giving of Damages for Words, was but in the Year 1633; and the very Entrance upon this Inquiſition, put an End to that upſtart Court, which never preſumed to ſit afterwards; and ſo that Grievance was thoroughly aboliſhed. And to manifeſt how great an Impreſſion the Alarums of this Kind made upon the higheſt, and the proudeſt Natures, the very next *Sunday* after this Motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, the Earl Marſhal, ſeeing Mr. *Hyde* in the Cloſet at *Whitehall*, during the Time of the Sermon, He came with great Courteſy to him, thanked him for having treated his Perſon ſo civilly, when upon ſo juſt Reaſon He had found fault with ſome of his Actions: ſaid, He believed He had been in the Wrong; but that He had been miſled by the Advice of Sir *Harry Martin*, and other Civilians, who were held Men of great Learning, and who aſſured him, that thoſe Proceedings were juſt, and lawful. He ſaid, They had gained well by it, but ſhould miſlead him no more: and concluded with great Profeſſions of Kindneſs, and Eſteem; and offered him all Offices in his Power; when in his Heart, He did him the Honour to deteſt, and hate him perfectly; as He profeſſed to all whom He truſted.

His Credit grew every Day in the Houſe, in Spite of all the Endeadeavours, which were uſed to leſſen it. And it being evident, that He had no Dependance upon the Court; and inſiſted wholly upon maintaining what the Law had eſtabliſhed, very many wiſe Men, and of Eſtate, and Reputation in the Kingdom (who obſerved well the crooked, and ambitious Deſigns of thoſe, who deſired to be thought to care only for the good of their Country) adhered to him; and were willing to take Advice from him, how to prevent thoſe Miſeries, which were like to be brought upon the Kingdom: ſo that They who had cut out all the Work from the Beginning, and ſeldom met with any notable Contradiction, found themſelves now frequently diſappointed; and different Reſolutions taken, to what They had propoſed; which They imputed to his Activity.

He was very much in the Buſineſs of the Houſe; the greateſt Chairman in the Committees of the greateſt Moment; and very diligent in attending the Service both in the Houſe, and at Committees: for He had from the Beginning of the Parliament, laid aſide his Gown, and Practice, and wholly given himſelf up to the publick Buſineſs; which He ſaw ſo much concerned the Peace, and very Being of the Kingdom. He was in the Chair in that Committee which conſidered of the Illegality of the Court of *York*: and the other, that examined the Miſcarriage of the Judges, in the Caſe of Ship-Money, and in other Caſes of Judicatory, in their ſeveral Courts; and prepared Charges thereupon againſt them. He was in the Chair againſt the Marſhal's Court. In that Committee which was

He lays aſide his Gown, and gives himſelf wholly to publick Buſineſs.

againſt the Court of *York*, which was proſecuted with great Paſſion, and took up many Weeks Debate: In that which concerned the Juriſdiction of the Lord Preſident, and Council, of the Marches of *Wales*; which likewiſe held a long Time, and was proſecuted with great Bitterneſs, and Animoſity: In which the Inhabitants of the four neighbour Counties of *Salop*, *Worceſter*, *Hereford*, and *Gloceſter*, and conſequently the Knights, and Burgeſſes which ſerved forthe ſame, were paſſionately concerned to abſolve themſelves from the Burthen of that Juriſdiction; and all the Officers of that Court, and Council, whereof ſome were very great Men, and held Offices of great Value, laboured with equal Paſſion, and Concernment, to ſupport, and maintain what was in Practice, and Poſſeſſion; and their Friends appeared accordingly.

He was in the Chair in many Committees made upon private Complaints: inſomuch as He was ſeldom in the Afternoon free from that Service in the Committees; as He was never abſent in Mornings from the Houſe: and He was often heard to mention one private Committee, in which He was put accidentally into the Chair, upon an Incloſure which had been made of great Waſte, belonging to ſome of the Queen's Manors, without the Conſent of the Tenants, the Benefit whereof had been given by the Queen to a Servant of near Truſt; who forthwith ſold the Lands incloſed to the Earl of *Mancheſter*, Lord Privy Seal; who together with his Son *Mandevil*, were now moſt concerned to maintain the Incloſure; againſt which, as well the Inhabitants of other Manors, who claimed Common in thoſe Waſtes, as the Queen's Tenants of the ſame, made loud Complaints, as a great Oppreſſion, carried upon them with a very high Hand, and ſupported by Power.

The firſt Cauſe of Oliver Cromwell's *Enmity to him.*

The Committee ſat in the Queen's Court; and *Oliver Cromwell* being one of them, appeared much concerned to countenance the Petitioners, who were numerous, together with their Witneſſes; the Lord *Mandevil* being likewiſe preſent as a Party, and by the Direction of the Committee, ſitting covered: *Cromwell* (who had never before been heard to ſpeak in the Houſe of Commons) ordered the Witneſſes, and Petitioners in the Method of the Proceeding; and ſeconded, and enlarged upon what They ſaid with great Paſſion; and the Witneſſes, and Perſons concerned, who were a very rude Kind of People, interrupted the Council, and Witneſſes on the other Side, with great Clamour, when They ſaid any Thing that did not pleaſe them; ſo that Mr. *Hyde* (whoſe Office it was to oblige Men of all Sorts to keep Order) was compelled to uſe ſome ſharp Reproofs, and ſome Threats, to reduce them to ſuch a Temper, that the Buſineſs might be quietly heard. *Cromwell* in great Fury reproached the Chairman for being partial, and that He diſcountenanced the Witneſſes by threatening them; the Other appealed to the Committee, which juſtified him, and declared, that He behaved himſelf as He ought to do; which more enflamed him, who was already too much angry. When upon any Mention of Matter of Fact, or the Proceeding before, and at the Incloſure, the Lord *Mandevil* deſired to be heard, and with great Modeſty related what had been done, or explained what had been ſaid, Mr. *Cromwell* did anſwer, and reply upon him, with ſo much Indecency, and Rudeneſs, and in Language, ſo contrary, and offenſive, that every Man would have thought, that as their Natures, and their Manners were as oppoſite as it is poſſible, ſo their Intereſt could never have been the ſame. In the End, his whole Carriage was ſo tempeſtuous, and his Behaviour ſo inſolent, that the Chairman found himſelf obliged to reprehend him; and to tell him, if He proceeded in.

the ſame Manner, He would preſently adjourn the Committee; and the next Morning complain to the Houſe of him; which He never forgave; and took all Occaſions afterwards to purſue him with the utmoſt Malice and Revenge, to his Death.

WHEN Mr. *Hyde* ſat in the Chair, in the grand Committee of the Houſe, for the Extirpation of Epiſcopacy, all that Party made great Court to him; and the Houſe keeping thoſe diſorderly Hours, and ſeldom riſing till after four of the Clock in the Afternoon, They frequently importuned him to dine with them, at Mr. *Pym*'s Lodging, which was at Sir *Richard Manly*'s Houſe, in a little Court behind *Weſtminſter Hall*; where He, and Mr. *Hambden*, Sir *Arthur Haſlerig*, and two or three more, upon a Stock kept a Table, where They tranſacted much Buſineſs; and invited thither thoſe, of whoſe Converſion They had any Hope.

ONE Day after Dinner, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, who that Day likewiſe dined there, aſked Mr. *Hyde*, whether He would ride into the Fields, and take a little Air, it being a fine Evening; which the other conſenting to, They ſent for their Horſes, and riding together in the Fields, between *Weſtminſter* and *Chelſea*, Mr. *Fiennes* aſked him, what it was that inclined him to adhere ſo paſſionately to the Church, which could not poſſibly be ſupported. He anſwered, that He could have no other Obligation than that of his own Conſcience, and his Reaſon, that could move with him; for He had no Relation, or Dependance upon any Churchmen, that could diſpoſe him to it; that He could not conceive, how Religion could be preſerved without Biſhops; nor how the Government of the State could well ſubſiſt, if the Government of the Church were altered; and aſked him what Government They meant to introduce in its Place: To which He anſwered, that there would be Time enough to think of that; but aſſured him, and wiſhed him to remember what He ſaid, that if the King reſolved to defend the Biſhops, it would coſt the Kingdom much Blood; and would be the Occaſion of as ſharp a War, as had ever been in *England*: for that there was a great Number of good Men, who reſolved to loſe their Lives, before They would ever ſubmit to that Government. Which was the firſt poſitive Declaration He had ever heard from any particular Man of that Party; very few of them having at that Time that Reſolution, much leſs avowing it; and if They had, the Kingdom was in no Degree at that Time infected with that Poiſon, how much ſoever it was ſpread afterwards.

His Converſation with Nat. Fiennes.

WITHIN two Days after this Diſcourſe from Mr. *Fiennes*, Mr. *Hyde*, walking between the Parliament Houſe, and *Weſtminſter*, in the Church-Yard met with *Harry Martin*, with whom He lived very familiarly; and ſpeaking together about the Proceedings of the Houſes, *Martin* told him, that He would undo himſelf by his adhering to the Court; to which He replied, that He had no Relation to the Court, and was only concerned to maintain the Government, and preſerve the Law: and then told him He could not conceive what He propoſed to himſelf, for He did not think him to be of the Opinion, or Nature with thoſe Men, who governed the Houſe; and aſked him, what He thought of ſuch, and ſuch Men; and He very frankly anſwered, that He thought them Knaves; and that when They had done as much as They intended to do, They ſhould be uſed as They had uſed others. The other preſſed him then to ſay what He deſired; to which, after a little Pauſe, He very roundly anſwered, *I do not think one Man wiſe enough to govern us all:* which was the firſt Word He had ever heard any Man ſpeak to that Purpoſe; and would without

And with Harry Martin.

Who counts himſelf a Republican.

Doubt, if it had been then communicated, or attempted, been the moſt abhorred by the whole Nation, of any Deſign that could be mentioned; and yet it appears it had even ſo early entered into the Hearts of ſome deſperate Perſons; that Gentleman being at that Time poſſeſſed of a very great Fortune, and having great Credit in his Country.

WHILST Things were thus depending, one Morning, when there was a Conference with the Lords, and ſo the Houſe adjourned, Mr. *Hyde* being walking in the Houſe, Mr. *Peircy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, being a Member of the Houſe, came to him, and told him, that the King would ſpeak with him, and would have him that Afternoon to come to him. He anſwered, He believed it was ſome Miſtake, for that He had not the Honour to be known to the King; and that there was another of the ſame Name, of the Houſe. Mr. *Peircy* aſſured him, He was the Man; and ſo it was agreed, that at ſuch an Hour in the Evening, He would call on him at his Chamber; which He did, and was by him conducted into the Gallery, and ſo into the ſquare Room; where He ſtaid till the other went to the King; who in a very ſhort Time came thither, attended only by Mr. *Peircy*, who as ſoon as Mr. *Hyde* had kiſſed his Majeſty's Hand, withdrew.

Mr. Hyde is ſent for by the King.

THE King told him, "that He heard from all Hands, how much He "was beholden to him; and that when all his Servants in the Houſe of "Commons either neglected his Service, or could not appear uſefully in "it, He took all Occaſions to do him Service; for which He thought fit "to give him his own Thanks, and to aſſure him, that He would remem-"ber it to his Advantage." He took Notice of his Affection to the Church, for which, He ſaid, "He thanked him more than for all the reſt;" which the other acknowledged with the Duty that became him; and ſaid, "He "was very happy, that his Majeſty was pleaſed with what He did; but if "He had commanded him to have withdrawn his Affection, and Reve-"rence for the Church, He would not have obeyed him;" which his Majeſty ſaid, made him love him the better. Then He diſcourſed of the Paſſion of the Houſe; and of the Bill then brought in againſt Epiſcopacy; and aſked him, "whether He thought They would be able to carry it;" to which He anſwered, "He believed They could not, at leaſt, that it "would be very long firſt." "Nay (replied the King) if you'll look to "it, that They do not carry it before I go for *Scotland*, which will be "at ſuch a Time, when the Armies ſhall be diſbanded, I will undertake "for the Church after that Time; why then (ſaid the other) by the "Grace of God, it will not be in much Danger:" with which the King was well pleaſed; and diſmiſſed him with very gracious Expreſſions. And this was the firſt Introduction of him to the King's taking Notice of him.

The King's Diſcourſe with him.

AFTERWARDS in that Summer, during the Time of his Majeſty's Stay in *Scotland*, Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* (who then kept the Signet, though He was not ſworn Secretary till the King's Return) being very ſick, ſent to him, to deſire to ſpeak with him; whereupon He went to him to his Houſe in *King's-Street*; and found him in his Bed: and the Buſineſs was wholly to ſhew him a Letter from the King to him, in which He writ to him, that He underſtood by ſeveral Hands, that He was very much beholden to Mr. *Hyde*, for the great Zeal He ſhewed to his Service; and therefore commanded him to ſpeak with him, and to let him know the Senſe He had of it; and that when He returned, He would let him know it himſelf.

Having

HAVING now taken a View of him from his Birth; and through his whole Youth, and firſt Entrance into the Buſineſs of the World, in which He had great Succeſs, and Proſperity (and if the Calm, in which He was born, and laſted ſo long, had continued, no Man could with more Probability have promiſed himſelf better Fortune, in the Profeſſion to which He had dedicated himſelf) and having now brought him to be known to the King; and the Tempeſt that from the preſent foul Weather ſhortly after broke out, driving him from farther applying himſelf to, or proſecuting that Profeſſion; and the Parliament making ſome ſhort Receſs, during the King's being in *Scotland*; we will here conclude the firſt Part of his Life, and enter upon the ſecond; which will contain a more important Part; and in which We will mention no Particulars of that active Time, but ſuch in which He had a ſignal Part; leaving the reſt to the Hiſtory of thoſe great, and monſtrous Actions.

Montpelier.
27th of *March* 1669.

The LIFE of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*

From his Birth to the Reſtoration of the ROYAL FAMILY in the Year 1660.

PART the SECOND.

Mr. Hyde draws up an Anſwer to the Parliament's Remonſtrance.

WHEN the Remonſtrance of the State of the Nation, and its particular Grievances, was (by Order of the Houſe of Commons) printed; Mr. *Hyde*, only to give Vent to his own Indignation, and without the leaſt Purpoſe of communicating it, or that any Uſe ſhould be made of it, had drawn ſuch a full Anſwer to it, as the Subject would have enabled any Man to have done, who had thought of it: and the Lord *Digby*, who had much Converſation and Friendſhip with him, coming accidentally and ſuddenly into the Room, where He was alone amongſt his Books and Papers; conferring together of the extravagant Proceedings of the Parliament, He, upon the Familiarity that was between them, and upon the Argument that was then between them, read the Anſwer to him which He had prepared to the Remonſtrance; with which He ſeemed much pleaſed, and deſired him that He would permit it to be made Uſe of by the King, and that He might ſhew it to his Majeſty; who found it abſolutely neceſſary to publiſh ſome Anſwer in his own Name to that Remonſtrance, which had ſo much poiſoned the Hearts of the People; and that his Majeſty was endeavouring to procure ſuch an Anſwer to be drawn. The other expreſly and poſitively refuſed to give it him, or that any Uſe ſhould be made of it; and reproached him for propoſing a Thing to him, which might prove ruinous to him, if the Houſe ſhould have the leaſt Imagination, that He exerciſed himſelf in ſuch Offices; with which Anſwer He ſeemed ſatisfied, and departed: no other Perſon having ſeen it but the Lord *Falkland*, from whom Nothing was ever concealed.

WITHIN few Days after, the Lord *Digby*, with whom the King adviſed in the Buſineſs of the Parliament without Reſerve, came again to him; and after ſome Apologies, told him freely, that very many had been with the King, deſiring him that He would take Care that ſome Anſwer might be publiſhed to that Remonſtrance; which had already done much Harm, and would do much more if it were not anſwered; and that the King had ſpoken to him; upon which He had confeſſed that He had ſeen an Anſwer,

that pleaſed him very well; but could not prevail with the Author of it to ſuffer it to be made Uſe of; and told him who it was: whereupon the King ſeemed to wonder very much, that a Perſon who had appeared ſo publickly in Defence of his Service, ſhould be ſo wary of aſſiſting him in private: and after many Expreſſions of Grace towards that Gentleman, his Majeſty had commanded him to come in his Name to him; and to conjure him to ſend that Paper to him; and to give him his Royal Word, that no Perſon living ſhould know that He had the leaſt Hand in it; ſo that no Danger ſhould accrue to him thereby.

MR. HYDE, though He was very unſatisfied with what the Lord *Digby* had done (whoſe Affection to him He did not in any Degree make Queſtion of, but did not like his over Activity, to which his reſtleſs Fancy always diſpoſed him; and as He doubted not, that himſelf had given the Occaſion to the King to ſend thoſe Commands, ſo He had likewiſe enlarged thoſe Commands, as He believed, in ſuch a Manner as He thought might moſt oblige him) yet upon the real Conſideration that it might do the King much Service, He did without Delay deliver the Papers: inſiſting upon the Promiſe of Secrecy, and likewiſe, that his Majeſty would not publiſh, without firſt communicating it to his Council, and as done with their Advice. And to that Purpoſe He affixed that Title to it, before He delivered the Papers out of his Hands; believing that as it would be more for the King's Service to carry ſuch an Authority in the Front of it, as *The King's Anſwer with the Advice of his Council*; ſo it could not be refuſed by them, and yet might engage them in ſome Diſpleaſure with the Houſe of Commons, which probably might be offended at it. The King was very punctual in doing what was deſired; and cauſed it to be read at a full Council; where many of the Lords commended it very much, and none ſpake againſt it; and ſo it was publiſhed and printed: and it was very apparent to all Men, that the King's Service was very much advanced by it: and it was not more evident to any, than to the Houſe of Commons; who knew not how to make any Expoſtulation upon it, it being in the King's own Name, and publiſhed with the Advice of his Privy Council; ſo that all They could do, was to endeavour to diſcover who was the Penner of it; to which Diſcovery They were moſt intent by all their ſecret Friends in Court; who found Means to diſcover moſt other Secrets to them, but in this could do them no Service.

Which by the King's Command is printed.

As ſoon as the Lord *Falkland* and Sir *John Colepepper* were called to the Privy Council, the King ſent for Mr. *Hyde* to him, who had not ſeen his Majeſty from the Time He had been preſented by Mr. *Peircy*. He commanded the Lord *Digby* to bring him when it was Night to the Queen's back Stairs; and as ſoon as He was there, both King and Queen came into the Room; and when He had kiſſed their Hands, and the Lord *Digby* was withdrawn, the King told him "He was much beholden to him for many "good Services; and that now He had preferred two of his Friends, it "was Time to give him ſome Teſtimony of his Favour; and therefore He "had ſent to him to tell him, that He intended to make him his Solicitor-"General, in the Place of him who had ſerved him ſo ill." Mr. *Hyde* ſuddenly anſwered, "God forbid!" With which the King ſeeming ſurpriſed, ſaid "why God forbid?" The other replied, "it was in no Degree fit at "this Time that He ſhould remove the other; and if He were removed, "himſelf was in no Degree fit for it." The Queen ſaid, "He ought not to "ſuffer for his Modeſty: She had heard Men who could judge well, ſay, "that He was as fit for it as the other." Mr. *Hyde* ſaid "that was an Ar-

Mr. Hyde declines the Office of Solicitor General.

"gument that Gentleman thought the other not fit for it, not that He be-
"lieved *him* fit; which in Truth He ſaid He was not. That it might be,
"that when the Place was actually void, the King might have filled it
"better with another Man, than with Mr. *St. John*; whoſe Parts were
"not above many others; and his Affections were below moſt Mens: But
"now that He was inveſted in that Office, it was not a good Con-
"juncture to remove him; and when it ſhould be, He did humbly adviſe
"his Majeſty to make Choice of the ableſt Man of the Profeſſion, whoſe
"Affections were clear; by whom He might indeed have great Benefit;
"whereas himſelf was young, and without any of that Learning, or Ex-
"perience, which might make him capable of that great Truſt." The
Queen ſaying again this was his Modeſty, He replied, "Madam when
"you know me better, you will not find me ſo modeſt a Man, but that I
"hope by your Majeſty's Favour in due Time to be made a better Man,
"than I am at preſent; but if you believe that I know any Thing of the
"Diſpoſition of the preſent Time, or of what may conduce to the King's
"Service, I pray believe, that though the Solicitor will never do much
"Service, He will be able to do much more Miſchief if He be removed."
The King at the ſame Time reſolved to remove another Officer, who did
diſſerve him notoriouſly, and to prefer Mr. *Hyde* to that Place; with which
their gracious Intention both their Majeſties acquainted him; but He po-
ſitively refuſed it; and aſſured both their Majeſties, that He ſhould be able
to do much more Service in the Condition He was in.

He is entruſted with the Conduct of the King's Affairs in Parliament.

BEFORE the King left *Whitehall* He renewed his Commands to the three
Perſons mentioned before, the Lord Viſcount *Falkland*, Sir *John Colepep-*
per, and Mr. *Hyde*, to meet conſtantly together, and conſult upon his
Affairs; and conduct them the beſt Way They could in the Parliament;
and to give him conſtant Advice what He was to do; without which He
declared again very ſolemnly He would make no Step in the Parliament.
Two of them were obliged by their Offices and Relations, and the other by
his Duty and Inclination, to give him all Satisfaction; notwithſtanding
the Diſcouragement They had ſo lately received, in the King's going to
the Houſe to demand the five Members, without ever communicating his
Intention to them; and which had made a deep Impreſſion upon them.
And ſo They met every Night late together; and communicated their Ob-
ſervation and Intelligence of the Day; and ſo agreed what was to be done,
or attempted the next; there being very many Perſons of Condition and
Intereſt in the Houſe, who would follow their Advice, and aſſiſt in any
Thing They deſired. And becauſe Mr. *Hyde* had larger Accommodation,
in the Houſe where He lived in *Weſtminſter*, than either of the other had,
the Meetings at Night were for the moſt Part with him; and after their
Deliberation together, what was to be put in Writing was always commit-
ted to Mr. *Hyde*; and when the King had left the Town, He writ as
freely to the King as either of the other did; and ſometimes when They
would be excuſed, He went to him in great Secret.

HE had been from the Beginning very unbeloved by all the governing
Party; and though They took ſome Pains at firſt to win him, yet their
Hope of that was quickly deſperate; and from the Night of the Proteſta-
tion, He was as much in their Deteſtation as any Man; and the more,
that They could take no Advantage againſt him: and though They had a
better Opinion of his Diſcretion, than to believe He had any Share in the
Advice of the late Proceedings, yet They were very willing that others
ſhould believe it; and made all the Infuſions They could to that Pur-

poſe amongſt thoſe, who took their Opinions from them; towards which his known Friendſhip with the Lord *Digby* was an Argument very prevalent; and then his oppoſing the Votes upon their Privilege, had inflamed them beyond their Temper; inſomuch as Mr. *Hambden* told him one Day, that the Trouble that had lately befallen them, had been attended with that Benefit, that They knew who were their Friends: and the other offering to ſpeak upon the Point of Privilege, and how monſtrous a Thing it was to make a Vote ſo contrary to the known Law; He replied very ſnappiſhly, "that He well knew He had a Mind They ſhould "be all in Priſon," and ſo departed without ſtaying for an Anſwer. Then They imputed to him the diſpoſing the Lord *Falkland* to ſerve the Court; and the Court to receive his Service; and from the Time that He and *Colepepper* were called to the Council, They equally were enraged againſt both: and now, when They had diſcovered the Place of the nightly Meetings, that a Secretary of State, and a Chancellor of the Exchequer, every Day went to the Lodging of a private Perſon, who ought to attend them, They believed it a Condeſcenſion that had ſome other Foundation than mere Civility; yet They could not diſcover any Thing againſt them, which They thought fit to offer in Publick.

IT is not amiſs in this Place to ſay ſomewhat of thoſe three Perſons, who had from that Time ſo great a Part in the Buſineſs that was upon the Stage; and did in a ſhort Time raiſe the Reputation of the King, and of his Cauſe, to a very great Degree; and who, though They were well united in the Oppoſition of all the ill Deſigns againſt the Crown; and concurred in the publick Service with neceſſary, and mutual Civilities towards each other; yet their Principles, and Conſtitutions were very different; and the Lord *Falkland*, and Mr. *Hyde* (between whom, as is ſaid before, the Friendſhip was moſt entire) had never had the leaſt Acquaintance with Sir *John Colepepper*, before the Parliament; and finding themſelves often of one Opinion, grew into ſome Converſation; and being after united in the King's Truſt, They rarely conferred but in the Agitation of Buſineſs; their Natures being in nothing like.

Some Account of the Temper and Principles of Lord Falkland.

THE Lord *Falkland*, though He was a Man of a chearful Converſation, was of a ſevere Nature, and a Lover of Virtue; yet He had great Eſteem for all Men of great Parts, though They applied them to ill Purpoſes. He was ſo great an Enemy to all Diſſimulation, that He choſe ſometimes the other Extreme, when it was not requiſite. He had not the Court in great Reverence; and had a preſaging Spirit that the King would fall into great Misfortune: and often ſaid to his Friend, that He choſe to ſerve the King, becauſe Honeſty obliged him to it; but that He foreſaw his own Ruin by doing it. He had a better Opinion of the Church of *England*, and the Religion of it, than of any other Church, and Religion; and had extraordinary Kindneſs for very many Churchmen; and if He could have helped, or prevented it, there ſhould have been no Attempts againſt it. But He had in his own Judgment ſuch a Latitude in Opinion, that He did not believe any Part of the Order, or Government of it, to be ſo eſſentially neceſſary to Religion, but that it might be parted with, and altered, for a notable publick Benefit, or Convenience: and that the Crown itſelf ought to gratify the People, in yielding to many Things; and to part with ſome Power, rather than to run the Hazards, which would attend the Refuſal. But He was ſwayed in this by a Belief, that the King would in the End be prevailed with to yield to what was preſſed; and this Opinion wrought too much upon too many.

ALBEIT He had the greateſt Compliance with the Weakneſs, and even the Humour of other Men, when there could be no Suſpicion of Flattery; and the greateſt Addreſs to inform, and reform them; yet towards the King, who many Times obſtinately adhered to many Concluſions, which did not naturally reſult from good Premiſes; and did love to argue many Things, to which He would not ſo poſitively adhere, He did not practiſe that Condeſcenſion; but contradicted him with more Bluntneſs, and by ſharp Sentences; and in ſome Particulars (as of the Church) to which the King was in Conſcience moſt devoted: and of this his Majeſty often complained; and cared leſs to confer with him in private, and was leſs perſuaded by him, than his Affairs, and the other's great Parts, and Wiſdom would have required: though He had not a better Opinion of any Man's Sincerity, or Fidelity towards him.

Of Sir John Colepepper.

SIR *John Colepepper* had ſpent ſome Years of his Youth in foreign Parts, and eſpecially in Armies; where He had ſeen good Service, and very well obſerved it; and might have made a very good Officer, if He had intended it. He was of a rough Nature; a hot Head; and of great Courage; which had engaged him in many Quarrels, and Duels; wherein He ſtill behaved himſelf very ſignally. He had in a very good Seaſon, and after a ſmall Waſte of his Fortune, retired from that Courſe of Life, and married, and betook himſelf to a Country Life; and ſtudied the Buſineſs of the Country, and the Concernments of it, in which He was very well verſed; and being a Man of Sharpneſs of Parts, and Volubility of Language, He was frequently made Choice of to appear at the Council-Board, in thoſe Matters which related to the Country: in the managing whereof, his Abilities were well taken Notice of. His Eſtate was very moderate, and his uſual Expenſe exceeded it not; not being delighted with Delicacies of any Nature, or indeed ever acquainted with them. He had Infirmities, which ſometimes made a Noiſe; but his Parts, and Abilities made him very acceptable to his Neighbours, and to thoſe who were moſt conſiderable in their Eſtates, and moſt popular; ſo that with very little Oppoſition, He had been choſen to be Knight of that great County *Kent* for the Parliament; where He quickly made himſelf to be taken Notice of. He was proud, and ambitious, and very much diſpoſed to improve his Fortune; which He knew well how to do, by Induſtry, and Thrift, without ſtooping to any corrupt Ways, to which He was not inclined.

HE did not love the Perſons of many of thoſe who were the violent Managers; and leſs their Deſigns: and therefore He no ſooner knew that He was well ſpoken of at Court, but He expoſed himſelf to the Invitation, and heartily embraced that Intereſt: and when He came thither, He might very well be thought a Man of no very good Breeding; having never ſacrificed to the Muſes, or converſed in any polite Company. He was warm, and poſitive in Debates; and of preſent Fancy to object, and find Fault with what was propoſed; and indeed would take any Argument in Pieces, and expoſe it excellently to a full View; and leave Nothing to Chance, or Accident, without making it foreſeen; but after that, knew not ſo well what to judge, and determine; and was ſo irreſolute, and had a Fancy ſo perpetually working, that after a Concluſion made, He would the next Day, in the Execution of it, and ſometimes after, raiſe new Doubts, and make new Objections; which always occaſioned Trouble; and ſometimes produced Inconvenience.

In Matters of Religion, He was in his Judgment very indifferent; but more inclined to what was eſtabliſhed, to avoid the Accidents which com-

monly attend a Change, without any Motives from his Conſcience; which yet He kept to himſelf; and was well content to have it believed that the Activity proceeded from thence. He had, with all this uncourtlineſs (for ſure no Man leſs appeared a Courtier) and Ungracefulneſs in his Mein, and Motion, a wonderful Inſinuation and Addreſs into the Acceptation, and Confidence of the King, and Queen; and Flattery being a Weed not ſo natural to the Air, and Soil of the Country, where He had wholly lived, He was believed to ſpeak with all Plainneſs and Sincerity; when no Man more complied with thoſe Infirmities they both had; and by that Compliance prevailed often over them.

He had a very tragical Way in expreſſing himſelf, to raiſe the Fears and Apprehenſions of thoſe, who were naturally apprehenſive of Dangers: and by this Means He prevailed marvellouſly with the Queen, in thoſe Matters to which She was moſt averſe; by repreſenting Things as diſmally to her as He could well do: and on the other Hand, to the King (who was naturally very Sanguine) He was full of Compliance; cheriſhed all his Hopes, and Imaginations; and raiſed and improved thoſe Hopes very frequently by Expedients very unagreeable to the End propoſed. He was then (as was ſaid before) very poſitive in his Concluſions: as if He did not propoſe a Thing that might come to paſs, but what infallibly muſt be ſo; which was a Temper the King could not contend with; and did ſo much ſuſpect himſelf (which was his greateſt Infirmity, and the chief Ground of all his Sufferings) that He did believe a Man of whom He thought very well, did know every Thing that He confidently inſiſted upon. But his greateſt Advantage was (beſides his Diligence in Speaking as often as He could with the King, and Queen, and always with the Queen, upon any important Counſel) that He had an entire Confidence and Friendſhip with Mr. *John Aſhburnham*, whom the King loved, and truſted very much; and who always imprinted that Advice in the King's Mind, which the other had infuſed; and being a Member of the Houſe, was always ready to report the Service He did his Majeſty there, as advantageouſly as the Buſineſs would bear.

Of Mr. Hyde.

Mr. *Hyde* was in his Nature and Diſpoſition, different from both the other; which never begot the leaſt Diſagreement between the Lord *Falkland* and him. He was of a very chearful and open Nature, without any Diſſimulation; and delivered his Opinion of Things or Perſons, where it was convenient, without Reſerve, or Diſguiſe; and was at leaſt tenacious enough of his Opinion, and never departed from it out of Compliance with any Man. He had a very particular Devotion and Paſſion for the Perſon of the King; and did believe him the moſt, and the beſt Chriſtian in the World. He had a moſt zealous Eſteem and Reverence for the Conſtitution of the Government; and believed it ſo equally poiſed, that if the leaſt Branch of the Prerogative was torn off, or parted with, the Subject ſuffered by it, and that his Right was impaired: and He was as much troubled when the Crown exceeded its juſt Limits, and thought it's Prerogative hurt by it: and therefore not only never conſented to any Diminution of the King's Authority, but always wiſhed that the King would not conſent to it, with what Importunity or Impetuoſity ſoever it was deſired and preſſed.

He had taken more Pains than ſuch Men uſe to do, in the Examination of Religion; having always converſed with thoſe of different Opinions with all Freedom, and Affection; and had very much Kindneſs and Eſteem for many, who were in no Degree of his own Judgment; and

upon all this, He did really believe the Church of *England* the moſt exactly formed and framed for the Encouragement and Advancement of Learning, and Piety, and for the Preſervation of Peace, of any Church in the World; That the taking away any of its Revenue, and applying it to ſecular Uſes, was Robbery, and notorious Sacrilege; and that the diminiſhing the Luſtre it had, and had always had in the Government, by removing the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, was a Violation of Juſtice; the removing a Land-mark; and the ſhaking the very Foundation of Government; and therefore He always oppoſed, upon the Impulſion of Conſcience, all Mutations in the Church; and did always believe, let the Seaſon, or the Circumſtance be what it would, that any Compliance was pernicious: and that a peremptory and obſtinate Refuſal, that might put Men in Deſpair of what They laboured for, and take away all Hope of obtaining what They deſired, would reconcile more Perſons to the Government, than the gratifying them in Part; which only whetted their Appetite to deſire more, and their Confidence in demanding it.

Though He was of a Complexion and Humour very far from Deſpair; yet He did believe the King would be oppreſſed by that Party which then governed; and that They who followed, and ſerved him would be deſtroyed; ſo that it was not Ambition of Power, or Wealth, that engaged him to embark in ſo very hazardous an Imployment; but abſtractly the Conſideration of his Duty; and He often uſed to apply thoſe Words of *Cicero*, to himſelf, *Mea Ætas incidit in id Bellum cujus altera Pars Sceleris nimium habuit, altera Felicitatis parum.* It is very probable, that if his Acceſs at that Time had been as frequent to the King, as Sir *John Colepepper*'s was, or the Lord *Falkland*'s might have been, ſome Things might have been left undone, the doing whereof brought much Prejudice to the King; for all his Principles were much more agreeable to his Majeſty's own Judgment, than thoſe of either of the other; and what He ſaid was of equal Authority with him; and when any Advice was given by either of the other, the King uſually aſked, "whether *Ned Hyde* were of that "Opinion;" and They always very ingenuouſly confeſſed, that He was not: but his having no Relation of Service, and ſo no Pretence to be ſeen often at Court; and the great Jealouſy that was entertained towards him, made it neceſſary to him to repair only in the dark to the King upon emergent Occaſions, and leave the Reſt to be imparted by the other two; and the Differences in their Natures, and Opinions never produced any Diſunion between them in thoſe Councils which concerned the Conduct of the King's Service; but They proceeded with great Unanimity; and very manifeſtly much advanced the King's Buſineſs, from the very low State it was in, when They were firſt truſted; the other two having always much Deference to the Lord *Falkland*, who allayed their Paſſions; to which They were both enough inclined.

When the two Bills were ſent to the King, *for the granting the Militia*, and *the removing the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers*, moſt Men did believe that the King would never give his Aſſent to either of theſe two; though very many had concurred in them for no other Reaſon, than becauſe They were aſſured He would not refuſe; and others upon Confidence that He would; and therefore would not render themſelves obnoxious by oppoſing them: upon all which the Queen continued her Reſolution; and haſtened her Journey that She might be out of the Way, and thereby the King might the more reſolutely reject thoſe Bills, which He intended to do; and the Houſes the more importunately preſſed the Diſ-

patch of the Bills, as ſoon as the Day was appointed for the Queen's beginning her Journey from *Windſor* towards *Dover*.

IN this Perplexity, when Nothing was ſo neceſſary as the moſt obſtinate Reſolution, Sir *John Colepepper*, who was naturally inclined to Expedients; and in difficult Caſes, that is, Caſes made difficult, by the Perverſeneſs of ſupercilious Contenders, to Compoſition, much deſired, that the King would paſs that againſt the Biſhops, and abſolutely reject the other; which He did in Truth believe would ſatisfy ſo many, that thoſe that remained unſatisfied, would not have Credit enough, to give any further Diſturbance; and in his own Judgment, as hath been ſaid before, He thought the Matter of little Importance; but He knew that Argument would make no other Impreſſion upon the King, than to the Diſadvantage of the Arguer; and if He had thought himſelf obliged to have enacted one, He would have choſen to have paſſed that for the Militia, rather than the other; He urged therefore to the King, no other Perſon preſent, the Neceſſity of giving the Parliament Satisfaction in one of thoſe Bills; and that there were more who would be ſatisfied with that concerning the Biſhops, than with the other concerning the Militia; and therefore it would be beſt to gratify the major Part. Then He expoſed the dreadful Conſequences which would attend the yielding in the Point of the Militia; as if it would be the next Day in their Power to depoſe him; and all the tragical Effects of granting that Authority. He ſeemed in no Degree to undervalue the Miſchief of conſenting to the Bill againſt the Biſhops; yet that it would be attended with that preſent Benefit, that the Church would be free from farther Apprehenſion; and that this Degradation would ſecure the Function, and the Revenue; and that when theſe Jealouſies and Miſunderſtandings ſhould be once compoſed, that Bill would be eaſily repealed, by the Experience how much the Government was hurt by it; and whilſt the Sword remained in the King's own Hands, there would be no Attempt to make farther Alterations. The King aſked him, whether *Ned Hyde* was of that Mind; to which He anſwered, He was not, nor did wiſh that either of the Bills ſhould be paſſed, which He thought as the Time was, could not be a reaſonable Judgment; the King ſaid, *it was his*; *and that He would run the Hazard.*

Sir John Colepepper adviſes the King to paſs the Bill againſt the Biſhops.

WHEN He found He could not prevail there, He went to the Queen; and repeated all the Arguments He had uſed to the King, with his uſual Vehemence; and added, that He exceedingly apprehended that by ſome Means or other, upon this Refuſal of the King's, her Majeſty's Journey would be ſtopped; and that She would not be ſuffered to tranſport herſelf out of the Kingdom; and therefore He heartily wiſhed that She would ſo uſe her Credit with the King, that He might paſs that Act concerning the Biſhops, which He ſaid would lay ſuch an Obligation upon both Houſes, as would redound to her Majeſty's Advantage. The Queen was ſo terrified with the Apprehenſion of her being hindered from purſuing her Purpoſe, that She gave not over her Importunity with the King, till She had prevailed with him; and ſo that Bill for removing the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers was paſſed by Commiſſion; when both their Majeſties were upon their Way, and in their Journey to *Dover*.

Who is prevailed on by the Queen to do ſo.

NOTHING that is here ſaid muſt reflect upon the Memory of Sir *John Colepepper*, as if He were corrupted in his Affections to the Church; or gave this Advice to gratify and pleaſe other Men, or for any particular Advantage to himſelf, of all which He was very innocent. It is ſaid before, that in his Judgment He looked upon the Thing as what might be

conſcientiouſly conſented to; and then his real Apprehenſion of Danger, and Miſchief to the King (to whom He bore all poſſible Fidelity) by refuſing it, ſo far wrought upon his warm Conſtitution, that He did really believe it to be his Duty to be ſolicitous to the vehement Degree He was. But He quickly found He had been deceived, at leaſt in the Imagination, that the conſenting to that one Bill would at all allay their Paſſion. They were on the contrary ſo far from being pleaſed with it, that They immediately betook themſelves to enquire, "who the evil Counſellors were, "who diſſuaded his Majeſty from conſenting to the other concerning the "Militia;" which was ſo neceſſary to all their Purpoſes: and forthwith ſent ſome of their Meſſengers to the King, whilſt He ſtaid at *Dover*, to complain of ſuch evil Counſel; and to uſe all Importunity, that He would paſs it, as a Matter of abſolute Neceſſity for the Peace, and Security of the Kingdom; and for the carrying on the Service for ſuppreſſing the Rebellion in *Ireland*; with many new Expreſſions "of the Preſumption "of thoſe malignant Perſons, who gave his Majeſty ſuch Advice," and with Boldneſs enough, that the King ſhould prefer ſuch Advice, before the Wiſdom of the Parliament.

The Effect of this Condeſcenſion on the ſeveral Parties.

THEY who hated the Biſhops moſt, and were glad that They were rid of the Oppoſition They gave them in all their Demands, ſeemed not at all contented; but enlarged exceedingly upon the Miſchief, in not granting the Militia. And no Doubt there were many the leſs pleaſed with the paſſing the other, in doubt, that They ſhould thereby loſe the Aſſiſtance of very many towards the utter Extirpation of Epiſcopacy, and the Diſpoſal of all Church Lands, upon which their Hearts were ſet; and who would with the more Choler have concurred with them, if that Bill, as well as the other, had been rejected; and therefore They rather wiſhed They had the other, which They knew would bring all their Ends to paſs. They who loved the Church, and were afraid of ſo great an Alteration in the Frame and Conſtitution of Parliament, as the utter taking away of one of the *Three Eſtates*, of which the Parliament is compounded, were infinitely provoked; and lamented the paſſing that Act, as an Introduction to the entire Deſtruction of the Government of the Church, and to the Alteration of the Religion of the Kingdom: and very many who more conſidered the Policy, than the Juſtice, and Piety of the State, did ever after believe, that being removed out of the Parliament, the preſerving them in the Kingdom, was not worth any notable Contention. Then They looked upon the King's Condeſcenſion in this Particular, in a Subject that all Men knew had a wonderful Influence upon his Conſcience, as He often took Occaſion to profeſs, as a Manifeſtation, that He would not be conſtant in retaining, and denying any Thing that ſhould be impetuouſly, and fiercely demanded; which as it exceedingly confirmed thoſe, who were engaged in that Party; ſo it abated the Courage of too many, who had always oppoſed them, and heartily deteſted their Proceedings; and made them more remiſs in their Attendance at the Houſe; and leſs ſolicitous for any Thing that was done there: who by degrees firſt became a neutral Party, believing They ſhould be ſafe, in angering no Body; and when They afterwards found no Security in that Indifferency, They adhered to thoſe, who They ſaw had the beſt Succeſs; and ſo went Sharers with them in their Future Attempts, according to their ſeveral Tempers, and Inclinations.

THE Benefit that would redound to the King from not paſſing the other Bill of the Militia, more than avoiding the Infamy of conſenting to

it, was not evident to diſcerning Men; for They foreſaw that They would quickly wreſt it out of his Hands without his Conſent; and that the Reputation of the Parliament was ſo great, that whatſoever the two Houſes (which the People looked upon as the Parliament) ſhould concur in, and enjoin to be done, the People would look upon as Law, and obſerve it accordingly; ſo that when by the Removal of ſo many Voices out of the Houſe of Peers, as the Biſhops made, who were always firm to the Crown, and Government, the Houſe of Commons found a Concurrence from the Lords, in all They propoſed, their joint Determination would find Obedience, for the moſt Part, from the People: whom there were all Endeavours uſed to corrupt, and poſſeſs, by preſently printing, and cauſing to be read in Churches, all their Meſſages, and Petitions to the King; that They might ſee all their Concernments were for the good of the Kingdom, and Preſervation of the People.

WHEN the King accompanied the Queen to *Dover*, where They expected a Wind many Days, He ſent the Prince, under his new Governour, the Marquis of *Hertford*, to *Richmond*; that there might be no Room for the Jealouſy, that the Prince ſhould be tranſported beyond the Seas; which had been infuſed into the Minds of many; and would have made a great Noiſe, if He had waited upon his Mother to *Dover:* but as ſoon as the Wind appeared hopeful for her Majeſty's Embarkation, the King ſent an Expreſs to *Richmond*, that the Prince ſhould attend his Majeſty at *Greenwich*, the Saturday following: the Marquis being at that Time very much indiſpoſed by a Defluction upon his Eyes, and a Catarrh. The Parliament being preſently informed, as They had Spies in all Places, of this Direction, and there being yet no Certainty of the Queen's being embarked, was much troubled; and reſolved to ſend to his Majeſty, by Members of both Houſes, to deſire that the Prince might not remove from *Richmond*, at leaſt till the Marquis recovered Health enough to be able to attend him; and at the ſame Time ſent an expreſs Order to the Marquis, that He ſhould not ſuffer the Prince to go from thence, till He himſelf ſhould be able to go with him.

The King ſends for the Prince to Greenwich.

THEY appointed one Lord and two Commoners to carry the Meſſage to the King, whom They believed to be ſtill at *Dover*; and Mr. *Hyde* coming accidentally into the Houſe, when the Matter was in Debate, They appointed him to be one of the Meſſengers; which no Excuſes could free him from, for They did not intend it as a Favour to him; ſo that They were obliged preſently to begin their Journey; and that Night They went to *Graveſend*. The next Day They were fully informed of the Queen's being gone to Sea; and that the King would be that Night at *Canterbury*; whither the Meſſengers made what Haſte They could; and found his Majeſty there, with a very little Court, moſt of his Servants having Leave to go before to *London*, the better to provide themſelves for a farther Journey. When They read their Meſſage to the King, in the hearing whereof He ſhewed no Satisfaction, He appointed them to attend him after He had ſupped, and They ſhould receive their Anſwer: And accordingly about nine of the Clock He cauſed it to be read, and delivered it to them; taking no Notice of Mr. *Hyde* as if He had been known to him. That Meſſenger who was a Member of the Houſe of Peers, received it from his Majeſty, as of Right He ought to do, that it might be firſt reported to that Houſe.

Mr Hyde is ſent to the King on that Occaſion.

MR. *Hyde* was very much troubled when He heard the Anſwer read; for it had much Sharpneſs in it, which at that Time could only provoke

them: So without taking any Notice of it to his Companions, He pretended to them only to be very weary, and desirous to go to Bed, and bade them good Night; having the Conveniency offered him by the Lord *Grandison*, (his familiar Friend) to lodge with him in a House, next the Court: And so the other two Messengers making Haste to find some Lodging in an Inn; He sent the Lord *Grandison* to the Duke of *Richmond*, to desire the King that He might speak with him before He went into his Bed. The King was half undressed, yet said He would stay for him, and bade that he should make Haste to the back Stairs; and as soon as He came thither, the Duke went in to the King, who immediately came out in his Night Dress; and the Duke having before sent all other Servants from thence, retired likewise himself.

He told the King that "He was sorry that his Majesty had expressed "so much Displeasure in his Answer; which could produce no Good, "and might do Hurt; and therefore He desired He would call for it, and "alter some Expressions;" which his Majesty was not inclined to do; enlarging himself with much Sharpness upon the Insolence of the Message, and of the Order They had sent to the Marquis of *Hertford*: And seemed to apprehend that the Prince would not be suffered to attend him at *Greenwich*; the Thought whereof had caused that Warmth in him. It was now *Friday* Night, and his Majesty resolved the next Night to be at *Greenwich*; and to stay there all *Sunday*; and then to pursue his former Resolutions: Upon which Mr. *Hyde* told him, "that He hoped the "Prince would be at *Greenwich* as soon as He, and then that Point would "be cleared; that They could not report His Message to the Parliament "till *Monday* Morning; and that They might well attend upon his Ma-"jesty again on *Sunday*, and receive his Pleasure; and at that Time the "Lord *Falkland*, and Sir *John Colepepper* would be likewise present; when "his Majesty might take what Resolution He pleased in that Matter; and "therefore He besought his Majesty that He would presently send a Ser-"vant to the other two Messengers, at such an Inn, for the Answer He "had delivered to them, of which He would farther consider when He "came to *Greenwich*; where He commanded them to attend him on *Sun-*"*day*, and that He would dispatch them soon enough for them to be at "*London* that Night." All which his Majesty was pleased to consent to, and immediately sent a Gentleman to them for the Paper, with that Injunction; and then sent it by the Lord *Grandison* the same Night to Mr. *Hyde*, whom He had commanded to attend him on *Sunday* Morning, saying He had very much to say to him.

On when He prevails to alter his Answer to the Parliament.

When his Majesty came to *Greenwich*, He found the Prince there with his Governour, who though indisposed in his Health, without returning any Answer to the Parliament, brought the Prince very early from *Richmond* to *Greenwich*; with which the King was very much pleased, and in very good Humour. And the next Morning when Mr. *Hyde* came to Court (to whom his Companions had told, that the King had sent for his Answer to them again; and appointed them to attend him for it at *Greenwich* that Afternoon; which They had agreed together to do) the King being come into the Privy Chamber, and seeing him there, asked him aloud, where the others who came in the Message with him were; and said, He would expect them in the Afternoon; and so discoursing somewhat of the Weather, that all Men heard, He came near him, and as it were passing by (which no Body took Notice of, the Room not being full) He bade him dine with *Porter*, at the back Stairs, that He might be

in the Privy Chamber when He roſe from Dinner; and after He had dined He found him there; and at that Hour moſt People looking after their own Dinner, his Majeſty did without any Body's taking Notice of it, bid him follow him into the Privy Gallery; where He was no ſooner entered, than the King locked the Door with his own Key, ſaying, "we "will not now be diſturbed, for there is no Man in the Houſe now, who "hath a Key to this Door." Then He ſaid, "I will ſay Nothing of the "Anſwer, for I am ſure *Falkland* and *Colepepper* will be here anon; and "then prepare one, and I will not differ with you; for now I have got-ten "ten *Charles*, I care not what Anſwer I ſend to them."

THEN He ſpake of many Particulars of the Parliament with Warmth enough; and lamented his having conſented to the Bill concerning the Biſhops, which He ſaid, He was prevailed upon to do, for his Wife's ſecurity; but He ſhould now be without any Fear to diſpleaſe them. He ſaid, He would lay the next Night at *Theobalds*; where He would ſtay a Day or two, that his Servants might provide themſelves to attend him Northward: That He ſhould not ſee him any more before He took that Journey; and therefore He required him upon all Occaſions to write to him, and advertiſe him of ſuch Matters as were fit for him to know; and to prepare and ſend him Anſwers to ſuch Declarations, or Meſſages as the Parliament ſhould ſend to him: He ſaid, He knew well the Danger He underwent if it were diſcovered: but his Majeſty aſſured him, and bade him be confident of it, that no Perſon alive, but himſelf and his two Friends, ſhould know that He correſponded with his Majeſty; and that He would himſelf tranſcribe every Paper in his own Hand, before He would ſhew it to any Man, and before his Secretary ſhould write it out. Mr. *Hyde* told him, that He writ a very ill Hand, which would give his Majeſty too much Trouble to tranſcribe himſelf, and that He had ſo much Friendſhip with Secretary *Nicholas*, that He was well contented He ſhould be truſted: to which the King ſaid, *Nicholas* was a very honeſt Man; and He would truſt him in any Thing that concerned himſelf; but in this Particular, which would be ſo penal to the other, if it ſhould be known, it was not neceſſary; for He would quickly learn to read the Hand, if it were writ at firſt with a little the more Care; and no Body ſhould ſee it but himſelf. And his Majeſty continued ſo firm to this Reſolution, that though the Declarations from the Houſes ſhortly after grew ſo voluminous, that the Anſwers frequently contained five or ſix Sheets of Paper, very cloſely writ; his Majeſty always tranſcribed them with his own Hand; which ſometimes took him up two or three Days, and a good Part of the Night, before He produced them to the Council; where they were firſt read, and then He burned the Originals. And He gave himſelf no Eaſe in this particular, till Mr. *Hyde* left the Parliament, and by his Majeſty's Command attended upon him at *York*: which will be mentioned in it's Time.

The King's Diſcourſe to him at Greenwich.

WHILST the King held this Diſcourſe with him in the Privy Gallery, many of the Lords were come from *London*; and not finding him, the Earls of *Eſſex*, and *Holland*, who by their Offices had Keys to the Gallery, opened that Door, and went in; and ſeeing no Body there, walked to the farther End; where in a turning Walk the King and Mr. *Hyde* were: And though They preſently drew back, the King himſelf as well as Mr. *Hyde* was a little diſcompoſed; and ſaid, "I am very ſorry for this "Accident, I meant to have ſaid ſomewhat to you of thoſe Gentlemen; "but we muſt not ſtay longer together; forget not what I have ſaid; and

"ſend me preſently the Anſwer for your Meſſage, and then attend with "your Companions in the Privy Chamber, and I will come out and deliver "it to them:" and ſo He withdrew: the two Earls ſmiling, and ſaluting Mr. *Hyde* civilly. He quickly found the Lord *Falkland*, and *Colepepper*, and They as quickly agreed upon the Anſwer which the Lord *Falkland* carried to the King: And his Majeſty approving, and ſigning it, He came out, and delivered it, after He had cauſed it to be read, to the Meſſengers who attended to receive it; and who went that Night to *London*; and the next Morning at the firſt ſitting of the Houſes, reported, and delivered it.

Where He draws up the King's Anſwer.

It was expected, and believed, that as ſoon as the Queen was gone for *Holland*, the King would return to *Whitehall*, and reſide there. And many wiſe Men were of Opinion, that if He had done ſo, He would have been treated with more Duty and Reſpect; and that He would be able to bring his Buſineſs to a fair End, by very moderate Condeſcenſions; for the univerſal Prejudice and Averſion was to the Queen, how unjuſtly and unreaſonably ſoever; and to the King only as it was generally believed, that He governed himſelf entirely by her Dictates; and many of thoſe, whoſe Countenance had moſt ſupported the violent Party, by their Concurrence with them, were grown weary of thoſe Exceſſes; and as they had been ſeduced, and craftily drawn farther than they meant to have gone, ſo they plainly diſcerned that there would be farther Attempts made, than were agreeable to their Wiſhes, or their Intereſts; and therefore reſolved to ſecond them no farther.

The Earl of *Eſſex* himſelf was in his Nature an honeſt Man, and a Man of Honour; and though He did not think the King had any gracious Purpoſes towards him, or great Confidence in him, yet he was willing to retire from that angry Company; and did neither deſire the Dignity of the King ſhould be affronted; or the Government receive an Alteration, or Diminution; and did hope nothing more, than to make himſelf the Inſtrument to reconcile the Parliament to the King, by ſome moderate and plauſible Expedient. But it was no ſooner known in the Houſes, that his Majeſty was gone to *Theobalds*, and had taken the Prince with him, with a Purpoſe of making a Progreſs farther Northward; but They fell into all their uſual Heat, and Debate, of their juſt Cauſes of Jealouſy and Diſtruſt, and the Wickedneſs of thoſe Perſons who miſled him; and the next Morning, being well informed that the King ſtaid all Day at *Theobalds*, They reſolved to ſend a Committee of four Lords, and eight Commoners to him, to put him in mind of his violating their Privileges, for which They had yet no Reparation or Satisfaction; his Refuſal to ſettle the Militia, whereby He left his Kingdom and People expoſed to the Violence of a Foreign Enemy, or a domeſtick Inſurrection; the great Jealouſies, and Fears which poſſeſſed the Minds of all his Subjects; which would be now exceedingly increaſed by his Removal in this Conjuncture from his Parliament; and thereupon concluded, that He would return to *London*, or reſide at ſuch a Diſtance, that They might eaſily repair to him.

When the Perſons deſigned for the Meſſage withdrew to prepare themſelves for their Journey, the Meſſage being read and agreed upon, Mr. *Hyde* went likewiſe out of the Houſe; and that the King might not be ſurprized with the ſight of the Meſſage before He heard of it, he ſent inſtantly to the Lord *Grandiſon* (in whom He had entire Confidence) to ſpeak with him; and deſired him to cauſe his Horſe to be made ready, that He might with all poſſible Expedition carry a Letter to the King, which He would prepare by the Time He could be ready for the Journey.

He writ to the King, that ſuch Perſons would be preſently with him; and the Subſtance of the Meſſage They would bring to him; which in Reſpect of the Length of it, and of many Particulars in it, would require ſome Time to anſwer, which He ſhould receive ſoon enough; and for the preſent, He might upon the Delivery, make ſome ſhort Reſentment of the Houſes proceeding with him; and conclude, that He would ſend an Anſwer to their Meſſage in due Time. The Lord *Grandiſon* came to *Theobalds* when the King had newly dined, ſo that He was alone in his Bedchamber; and as ſoon as He had delivered the Letter, He returned to *London*, and met the Meſſengers within a Mile or two of *Theobalds*.

His Advice to the King upon a Meſſage from the two Houſes.

As ſoon as They had delivered their Meſſage, which one of them read, the King with a diſpleaſed Countenance, and in a warmer, and more ſprightly Tone than was natural to him, told them, "that He was amazed "at their Meſſage, and could not conceive what They would have, nor "what They meant to do: that They made a great Noiſe with their Pri-"vileges, but forgot that He had Privileges too, which They made no "Conſcience to violate: that They talked of their Fears, and Jealouſies, "for which They had not the leaſt Ground; but if They would well "conſider, They would find that They gave him Cauſe enough for Jea-"louſy:" and concluded, "that He would think of their Meſſage, and ſend "an Anſwer to the Houſes in convenient Time:" without ſaying any Thing of his Journey, when or whither He meant to go; nor held any farther Diſcourſe with them. The Manner, and the Matter of the King's ſhort Diſcourſe to them, wonderfully ſurpriſed the Meſſengers, who were all Perſons of the beſt Quality in both Houſes, the Earl of *Pembroke* being the Chief, and ſome of them were of known Affections to his Majeſty's Service; who were wonderfully delighted with the King's quick, and ſharp Treatment, with which the reſt were as much troubled: and ſo They all returned the ſame Night to *London*.

THE King reſolved to purſue the Courſe agreed upon with the Queen at her Departure; and would no more reſume the Conſideration of ſtaying nearer the Parliament: very reaſonably apprehending, that He ſhould render himſelf liable every Day to new Affronts. And the Practice both Houſes had gotten, to ſend for Perſons by a Serjeant at Arms, upon any Suggeſtions of light Diſcourſe, or upon general, and ungrounded Suſpicions, by which They were compelled to give long Attendance, if They were not committed to Priſon, had ſo terrified all Conditions of Men, that very few reſorted to the Court. And They who did moſt diligently ſeem to attend their Duty there, did in truth perform that Service, that They might with the more Eaſe betray their Maſter, and gratify thoſe, who They thought would at laſt bring themſelves into thoſe Places and Offices, upon which They were to depend. So that He thought it moſt abſolutely neceſſary to be at ſuch a diſtance from *Weſtminſter*, that People might be leſs apprehenſive of their Power: reſolving likewiſe, that no Perſon who attended him, or reſorted to the Place where He was, ſhould yield any Obedience to their Summons, upon thoſe general Suggeſtions; or any Applications they ſhould make to his Majeſty. And though it might have met with better Succeſs if he had taken the contrary Reſolution, and ſtaid in, or near *Whitehall*; yet the Hazards, or Inconveniences which might very probably have attended that Counſel, were too much in View, for wiſe Men to engage poſitively in the Advice. Beſides, the Concert that had been made with the Queen, ſhut out all oppoſite Conſultations: and the King with a ſmall Court, after two Days ſtay at *Theobalds*, began his Progreſs toward

The King begins his Progreſs Northward.

toward *Newmarket*; and ſometimes reſting a Day in a Place, He advanced by eaſy Journeys Northward.

He took the Prince with him, the Marquis likewiſe attending him; but left the Duke of *York* ſtill at *Richmond*, till He came to *York*: and then likewiſe He ſent for his Highneſs, who came thither to him: and the Morning He left *Theobalds*, He ſent his Anſwer to the two Houſes, to their Meſſage They had ſent to him thither.

They had long deteſted and ſuſpected Mr. *Hyde*, from the Time of their firſt Remonſtrance, for framing the King's Meſſages, and Anſwers, which They now every Day received, to their intolerable Vexation; yet knew not how to accuſe him. But now that the Earls of *Eſſex*, and *Holland* had diſcovered his being ſhut up with the King at *Greenwich*; and the Marquis of *Hamilton* had once before, found him very early in Private with the King at *Windſor*, at a Time when the King thought all Paſſages had been ſtopped; together with his being of late more Abſent from the Houſe, than He had uſed to be; and the Reſort of the other Two every Night to his Lodging as is mentioned before, ſatisfied them that He was the Perſon; and They reſolved to diſenable him to manage that Office long. Sir *John Colepepper* had as many Eyes upon them, as They had upon the other, and an equal Animoſity againſt them; and had Familiarity and Friendſhip with ſome Perſons, who from the ſecond or third Hand came to know many of the greateſt Deſigns, before they were brought upon the Stage. For though They managed thoſe Councils with the greateſt Secrecy, and by few Perſons, which amounted to no more than pure Deſigns in Speculation; yet when any Thing was to be tranſacted in Publick by the Houſe, They were obliged, not only to prepare thoſe, of whom They were themſelves confident, but to allow thoſe Confidents to communicate it to others, in whom They confided: and ſo Men who did not concur with them, came to know ſometimes their Intentions, Time enough to prevent the Succeſs they propoſed to themſelves.

A Deſign of ſending Mr. Hyde to the Tower;

And by this Means Sir *John Colepepper* meeting at Night with the Lord *Falkland*, and Mr. *Hyde*, aſſured them, that it had been reſolved that Day to have ſeized upon all Three, and ſent them to the Tower: of which He having received Notice as He was going to the Houſe, returned to his Lodging; not being able to give the ſame Information to the other Two; but that his own being abſent prevented the Miſchief. For He knew it was reſolved the Night before, that when the Three were together in the Houſe, Somebody ſhould move the Houſe, "that they would apply "themſelves to make ſome ſtrict Enquiry after the Perſons, who were moſt "like to give the King the evil Counſel he had lately followed; and who "prepared thoſe Anſwers and Meſſages They received from his Majeſty;" upon which by one, and another thoſe three Perſons ſhould be named, and particular Reaſons given for their Suſpicion; and that They did not doubt, but if their Friends were well prepared before hand, They ſhould be able to cauſe them to be all ſent to the *Tower*; and then They doubted not They ſhould be able to keep them there. But it was then likewiſe agreed that They would not make the Attempt, but at a Time when They were all Three in the Houſe; upon hearing whereof, and finding that They Two were there, He went back to his Lodging; knowing that thereupon there would be Nothing done.

Defeated.

Upon this Communication, though They were all of Opinion that the Deſign was ſo extravagant, and exceeding all the Rules of common Juſtice, that They would not be able to procure the Conſent of the major

Part of the Houſe in it, if there were any conſiderable Number preſent; yet becauſe very many uſually abſented themſelves; and They were not governed by any Rules which had been formerly obſerved; They thought fit to reſolve that One of them would be always preſent in the Houſe, that They might know all that was done; but that They would never be there altogether; and ſeldom two of them; and when They were, They would only hear, and ſpeak no more than was of abſolute Neceſſity. For it was now grown a very difficult Thing for a Man who was in their Diſfavour, to ſpeak againſt what They propoſed, but that They would find ſome Exception to ſome Word or Expreſſion; upon which, after He had been called upon to explain, He was obliged to withdraw, and then They had commonly a major Part to ſend him to the *Tower*, or to expel him the Houſe; or at leaſt to oblige him to receive a Reprehenſion at the Bar upon his Knees. And ſo They had uſed Sir *Ralph Hopton* at that Time; who excepting to ſome Expreſſion that was uſed in a Declaration prepared by a Committee, and preſented to the Houſe, which He ſaid was diſhonourable to the King, They ſaid, it was a Tax upon the Committee; cauſed him to withdraw; and committed him to the *Tower*; which terrified many from ſpeaking at all; and cauſed more to abſent themſelves from the Houſe; where too ſmall numbers appeared any Day. Theſe Three Gentlemen kept the Reſolution agreed upon, till They all found it neceſſary to forbear any farther Attendance upon the Houſe.

ABOUT the End of *April*, which was in the Year 1642. Mr. *Hyde* received a Letter from the King, wherein He required him, that as ſoon as He could be ſpared from his Buſineſs there, He ſhould repair to his Majeſty at *York*, where He had Occaſion for his Service: which when He had communicated to his two Friends, They were all of Opinion, that it was neceſſary He ſhould defer that Journey for ſome Time; there being every Day great Occaſion of conſulting together, and of ſending Diſpatches to the King. And it was a wonderful Expedition that was then uſed between *York*, and *London*, when Gentlemen undertook the Service, as enough were willing to do: inſomuch, as when They diſpatched a Letter on *Saturday* Night, at that time of the Year, about twelve at Night, they received always the King's Anſwer, *Monday* by ten of the Clock in the Morning. His Majeſty was content that He ſhould ſtay as long as the Neceſſity required; but that as ſoon as He might be diſpenſed with, He would expect him. And it was happy that He did ſtay, for there was an Occaſion then fell out, in which his Preſence was very uſeful, * *towards diſpoſing the Lord Keeper* Littleton *to ſend the Great Seal to the King at* York; *and to reſolve upon going thither himſelf as ſoon as poſſible to attend his Majeſty*; *which Reſolution being taken*, it was agreed between him and his two Friends, that it was now Time that He ſhould be gone (the King having ſent for him ſome Time before) after a Day or two; in which Time the Declaration of the 19th of *May* would be paſſed, which being very long, He might carry with him; and prepare the Anſwer upon the Way, or after He came to *York*.

1742. *Mr. Hyde is ſent for by the King to* York.

IT was upon a *Wedneſday* that He reſolved to begin his Journey; having told the Speaker, that it was very neceſſary, by the Advice of his Phyſician, that He ſhould take the Air of the Country for his Health; and his Phyſician certified the ſame; which Caution was neceſſary: For He had a Week or two before made a Journey into the Country to his own Houſe; and his Abſence being taken Notice of, a Meſſenger was imme-

Toward which He begins his Journey.

* Hiſtory of the Rebellion. Folio Vol. I. p. 444, &c.

diately ſent to him, to require him immediately to attend the Houſe; upon which He found it neceſſary to return without Delay; and was willing to prevent the like ſudden Enquiry; and ſo prepared the Speaker to anſwer for him. He reſolved with the Lord *Falkland*, to ſtay at a Friend's Houſe near *Oxford*, and little out of the Road he meant to take for *York*, till he ſhould hear of the Keeper's Motion, of which He promiſed to give him timely Notice; not giving in the mean Time any Credit to his purpoſe of moving; but he was quickly convinced.

MUCH Notice had been taken of Mr. *Hyde*'s frequent Reſort to him; and of his being often ſhut up with him; and when He took his Leave of him, the Night before He left the Town, the Keeper was walking in his Garden with Mr. *Hollis*, and Mr. *Glyn*; who had (as They ſaid) then obſerved, that as ſoon as the Keeper's Eyes were upon him, at his Entrance into the Garden, He had ſhewn ſome Impatience to be free from them; and when They were gone, others took Notice (for there were many in the Garden) as They pretended, that after They had walked ſome Time together, They took their Leave of each other in another Manner than was uſual; and which was not True. But He had not ſo good a Name, as that any Thing of that Kind would not eaſily gain Belief: ſo that Dr. *Morley* (who is ſince Biſhop of *Wincheſter*) being in *Weſtminſter* Hall on the *Monday* Morning when the News came of the Lord Keeper's Flight; a Perſon of great Authority in the Parliament met him, and with great Paſſion inveighing againſt the Keeper, told him that They knew well enough that his Friend Mr. *Hyde* had contrived that Miſchief, and brought it to paſs; for which He would be that Morning, or the next, accuſed of High Treaſon; which the Doctor (who was ever very much his Friend) hearing, went preſently to the Lord *Falkland*, and told him of it, and deſired to know where He was, that He might give him timely Notice of it; knowing a Gentleman a very near Friend of his, who would immediately ride to Him. The Lord *Falkland* was then writing to him to inform him of the Keeper's having made good his Word, of which he had but then Notice; and to adviſe him to proſecute his northern Journey with all Expedition; and deſired the Doctor that He would ſend for the Gentleman, whom He would preſently direct where He ſhould find Mr. *Hyde*; who did make ſo good Haſte, that He delivered the Lord *Falkland*'s Letter to him early the ſame Night.

And after a ſhort Stay at Ditchley

HE was then at *Ditchley* with the Lady *Lee* (ſince Counteſs of *Rocheſter*) and the Perſon who brought the Advertiſement to him was *John Ayliffe*, whom he dearly loved. He no ſooner received the Advertiſement, but He thought it Time for him to be gone; and as He was utterly unacquainted with the Way, having never been in the northern Parts, and apprehended that there would be Care taken to intercept him if He went in any common Road, there was with him at that Time Mr. *Chillingworth*, whoſe Company He had deſired from *Oxford*, purpoſely for that Occaſion; and who was well acquainted with thoſe Ways, which led almoſt as far as *Yorkſhire*. They ſent their Horſes that Night to a Village near *Coventry*, where Mr. *Chillingworth*'s Brother had a Farm; and then in the Morning They put themſelves into the Lady's Coach; which with ſix Horſes carried them to that Village, thirty Miles from *Ditchley*; where after They had a little refreſhed themſelves, They took their Horſes; and that Night, out of all Roads, reached *Lutterworth*, a Village in *Leiceſterſhire*, where Mr. *Chillingworth* had likewiſe a Friend, who was Parſon of the Pariſh, who received them kindly. And ſo by unuſual Ways

They got through *Derbyſhire*, until They came to *Yorkſhire*; and then reſted at *Noſtall*, the Houſe of Sir *John Worſtenholme*; who though He and his Family were at *London*, had given Order for his very good Reception; it having been before reſolved with his Majeſty's Conſent, that He ſhould ſtay in ſome private Place near *York*, 'till his Majeſty was informed of it; and till his Affairs abſolutely required his Preſence there; there being many Reaſons that He ſhould be concealed in thoſe Parts, as long as might be convenient. *Noſtall* was within twenty Miles of *York*; and from thence He gave his Majeſty Notice of his being there; and ſent him the Anſwer that was prepared to the Declaration of the nineteenth of *May*. And the King the next Day ſent Mr. *Aſhburnham* to him, with the Declaration of the twenty ſixth of *May*, and which was the higheſt They had yet publiſhed; and to which He wiſhed an Anſwer ſhould be prepared as ſoon as poſſible it might be, that the Poiſon thereof might not work too long upon the Minds of the People. *Arrives at Noſtall.*

As ſoon as it was taken Notice of in the Parliament that Mr. *Hyde* was abſent, Enquiry was made, what was become of him, and a Motion made in the Houſe, that He might be ſent for. The Speaker ſaid, that He had acquainted him with his going into the Country to recover his Indiſpoſition which troubled him, by freſh Air; and that Dr. *Winſton* his Phyſician was with him, and informed him, that He was troubled with the Stone; and that his having ſat ſo much in the Houſe, in that very hot Weather had done him much Harm; and therefore that He had adviſed him to refreſh himſelf in the Country Air; with which Teſtimony They were for the preſent ſatisfied; though Mr. *Peard* ſaid confidently, "that "He was troubled with no other Stone, than the Stone in his Heart; and "therefore He would have him ſent for wherever He was; for He was "moſt confident that He was doing them Miſchief, wherever he was." But He prevailed not, till their Committee from *York* ſent them Word, that He was come thither, and almoſt always with the King. It is ſaid before, that He ſtaid at *Noſtall* at the Houſe of Sir *John Worſtenholme*, from whence He ſent every Day to the King, and received his Majeſty's Commands; and He intended to have ſtaid longer there, where He could better intend, and diſpatch any Buſineſs He was to do; and He was willing for ſome Time not to be ſeen at *York*, which He knew would quickly be taken Notice of at *Weſtminſter*.

WHEN He came firſt thither, He found that the King was not ſatisfied with the Lord Keeper, which gave him much Trouble; his Majeſty having ſent him Word that He did not like his Humours, nor know what to make of him. Mr. *Elliot* who had brought the Seal to the King, to magnify his own Service, and not imagining that the Keeper intended to follow him, had told many Stories; as if the Keeper had refuſed to deliver the Seal, and that He got it by Force, by having locked the Door upon him, and threatened to kill him, if He would not give it to him, which upon ſuch his Manhood He did for pure Fear conſent unto. And his Tale got ſo much Credit with the King that He hardly diſbelieved it, when He came himſelf, though it was in the Nature of it very improbable, that a ſingle Man, by another Man as ſtrong as himſelf (who was attended by many Servants in the next Room) ſhould be ſuffered to ſhut the Door upon him, and to extort that from him, which He had no Mind to part with; and afterwards to go out of his Houſe, when there were Perſons enough in every Room to have laid Hands upon him, and to have taken That again by Force, which He had raviſhed away. Beſides that his Ma-

jeſty knew He expected to be ſent for at that Time; and that if He had repented the Promiſe He had made, and reſolved not to perform it, He could have found ſeveral Ways to have evaded it; and refuſed to have admitted Mr. *Elliot* to ſpeak with him: But the Prejudice his Majeſty had before contracted againſt him, and the great Confidence *Elliot* had in the Relation, which was natural in him, had ſhut out all thoſe Reflections. Yet when his Majeſty ſaw him, He received him graciouſly; and cauſed him to be lodged in the Court, in a Room very near his Majeſty; which many believed to be rather out of Jealouſy and Care that he ſhould not again return, than out of Reſpect to him; his Majeſty keeping ſtill the Seal himſelf, and not reſtoring it to his Cuſtody; which could not but make ſome Impreſſion on him, and more on others, who from thence concluded that He would have no more to do with the Seal; and carried themſelves towards him accordingly.

THE Lords who were come from the Houſe of Peers, and had been offended at his Behaviour there, gave him little Reſpect now; but rather gave Credit to Mr. *Elliot*'s Relation; and were forward to make Relation of his Carriage in the Houſe to his Diſadvantage, to the King himſelf; ſo that it was no Wonder that the poor Gentleman grew very Melancholick. And when He was ſent for to attend the King (who was himſelf preſent when the Great Seal was to be uſed; nor did ever ſuffer it to be uſed but in the Preſence of the Keeper, who ſigned all Things as He ought to do by his Office) when any Proclamation of Treaſon, as that againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*, or againſt the Proceedings of the Houſes, as in the Buſineſs of the Militia, or the like, was brought to be ſealed, He uſed all Delays; and made many Exceptions; and found Faults in Matters of Form, and otherwiſe, ſometimes very reaſonably; yet in ſuch a Manner, as made it evident He retained many Fears about him, as if He was not without Apprehenſion that He might fall again into their Hands; which was the Cauſe that the King had ſaid, that He knew not what to make of him.

Mr. Hyde writes from Noſtall to the King.

MR. *Hyde*, as ſoon as He heard this, wrote a Letter to the King; and put him in Mind of all that had formerly paſſed in that Affair: how abſolutely the Keeper had deſtroyed himſelf in the Account of the Parliament, by paying that Obedience which He ought to do to his Majeſty's Commands; and that if He ſhould be deprived of his Majeſty's Favour, He muſt be of all Men the moſt miſerable; and that himſelf ſhould be moſt unfortunate, in having contributed ſo much to his Ruin: which would call his Majeſty's Good Nature, and even his Juſtice into Queſtion; and therefore beſought him to be Gracious to him, and to keep up his Spirits with his Countenance. However He made it his own humble Suit to his Majeſty, that He would not take any ſevere Reſolution againſt him, before He gave him leave to kiſs his Hand, and to offer him ſome farther Conſiderations. Upon the Receipt of this Letter, the King ſent him Word, that He would gratify him in the laſt part of his Letter, and conclude Nothing before He ſpake with him: in the mean Time He wiſhed him to ſend the Keeper ſome good Counſel; and that as ſoon as He ſhould have diſpatched ſome Buſineſs He had then upon his Hands, that He would come to *York*, where He would find much to do; and that He thought now, there would be leſs Reaſon every Day for his being concealed. And within four or five Days after, his Majeſty ſent Mr. *Aſhburnham* to him to let him know, that He had every Day ſo much to do with the Keeper, and found him ſo refractory and obſtinate, that He ſhould not be able

to keep the Promiſe He had made to him, if He did not make Haſte to *York*; and therefore bade him to be with him with all Convenience: Whereupon, within two Days after, for He had ſomewhat to diſpatch that required Haſte, and ſooner than He intended, He waited upon his Majeſty at *York*. *And goes from thence to* York.

WHEN He came to the Court, being about four of the Clock in the Afternoon, the King was at Council, upon the publiſhing his Anſwer to the Declaration of the twenty ſixth of *May*; which though it contained eight or nine Sheets of Paper, He brought to the Board in his own Hand writing; having kept the Promiſe He had made at *Greenwich*, to that Hour, in writing out all the Papers himſelf, which had been ſent to him; which had been a wonderful Taſk He had impoſed on himſelf: ſo that He always ſpent more than half the Day ſhut up by himſelf in his Chamber, Writing; which was moſt of the News the Houſes heard of him at *London*; and which perplexed them very much.

MR. *Hyde* was in the Gallery when the King came from Council; and as ſoon as He ſaw him, He bade him Welcome to *York* very graciouſly; and aſked ſome Queſtions aloud of him, as if He thought He had then come from *London*; and then called him into the Garden, where He walked with him above an Hour. He ſaid at the beginning, "that They needed "not now be afraid of being ſeen together;" then uſed all the Expreſſions of Kindneſs to him that can be imagined, of the Service He had done him; and of the great Benefit He had received from it; even to the turning the Hearts of the whole Nation towards him again; and of his gracious Reſolutions of rewarding him with the firſt Opportunity; and many Expreſſions of that Kind; which the other received with the Modeſty and Reverence that became him. Then his Majeſty ſpake of his Buſineſs, and the Temper of that Country; and quickly entered upon finding Fault with the Keeper, and proteſted, if it were not for his Sake, He would turn him out of his Place that very Hour; and enlarged upon many Particulars of his Obſtinacy, and of his Want of Courage, to ſuch a Degree, as if He did really apprehend, that the Gentleman Uſher of the Black Rod would come and take him out of his Chamber. *His Reception there; and Converſation with the King.*

MR. *Hyde* told him, that he would diſcourage many good Men, who deſired to ſerve him very faithfully, if He were too ſevere for ſuch Faults as the Infirmities of their Nature, and Defects in their Education, expoſed them to: That if the Keeper, from thoſe Impreſſions, had committed ſome Faults which might provoke his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, He had redeemed thoſe Errors by a ſignal Service, which might well wipe out the Memory of the other. The King ſaid with ſome Warmth, "that He was ſo far "from another Opinion, that He would hate himſelf if He did not believe "that He had made a full Expiation; and though He did think that He "had been wrought upon by *him* to perform that Part; yet He thought "the Merit of it far above any of his Tranſgreſſions; and that He was "diſpoſed from the firſt Minute of his coming to *York*, to have renewed "his old Kindneſs to him, and Confidence in him; and would willingly "have given the Seal again into his Hands, if He had found He had deſired "it: but that He found no Serenity in his Countenance; nor any Incli- "nation to do what Neceſſity required: and whereas the Parliament took "Advantage, that none of his Majeſty's Acts which He had cauſed to be "publiſhed, were Authentick, nor ought to be looked upon as his, be- "cauſe the Great Seal had not been affixed to them, which could not be "done whilſt the Great Seal was at *Weſtminſter*; now He had the Seal by

"him, and ſent Proclamations to be ſealed, the Keeper was ſtill as un-
"willing that they ſhould paſs, as if He was ſtill under their Power;
"which made him angry, and Nothing that He had done before."

Mr. *Hyde* replied, that "the poor Gentleman could not but think "himſelf diſobliged to the higheſt Extremity, in the Preſumption of "Mr. *Elliot*; and that his extravagant, and inſolent Diſcourſes ſhould "find Credit, without his Majeſty's Reprehenſion, and Vindication, who "knew the Falſhood of them." And ſo put his Majeſty in Mind of all that had paſſed; and of the other Circumſtances, which made all the other's Brags impoſſible to be True. For his Fears and Apprehenſions, He beſought his Majeſty to remember, that "He had newly eſcaped out of that "Region, where the Thunder and Lightening is made; and that He "could hardly yet recover the Fright He had been often in, and ſeen ſo "many others in; and that his Majeſty need not diſtruſt him, He had "paſſed the *Rubicon*, and had no Hope but in his Majeſty." His Majeſty concluded, that He ſhould be ſure to receive all neceſſary Countenance, and Protection from him, of which He bade him to aſſure him, and preſently to viſit him, which going to do, He met him in the Garden, and They there walked together.

Whom He reconciles to the Lord Keeper.

He found him full of Apprehenſion that He ſhould be put out of his Place; and of the Ruin, and Contempt that He ſhould be then expoſed to, which He had brought upon himſelf; but when the other anſwered him, that there was no Danger of that; and told him all that had paſſed between the King and Him; and that if He would, He might have the Seal in his own Cuſtody again within an Hour; He was exceedingly revived, and deſired him to intreat the King to keep the Great Seal ſtill himſelf; that He would by no Means be anſwerable for the Safety of it; nor would truſt any Servant of his own to look to it; which as it was wiſely conſidered, and reſolved by him, ſo it increaſed the King's Confidence in him; who would have been troubled if the other had accepted the Grace that was offered. And from that Time, when any Thing was to be done, that adminiſtered any Argument for Doubt, Mr. *Hyde* always prepared him by Diſcourſe; ſo that there was never after any Unkindneſs from the King towards him; but the Vigour of his Mind grew every Day leſs under a great Melancholy that oppreſſed him, from the Conſideration of the Time, and of his own ill Condition in his Fortune; which was much worſe than any Body imagined it could be.

Before He went out of the Garden, the Lord *Howard*, Sir *Hugh Cholmely*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton* (who were the Committee from the Parliament) had Intelligence that He was walking in the Garden with the King; whereupon They came preſently thither, and after They had ſaluted him with much Civility, They ſhewed him an Inſtruction They had from the Parliament; by which They were required, if any Member of either Houſe came to *York*, They ſhould let them know, that it was the Pleaſure of the Houſe that They ſhould immediately attend the Houſe; and ſignify to them what Anſwer They made; and ſo They deſired He would excuſe them for doing their Duty. He told them, He was but juſt then come thither in Obedience to his Majeſty's Commands, and knew not yet what Service He was to do; but that as ſoon as his Majeſty would give him Leave, He would return to the Parliament.

He is ſummoned to attend the Parliament: His Anſwer.

There happened an Accident, at Mr. *Hyde*'s firſt coming to *York*, which He uſed often to ſpeak of, and to be very merry at. One of the King's Servants had provided a Lodging for him, ſo that when He alighted

at the Court, He ſent his Servants thither, and ſtaid himſelf at the Court 'till after Supper, and 'till the King went into his Chamber; and then He had a Guide, who went with him, and conducted him to his Chamber; which he liked very well, and began to undreſs himſelf. One of his Servants wiſhed that He had any other Lodging, and deſired him not to lie there; He aſked why, it ſeemed to him a good Chamber: his Servant anſwered, that the Chamber was good, but the People of the Houſe the worſt He ever ſaw, and ſuch, as He was confident would do him ſome Miſchief: at which wondering, his Servant told him, that the Perſons of the Houſe ſeemed to be of ſome Condition by their Habit, that was very good; and that the Servants when They came thither, found the Maſter and Miſtreſs in the lower Room, who received them civilly, and ſhewed them the Chamber where their Maſter was to lodge; and wiſhed them to call for any Thing They wanted, and ſo left them: That ſhortly after, one of them went down, and the Miſtreſs of the Houſe being again in the lower Room, where it ſeems ſhe uſually ſat, She aſked him, what his Maſter's Name was, which He told her; what ſaid She, that *Hyde* that is of the Houſe of Commons? and He anſwering yes, She gave a great Shriek, and cried out, that He ſhould not lodge in her Houſe; curſing him with many bitter Execrations. Upon the Noiſe her Huſband came in, and when She told him who it was that was to lodge in the Chamber above, He ſwore a great Oath that He ſhould not; and that He would rather ſet his Houſe on Fire, than entertain him in it. The Servant ſtood amazed, knowing that his Maſter had never been in, or near that City; and deſired to know what Offence He had committed againſt them; He told them He was confident his Maſter did not know them, nor could be known to them. The Man anſwered after two or three Curſes, that He knew him well enough, and that He had undone him, and his Wife, and his Children; and ſo after repeating ſome new bitter Curſes, He concluded, that He would ſet his Houſe on Fire as ſoon as the Other ſhould ſet his Foot in it; and ſo He, and his Wife went away in a great Rage into an inner Room, and clapped the Door to them.

WHEN his Servant had made this Relation to him, He was no leſs ſurprized; knew not what to make of it; aſked whether the People were drunk, was aſſured that They were very ſober, and appeared before this Paſſion to be well bred. He ſent to deſire the Maſter of the Houſe to come to him, that They might confer together, and that He would immediately depart his Houſe if He deſired it. He received no Anſwer, but that He and his Wife were gone to Bed: upon which He ſaid no more, but that, if They were gone to Bed, He would go to Bed too, and did accordingly. Though He was not diſturbed in the Night, the Morning was not at all calmer; the Maſter and the Miſtreſs ſtormed as much as ever; and would not be perſuaded to ſpeak with him: but He then underſtood the Reaſon: the Man of the Houſe had been an Attorney in the Court of the Preſident and Council of the North, in great Reputation and Practice there; and thereby got a very good Livelihood, with which He had lived in Splendor; and Mr. *Hyde* had ſat in the Chair of that Committee, and had carried up the Votes of the Commons againſt that Court, to the Houſe of Peers, upon which it was diſſolved: which He confeſſed was a better Reaſon for being angry with him, than many others had, who were as angry, and perſecuted him more. However, He thought himſelf obliged to remove the Eye-ſore from them, and to quit the Lodging that had been aſſigned to him; and He was much better accommodated by the Kindneſs

of a good Prebendary of the Church, Dr. *Hodſhon*, who ſent to invite him to lodge in his Houſe, as ſoon as He heard He was come to Town; where He reſided as long as the Court ſtaid there.

He reſides at York with Dr. Hodſhon.

THERE was now a great Conflux of the Members of both Houſes of Parliament to *York*; inſomuch as there remained not in the Houſe of Commons above a fifth Part of the whole Number; and of the Houſe of Peers ſo few, that there continued not at *Weſtminſter* twenty Lords. Yet They proceeded with the ſame Spirit, and Preſumption, as when their Numbers were full; publiſhed new Declarations againſt the King; raiſed Soldiers for their Army apace; and executed their Ordinance for the Militia in all the Counties of *England*, the northern Parts only excepted; forbad all Perſons to reſort to the King; and intercepted many in their Journey towards *York*, and committed them to Priſon: notwithſtanding which, many Perſons of Quality every Day flocked thither; and it was no longer ſafe for thoſe Members to ſtay in the Houſes of Parliament, who reſolved not to concur with them in their unwarrantable Deſigns; and therefore the Lord *Falkland* and Sir *John Colepepper* ſhortly after repaired likewiſe to *York*.

WHEN the King declared that He would go to *Beverley*, a Place within four Miles of *Hull*, the Noiſe of the King's Journey thither made a great Impreſſion upon the Parliament. Where, how great a Concurrence ſoever there was, in thoſe unwarrantable Actions which begot the War; yet a ſmall Number of thoſe who voted, both the raiſing the Army, and making the General, did in Truth intend, or believe that there would be a War: and therefore when They looked upon it as begun in this March of the King's to *Hull* (for They conſidered their own Actions as done only to prevent a War, by making the King unable to make it, who as They thought only deſired it) they moved preſently for ſome Overtures of an Accommodation. Which that angry Party that reſolved againſt it, never durſt abſolutely reject; but conſenting chearfully to it, got thereby Authority to inſert ſuch Things in the Addreſs, as muſt inevitably render it ineffectual. So, at this Time They ſent the Earl of *Holland*, a Perſon whom They knew to be moſt unacceptable to the King, with two Members of the Houſe of Commons, who came to *Beverley* the Day the King arrived there. The Subject of their Meſſage was, after ſeveral ſpecious Expreſſions, and Profeſſions of their Duty, to diſſuade his Majeſty from making War againſt his Parliament, by proceeding in his Enterprize againſt *Hull*, which the Parliament was obliged to defend. And all the Expedient They propoſed for the avoiding this War was, that He would conſent to the nineteen Propoſitions, which They had formerly made to him at *York*, and to which He had long ſince returned his Anſwer; and both the one and the other were printed.

THESE nineteen Propoſitions, which contained the Diſinheriſon of the Crown of all its choice Regalities, and left only the Shadow and empty Name of the King, had been framed by the Houſes after Mr. *Hyde* left *London*. And becauſe He had ſo much Work then upon his Hands, as They believed He would not be able to diſpatch ſoon enough, the Lord *Falkland*, and Sir *John Colepepper* undertook to prepare an Anſwer to them themſelves; and ſo divided the Propoſitions between them; and in a ſhort Time ſo finiſhed their Anſwer that They ſent it to the King, and deſired that Mr. *Hyde* might peruſe it, and then cauſe it to be publiſhed and printed. The Anſwer was full to all Particulars; and writ with very much Wit and Sharpneſs; but there were ſome Expreſſions in it, which He liked

not, as prejudicial to the King, and in Truth a Miſtake in Point of Right, in that Part which had been prepared by Sir *John Colepepper*; who had taken it up upon Credit, and without weighing the Conſequence, did really believe that it had been True; which was, that in the Diſcourſe of the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, He had declared, that the *King* and *the Houſe of Peers*, and *the Houſe of Commons* made the *Three Eſtates:* and for this Reaſon Mr. *Hyde* did not advance the Printing it; and told the King, that all the Particulars in thoſe Propoſitions had been enough anſwered in former Anſwers to other Declarations (which was true) and therefore that this needed not be publiſhed: with which his Majeſty was ſatisfied, without knowing the particular true Reaſon; which He thought not fit to communicate, for both the Perſons ſakes, of whoſe Affection for the Church (which was principally concerned in that Miſtake, ſince in Truth the Biſhops make the *Third Eſtate*, the King being the Head, and Sovereign of the Whole) his Majeſty was always jealous.

Mr. Hyde *adviſes the King not to publiſh the Anſwer to the Parliament's nineteen Propoſitions.*

BUT They no ſooner came to *York*, than They appeared much unſatisfied, that that Anſwer was not printed: and the Lord *Falkland* finding it remained ſtill in Mr. *Hyde*'s Hands, He expoſtulated warmly with him of the Reaſons; and in ſome Paſſion ſaid, "He therefore diſliked it be- "cauſe He had not writ it himſelf." Upon which, without ſaying more than that, "He never expected ſo unkind a Reproach from him," He delivered the written Copy to him, and He immediately procured the King's Conſent, and ſent it to the Preſs that Night, with Order to loſe no Time in the Impreſſion. Of which the King was afterwards very ſenſible; and that Excellent Lord, who intended not the leaſt Unkindneſs (nor did it produce the leaſt Interruption in their Friendſhip) was likewiſe much troubled when He knew the Reaſon; and imputed it to his own Inadvertency, and to the Infuſion of ſome Lawyers who had miſled Sir *John Colepepper*; and to the Declarations which many of the Prelatical Clergy frequently, and ignorantly made, that the Biſhops did not ſit in Parliament, as the Repreſentatives of the Clergy, and ſo could not be the *Third Eſtate.*

Lord Falkland's *Expoſtulation with him thereon.*

IT happened that the Day the Earl of *Holland* came to *Beverley*, Mr. *Hyde* had been riding Abroad; and returning to *Beverley*, happened to be in the ſame Road, when the Earl of *Holland*, and his Company proſecuted their Journey to the King: when meeting together, there paſſed the uſual Salutations which are between Perſons well known to each other. "He hoped (the Earl ſaid) that He ſhould be Welcome to all ho- "neſt Men at the Court, becauſe He came to invite the King to return "to his Parliament; and to aboliſh all Jealouſies between them." The other anſwered, "He would be very Welcome indeed, if He brought "proper Expedients to produce either of thoſe Effects: but then his Er- "rand muſt be of another Compoſition, than what the King underſtood "it to be." Upon which They entered upon a warmer Diſcourſe than it may be either of them intended; and as the Earl ſpake in another Stile than He had uſed to do, of the Power and Authority of the Parliament, and how much They were ſuperior to any Oppoſition or Contradiction; ſo the Other in the Debate was leſs reſerved, and kept a leſs Guard upon himſelf than He uſed to do; ſo that They ſeemed nothing pleaſed with each other: nor did Mr. *Hyde* viſit him after his coming to *Beverley*, becauſe He was informed that the Earl had to many Perſons who reſorted to him, repeated with ſome Liberty and Sharpneſs, what had paſſed between them; and not without ſome Menaces what the Parliament would

Mr. Hyde's *Converſation with the Earl of* Holland.

do. And as ſoon as He did return, there was a new Vote paſſed by Name againſt him, and Two or Three more, by which He was exempted from Pardon in any Accommodation that ſhould be made between the King, and Parliament.

He is exempted from Pardon by a Vote of the Houſes.

Mr. *Hyde* had been abſent four or five Days from the Court; and came into the Preſence when the King was waſhing his Hands before Dinner; and as ſoon as the King ſaw him, He aſked him aloud, "*Ned* "*Hyde* when did you play with my Bandſtrings laſt?" upon which He was exceedingly out of Countenance, not imagining the Cauſe of the Queſtion, and the Room being full of Gentlemen, who appeared to be Merry with what the King had aſked. But his Majeſty obſerving him to be in Diſorder, and to bluſh very much, ſaid pleaſantly, "be not trou- "bled at it, for I have worn no Bandſtrings theſe twenty Years:" and then aſked him whether He had not ſeen the Diurnal; of which He had not heard till then, but, ſhortly after, ſome of the Standers-by ſhewed him a Diurnal, in which there was a Letter of Intelligence printed, where it was ſaid, that *Ned Hyde* was grown ſo familiar with the King, that He uſed to play with his Bandſtrings. Which was a Method of calumniating They began then, and ſhortly after proſecuted and exerciſed upon much greater Perſons.

In the Afternoon the Earl of *Holland* came to deliver his Meſſage with great Formality: whom the King received with much Coldneſs, and Manifeſtation of Neglect; and when the Earl approached, and kneeled to kiſs his Hand, He turned or withdrew his Hand in ſuch a Manner, that the Earl kiſſed his own. When the Meſſage was read, the King ſaid little more, than that They ſhould not ſtay long for an Anſwer; and ſo went to his Chamber. The Earl was not without many Friends there, and ſome of them moved the King, that He would give him Leave to ſay ſomewhat to him in Private, which They believed would be very much for his Service; but his Majeſty would by no Means yield to it. By this Time his Majeſty had Notice of the Governor's Irreſolution at *Hull*; and ſo was glad of this Opportunity to have a fair Excuſe for making no Attempt upon that Place. And ſent the next Day for the Earl of *Holland* to receive his Anſwer; which being read aloud in the King's Preſence, and a full Room, by the Clerk of the Council, was very grateful to the Auditors, who feared ſome Condeſcenſion in the King; though very mortifying to the Earl. For beſides that it was thought very ſharp towards the Houſes, it declared his Brother the Earl of *Warwick* a Traitor, for poſſeſſing himſelf of the King's Fleet againſt his Conſent; and concluded, that He would forbear any Attempt upon *Hull* for fourteen Days; in which Time, if the Parliament would enter into a Treaty for a happy Peace, They ſhould find him very well inclined to it; after the expiration of that Time He ſhould purſue thoſe Ways which He thought fit. In the mean Time, He made a ſhort Progreſs into the adjacent Counties of *Nottingham* and *Leiceſter*, to ſee what Countenance They wore; and to encourage thoſe, who appeared to have good Affections to his Service: And then returning to *Beverley* within the limited Time, and hearing no more from the Parliament, or any Thing from *Hull* that He expected, He returned again to *York*.

Mr. *Hyde* was wont often to relate a Paſſage in that melancholick Time, when the Standard was ſet up at *Nottingham*, with which He was much affected. Sir *Edmund Varney*, Knight-Marſhal, who was mentioned

before as Standard Bearer, with whom He had great Familiarity, who was a Man of great Courage, and generally beloved, came one Day to him and told him, "He was very glad to see him in so universal a Damp, "under which the Spirits of most Men were oppressed, retain still his na- "tural Vivacity and Chearfulness; that He knew that the Condition of the "King, and the Power of the Parliament, was not better known to any "Man than to him; and therefore He hoped that He was able to admi- "nister some Comfort to his Friends, that might raise their Spirits, as "well as it supported his own." He answered, "that He was in Truth be- "holden to his Constitution, which did not incline him to Despair; other- "wise, that He had no pleasant Prospect before him, but thought as ill "of Affairs as most Men did; that the other was as far from being me- "lancholick as He, and was known to be a Man of great Courage (as in- "deed He was of a very cheerful, and a generous Nature, and con- "fessedly Valiant) and that They could not do the King better Service, "than by making it their Business to raise the dejected Minds of Men; "and root out those Apprehensions which disturbed them, of Fear and "Despair, which could do no Good, and did really much Mischief."

His Conversation with Sir Edmund Varney.

He replied smiling, "I will willingly join with you the best I can, "but I shall act it very scurvily. My Condition, *said He*, is much worse "than yours, and different I believe from any other Man's, and will very "well justify the Melancholick that, I confess to you, possesses me. You "have Satisfaction in your Conscience that you are in the Right; that the "King ought not to grant what is required of him; and so you do your "Duty, and your Business together: But for my Part, I do not like the "Quarrel, and do heartily wish that the King would yield and consent to "what They desire; so that my Conscience is only concerned in Honour, "and in Gratitude to follow my Master. I have eaten his Bread, and "served him near thirty Years, and will not do so base a Thing, as to for- "sake him; and chuse rather to lose my Life (which I am sure I shall do) "to preserve and defend those Things, which are against my Conscience "to preserve and defend. For I will deal freely with you, I have no Re- "verence for the Bishops, for whom this Quarrel subsists." It was not a Time to Dispute; and his Affection to the Church had never been sus- pected. He was as Good as his Word; and was killed in the Battle of *Edgehill*, within two Months after this Discourse. And if those who had the same and greater Obligations, had observed the same Rules of Grati- tude, and Generosity, whatever their other Affections had been, that Battle had never been fought, nor any of that Mischief been brought to pass, that succeeded it.

After the King came to *Oxford* with his Army, his Majesty one Day speaking with the Lord *Falkland* very graciously concerning Mr. *Hyde*, said He had such a peculiar Stile, that He could know any Thing written by him, if it were brought to him by a Stranger, amongst a Multitude of Writings by other Men. The Lord *Falkland* answered, He doubted his Majesty could hardly do that; because He himself, who had so long Con- versation and Friendship with him, was often deceived; and often met with Things written by him, of which He could never have suspected him, upon the variety of Arguments. To which the King replied, He would lay him *an Angel*, that let the Argument be what it would, He should never bring him a Sheet of Paper (for He would not undertake to judge of less) of his Writing, but He would discover it to be his. The Lord *Falk- land* told him it should be a Wager; but neither the one or the other

The King's Wager with Lord Falkland concerning Mr. Hyde's Style.

ever mentioned it to Mr. *Hyde*. Some Days after the Lord *Falkland* brought ſeveral Packets, which He had then received from *London*, to the King, before He had opened them, as he uſed to do: and after He had read his ſeveral Letters of Intelligence, He took out the Prints of Diurnals, and Speeches, and the like, which were every Day printed at *London*, and as conſtantly ſent to *Oxford*: and amongſt the reſt there were two Speeches, the one made by the Lord *Pembroke* for an Accommodation; and the other by the Lord *Brooke* againſt it, and for the carrying on the War with more Vigour, and utterly to root out the Cavaliers, which were the King's Party.

THE King was very much pleaſed with reading the Speeches, and ſaid, He did not think that *Pembroke* could ſpeak ſo long together; though every Word He ſaid was ſo much his own, that no Body elſe could make it. And ſo after He had pleaſed Himſelf with reading the Speeches over again, and then paſſed to other Papers, the Lord *Falkland* whiſpered in his Ear (for there were other Perſons by) deſiring him He would pay him *the Angel*; which his Majeſty in the Inſtant apprehending, bluſhed, and put his Hand in his Pocket, and gave him *an Angel*, ſaying, He had never paid a Wager more willingly: and was very merry upon it, and would often call upon Mr. *Hyde* for a Speech, or a Letter, which He very often prepared upon ſeveral Occaſions; and the King always commanded them to be printed. And He was often wont to ſay many Years after, that He would be very glad He could make a Collection of all thoſe Papers, which he had written occaſionally at that Time; which He could never do, though He got many of them.

He laments the Loſs of Many of his occaſional Writings.

THERE was at that Time a pleaſant Story upon thoſe Speeches. The Lord *Brooke* had met with them in print; and heard that he was much reproached for ſo Unchriſtian a Speech againſt Peace; though the Language was ſuch as He uſed in all Opportunities: whereupon one Morning in the Houſe of Peers, and before the Houſe ſate, He came to the Earl of *Portland* (who yet remained there with the King's Approbation, and knew well enough from whence the Speeches came, having himſelf cauſed them to be printed) and ſhewing them to him, deſired He would move the Houſe, that that Speech might, by their Order, be burned by the Hand of the Hangman; by which Means the Kingdom would be informed, that it had never been ſpoken by him. The Earl ſaid He would willingly do him the Service; but He obſerved that the Speeches were printed in that Manner, that where the Earl of *Pembroke*'s Speech ended on the one Side of the Leaf, his (the Lord *Brooke*'s) Speech began on the other Side, ſo that one could not be burned, without burning the other too; which He knew not how the Earl of *Pembroke* would like; and therefore He durſt not move it without his Conſent. Whereupon They both went to the Earl, who was then likewiſe in the Houſe, and *Portland* told him what the Lord *Brooke* deſired, and asked him whether He wiſhed it ſhould be done. He, who heard He was very well ſpoken of, for having ſpoke ſo honeſtly for Peace, ſaid, He did not deſire it. Upon which *Brooke* in great Anger, aſked if He had ever made that Speech; He was very ſure He had never made the other; and the other with equal Choler replied, that He was always for Peace; and though He could not ſay He had ſpoken all thoſe Things together, He was ſure He had ſpoken them all at ſeveral Times; and that He knew as well, that He had always been againſt Peace, and had often uſed all thoſe Expreſſions which were in the Speech, though it may be not all together. Upon which They

A Diſpute cauſed by one of them.

entered into a high Combat of reproachful Words againſt each other, to the no ſmall Delight of the Earl, who had brought them together, and of the reſt of the Standers by.

THE King was no ſooner ſettled in his Winter Quarters, after his Retreat from *Brentford* to *Oxford*, but the Parliament ſent to him for a Safe-Conduct, for Commiſſioners to be ſent from them to treat of Peace; which was ſent to them. And at this Time there was a Change in Mr. *Hyde*'s Fortune, by a Preferment the King conferred upon him. Every Body knew that He was truſted by the King in his moſt ſecret Tranſactions; but He was under no Character in his Service. When the Commiſſioners who were ſent for the Safe-Conduct came to *Oxford*, ſome who came in their Company, amongſt other Matters of Intelligence brought the King a Letter of his own to the Queen, printed, that had been intercepted, and printed by the Licence, if not Order, of the Parliament. In this Letter, of the ſafe Conveyance whereof his Majeſty had no Apprehenſion, the King had lamented the Uneaſineſs of his own Condition, in reſpect of the daily Importunity which was made to him by the Lords and others, for Honours, Offices, and Preferments; and named ſeveral Lords, who were ſolicitous by themſelves, or their Friends, for this, and that Place; in all which He deſired to receive the Queen's Advice, being reſolved to do Nothing with Reference to thoſe Pretences, till He ſhould receive it. But He ſaid there were ſome Places, which He muſt diſpoſe of without ſtaying for her Anſwer, the Neceſſity of his Service requiring it; which were the Maſterſhip of the Wards; Applications being ſtill made to the Lord *Say* in thoſe Affairs, and ſo that Revenue was diverted from him: and therefore as He had revoked his Patent, ſo He was reſolved to make Secretary *Nicholas* Maſter of the Wards, and then (theſe were his Majeſty's own Words) I muſt make *Ned Hyde* Secretary of State, for the Truth is, I can truſt no Body elſe. Which was a very envious Expreſſion, and extended by the ill Interpretation of ſome Men, to a more general Comprehenſion than could be intended. This was quickly made Publick, for there were ſeveral Prints of it in many Hands; and ſome Men had Reaſon to be troubled to find their Names mentioned in that Manner, and others were glad that theirs were there, as having the Pretence to purſue their Importunities the more vehemently, being, as the Phraſe was, brought upon the Stage, and ſhould ſuffer much in their Honour if They ſhould be now rejected; which Kind of Argumentation was very unagreeable and grievous to the King.

ONE Morning, when the King was walking in the Garden, as He uſed to do, Mr. *Hyde* being then in his View, his Majeſty called him, and diſcourſed of the Trouble He was in at the intercepting that Letter; and finding by his Countenance that He underſtood not the Meaning, He aſked him, "whether He had not heard a Letter of his, which He writ to the "Queen, had been intercepted and printed." And He anſwering, that "He "had not heard of it," as in Truth he had not; the King gave him the printed Letter to read, and then ſaid, that "He wiſhed it were as much "in his Power to make every Body elſe Amends, as He could him; "for, *He ſaid*, He was reſolved that Afternoon to ſwear him Secretary of "State, in the Place of *Nicholas*; whom He would likewiſe then make "Maſter of the Wards." Mr. *Hyde* told him, "He was indeed much ſur-"prized with the Sight of the Letter; which He wiſhed had not been "communicated in that Manner: but that He was much more ſurprized "to find his own Name in it, and his Majeſty's Reſolution upon it, which

Mr. Hyde declines the Office of Secretary of State.

"He beſought him to change; for as He never had the Ambition to "hope, or wiſh for that Place, ſo He knew He was very unfit for it, and "unable to diſcharge it." To which the King with a little Anger replied, that "He did the greateſt Part of the Buſineſs now:" and he anſwered, that "what He did now, would be no Part of the Buſineſs, if the Rebel-"lion were ended; and that his Unſkilfulneſs in Languages, and his not "underſtanding foreign Affairs, rendered him very incapable of that "Truſt." The King ſaid, "He would learn as much as was neceſſary of "that Kind very quickly." He continued his Deſire, that his Majeſty would lay aſide that Thought; and ſaid, "that He had great Friendſhip "for Secretary *Nicholas*, who would be undone by the Change; for He "would find that his Majeſty would receive very Little, and He Nothing, "by that Office, till the Troubles were compoſed." The King ſaid, "*Ni-*"*cholas* was an honeſt Man, and that this Change was by his Deſire;" and bade him ſpeak with him of it; which He went preſently to do, leaving his Majeſty unſatisfied with the Scruples He had made.

When He came to the Secretary's Lodging, He found him with a chearful Countenance, and embracing him, called him his Son. Mr. *Hyde* anſwered him, that "it was not the Part of a good Son to undo his Fa-"ther, or to become his Son that He might undo him:" and ſo they entered upon the Diſcourſe; the one telling him what the King had reſolved, and how grateful the Reſolution was to him; and the other informing him of the Conference He had then had with the King, and that for his Sake as well as his own, He would not ſubmit to the King's Pleaſure in it. And ſo He debated the whole Matter with him; and made it evident to him, that He would be diſappointed in any Expectation He ſhould entertain of Profit from the Wards, as the State of Affairs then ſtood: ſo that He ſhould relinquiſh an honourable Employment, which He was well acquainted with, for an empty Title with which He would have Nothing to do: and ſo adviſed him to conſider well of it, and of all the Conſequences of it, before He expos'd himſelf to ſuch an Inconvenience.

Whilst this was in Suſpenſe, Sir *Charles Cæſar*, who with great Prejudice to the King, and more Reproach to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *Laud*, had been made Maſter of the Rolls, died: and Sir *John Colepepper* had long had a Promiſe from the King of that Place, when it ſhould become void, and now preſſed the Performance of it: which was violently oppoſed by Many, partly out of ill Will to him (for He had not the Faculty of getting himſelf much loved) and as much out of good Husbandry, and to ſupply the King's Neceſſities with a good Sum of Money, which Dr. *Duck* was ready to lay down for the Office. And the King was ſo far wrought upon, that He paid down three thouſand Pounds in Part of what He was to give; but his Majeſty cauſed the Money to be repaid, and reſolved to make good his Promiſe to Sir *John Colepepper*, who would by no means releaſe him. This was no ſooner declared, than the Lord *Falkland* (who was much more ſolicitous to have Mr. *Hyde* of the Council, than He was himſelf for the Honour) took an Opportunity to tell the King, that He had now a good Opportunity to prefer Mr. *Hyde*, by making him Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the Place of Sir *John Colepepper*; which the King ſaid, He had reſolved to do, and bid him take no Notice of it, until He had told him ſo himſelf. And ſhortly after ſent for him, and ſaid, "that He had now found an Office for him, which

"He hoped He would not refuſe: That the Chancellorſhip of the Ex- *But accepts that of Chancellor of the Exchequer.*
"chequer was void by the Promotion of *Colepepper*; and that He re-
"ſolved to confer it upon him;" with many gracious Expreſſions of the Satisfaction He had in his Service. The other anſwered, "that though it "was an Office much above his Merit, yet He did not deſpair of enabling "himſelf by Induſtry to execute it, which He would do with all Fi-"delity.

As ſoon as this was known, no Man was ſo much troubled at it as Sir *John Colepepper*, who had in Truth an Intention to have kept both Places, until He ſhould get into the quiet Poſſeſſion of the Rolls. And though He profeſſed much Friendſhip to the other, He had no Mind He ſhould be upon the ſame Level with him; and believed He would have too much Credit in the Council. And ſo delayed, after his Patent for the Rolls was paſſed, to ſurrender that of the Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer, until the Lord *Falkland*, and the Lord *Digby* expoſtulated very warmly with him upon it, and until the King took Notice of it; and then, ſeeming very much troubled that any Body ſhould doubt the Integrity of his Friendſhip to Mr. *Hyde*, to whom He made all the Profeſſions imaginable, He ſurrendered his Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer: and the next Day Mr. *Hyde* was ſworn of the Privy-Council, and Knighted, *He is ſworn of the Privy Council and Knighted.*
and had his Patents ſealed for that Office. And the King, after He roſe from the Council, and after many Expreſſions, of the Content He took himſelf in the Obligation He had laid upon him, with much Grace, that was not natural in him upon ſuch Occaſions, told him, that "He was "very fortunate, becauſe He verily believed no Body was angry at his "Preferment; for beſides that the Earl of *Dorſet* and others, who He "knew loved him, had expreſſed much Satisfaction in the King's Purpoſe; "*He ſaid*, the Lord *Maltrevers*, and the Lord *Dunſmore*, who He did "not think had any Acquaintance with him, ſeemed very much pleaſed "with him; and therefore He thought no Body would envy him; which "was a rare Felicity." But his Majeſty was therein miſtaken; for He had great Enviers, of many who thought He had run too faſt; eſpecially of thoſe of his own Profeſſion, who looked upon themſelves as his Superiors in all Reſpects, and did not think that his Age (which was not then above thirty three) or his other Parts, did entitle him to ſuch a Preference before them. And the News of it at *Weſtminſter*, exceedingly offended Thoſe who governed in the Parliament; to ſee the Man whom They moſt hated, and whom They had voted to be incapable of Pardon, to be now preferred to an Office the Chief of them looked for. Beſides, there was another unuſual Circumſtance accompanied his Preferment, that it was without the Interpoſition, or Privity of the Queen, which was not like to make it the more eaſy, and advantageous; and it was not the more unwelcome to him from that Circumſtance.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the Diſcourſe of, and Inclination to a Treaty, the Armies were not quiet on either Side. The King's Quarters were enlarged by the taking of *Marlborough* in *Wiltſhire*, and of *Cirenceſter* in *Gloceſterſhire*; which though untenable by their Situation, and weak Fortifications, were garriſoned by the Parliament with great Numbers of Men, who were all killed, or taken Priſoners. And the Parliament Forces were not without Succeſs too; and after the Loſs of *Marlborough*, ſurprized the Regiment of Horſe, that was commanded by the Lord *Grandiſon*, a gallant Gentleman, who if not betrayed, was unhappily invited to *Wincheſter*, with Promiſe of Forces ready to defend the Place; which being

ing in no Degree performed, He was the next Day after He came, encloſed in the Caſtle of *Wincheſter*, and compelled to become, all, Officers and Soldiers, Priſoners of War: Though He and ſome other of the principal Officers, by the Negligence, or Corruption of their Guard, made their Eſcape in the Night, and returned to *Oxford*.

THIS was the State of the Kingdom, of the King, and of the Parliament, in the beginning of the Year 1643, at the Time when Mr. *Hyde* was made of the Privy Council, and Chancellor of the Exchequer: which was between the Return of the Commiſſioners, who had been ſent to the King to propoſe a Treaty, and the coming of thoſe Commiſſioners to *Oxford*, who were afterwards ſent from the Parliament to treat with the King; which being about the End of the Year 1642, this Part ſhall be cloſed here.

Pezenas the 24th of July, 1669.

The

The LIFE of

Edward Earl of *Clarendon*

From his Birth to the Reſtoration of the ROYAL FAMILY in the Year 1660.

PART the THIRD.

IT was about the Beginning of *March* (which by that Account was about the end of the Year 1642, and about the Beginning of the Year 1643) that the Commiſſioners of the Parliament came to *Oxford*, to treat with his Majeſty; and were received graciouſly by him; and by his Order lodged conveniently, and well accommodated in all Reſpects. 1643

THE Parliament had bound up their Commiſſioners to the ſtricteſt Letter of their Propoſitions; nor did their Inſtructions at this Time (which They preſented to the King) admit the leaſt Latitude to them to interpret a Word or Expreſſion, that admitted a doubtful Interpretation. Inſomuch as the King told them, "that He was ſorry that They had no more Truſt "repoſed in them; and that the Parliament might as well have ſent their "Demands to him by the common Carrier, as by Commiſſioners ſo re-"ſtrained." They had only twenty Days allowed them to finiſh the whole Treaty: whereof They might employ ſix Days in adjuſting a Ceſſation, if They found it probable to effect it in that Time: otherwiſe They were to decline the Ceſſation, and enter upon the Conditions of the Peace; which if not concluded before the End of the twenty Days, They were to give it over, and to return to the Parliament.

THESE Propoſitions, and Reſtrictions much abated the Hopes of a good Iſſue of the Treaty. Yet every Body believed, and the Commiſſioners themſelves did not doubt, that if ſuch a Progreſs ſhould be made in the Treaty, that a Peace was like to enſue, there would be no Difficulty in the Enlargement of the Time: and therefore the Articles for a Ceſſation were the ſooner declined, that They might proceed in the main Buſineſs. For though what was propoſed by them in Order to it, was agreeable enough to the Nature of ſuch an Affair; yet the Time allowed for it was ſo ſhort, that it was impoſſible to make it practicable: nor could Notice be timely given to all the Quarters on either Side, to obſerve it.

BESIDES that, there were many Particulars in it, which the Officers on the King's Side (who had no Mind to a Ceſſation) formalized much

upon: and (I know not from what unhappy Root, but) there was ſprung up a wonderful Averſion in the Town againſt a Ceſſation. Inſomuch as many Perſons of Quality of ſeveral Counties, whereof the Town was full, applied themſelves in a Body to the King, not to conſent to a Ceſſation, till a Peace might be concluded; alledging, that They had ſeveral Agitations in their Countries, for his Majeſty's, and their own Conveniencies, which would be interrupted by the Ceſſation; and if a Peace ſhould not afterwards enſue, would be very miſchievous. Which Suggeſtion, if it had been well weighed, would not have been found to be of Importance. But the Truth is, the King himſelf had no Mind to the Ceſſation, for a Reaſon which ſhall be mentioned anon, though it was never owned: and ſo They waved all farther Mention of the Ceſſation, and betook themſelves to the Treaty; it being reaſonable enough to believe, that if both Sides were heartily diſpoſed to it, a Peace might as ſoon have been agreed upon, as a Ceſſation could be. All the Tranſactions of that Treaty having been long ſince publiſhed, and being fit only to be digeſted into the Hiſtory of that Time, are to be omitted here. Only what paſſed in Secret, and was never communicated, nor can otherwiſe be known, ſince at this Time, no Man elſe is living who was privy to that Negotiation, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, will have a proper Place in this Diſcourſe.

The Secret Tranſactions in the Treaty of Oxford.

THE Propoſitions brought by the Commiſſioners in the Treaty were ſo unreaſonable, that They well knew that the King would never conſent to them: but ſome Perſons amongſt them, who were known to wiſh well to the King, endeavoured underhand to bring it to paſs. And They did therefore, whilſt They publickly purſued their Inſtructions, and delivered, and received Papers upon their Propoſitions, privately uſe all the Means they could, eſpecially in Conferences with the Lord *Falkland*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the King might be prevailed with, in ſome Degree to comply with their unreaſonable Demands.

IN all Matters which related to the Church, They did not only deſpair of the King's Concurrence, but did not in their own Judgments wiſh it; and believed, that the Strength of the Party which deſired the Continuance of the War, was made up of thoſe, who were very indifferent in that Point; and that, if They might return with Satisfaction in other Particulars, They ſhould have Power enough in the two Houſes, to oblige the more violent People to accept, or ſubmit to the Conditions. They wiſhed therefore that the King would make ſome Condeſcenſions in the Point of the Militia; which They looked upon as the only ſubſtantial Security They could have, not to be called in Queſtion for what They had done amiſs. And when They ſaw Nothing could be digeſted of that Kind, which would not reflect both upon the King's Authority, and his Honour, They gave over inſiſting upon the General: and then Mr. *Pierrepoint* (who was of the beſt Parts, and moſt intimate with the Earl of *Northumberland*) rather deſired than propoſed, that the King would offer to grant his Commiſſion to the Earl of *Northumberland*, to be Lord High Admiral of *England*. By which Condeſcenſion He would be reſtored to his Office, which He had loſt for their Sakes; and ſo their Honour would be likewiſe repaired, without any ſignal Prejudice to the King; ſince He ſhould hold it only by his Majeſty's Commiſſion, and not by any Ordinance of Parliament; and He ſaid, if the King would be induced to gratify them in this Particular, He could not be confident, that They ſhould be able to prevail with both Houſes to be ſatisfied therewith, ſo that a Peace might ſuddenly be concluded; but as He did not deſpair even of that, He did believe,

Mr. Pierrepoint's Propoſition.

lieve, that ſo many would be ſatisfied with it, that They would from thence take the Occaſion to ſeparate themſelves from them, as Men who would rather deſtroy their Country, than reſtore it to Peace.

AND the Earl of *Northumberland* himſelf took ſo much Notice of this Diſcourſe to Secretary *Nicholas* (with whom He had as much Freedom, as his reſerved Nature was capable of) as to proteſt to him, that He deſired only to receive that Honour, and Truſt from the King, that He might be able to do him Service; and thereby to recover the Credit He had unhappily loſt with him. In which He uſed very decent Expreſſions towards his Majeſty; not without ſuch Reflections upon his own Behaviour, as implied that He was not proud of it: and concluded, that if his Majeſty would do him that Honour, as to make that Offer to the Houſes, upon the Propoſition of the Militia, He would do all He could that it might be effectual towards a Peace; and if it had not Succeſs, He would paſs his Word and Honour to the King, that as ſoon, or whenſoever, his Majeſty would pleaſe to require it, He would deliver up his Commiſſion again into his Hands; He having no other Ambition, or Deſire, than by this Means to re-deliver up the Royal Navy to his Majeſty's as abſolute Diſpoſal, as it was, when his Majeſty firſt put it into his Hands; and which He doubted would hardly be done by any other Expedient, at leaſt not ſo ſoon.

WHEN this Propoſition (which from the Intereſt, and Perſons who propoſed it, ſeemed to carry with it ſome Probability of Succeſs, if it ſhould be accepted) was communicated with thoſe who were like with moſt Secrecy to conſult it; Secretary *Nicholas* having already made ſome Approach towards the King upon the Subject, and found his Majeſty without Inclination to hear more of it; it was agreed and reſolved by them, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſhould preſume to make the Propoſition plainly to the King; and to perſuade his Majeſty to hear it debated in his Preſence: at leaſt, if that might not be, to enlarge upon it himſelf, as much as the Argument required: and He was not unwilling to embark himſelf in the Affair.

Which the Chancellor of the Exchequer adviſes the King to comply with.

WHEN He found a fit Opportunity for the Repreſentation, and his Majeſty at good Leiſure, in his Morning's Walk, when He was always moſt willing to be entertained, the Chancellor related ingenuouſly to him the whole Diſcourſe, which had been made by Mr. *Pierrepoint*, and to whom; and what the Earl himſelf had ſaid to Secretary *Nicholas*; and what Conference They, to whom his Majeſty gave Leave to conſult together upon his Affairs, had between themſelves upon the Argument, and what occurred to them upon it: in which He mentioned the Earl's Demerit towards his Majeſty, with Severity enough, and what Reaſon He had, not to be willing to reſtore a Man to his Favour, who had forfeited it ſo unworthily. Yet He deſired him to conſider his own ill Condition; and how unlike it was, that it ſhould be improved by the Continuance of the War; and whether He could ever imagine a Poſſibility of getting out of it upon more eaſy Conditions, than what was now propoſed; the Offer of which to the Parliament could do him no ſignal Prejudice, and could not but bring him very notable Advantages: for if the Peace did not enſue upon it, ſuch a Rupture infallibly would, as might in a little Time facilitate the other. And then He ſaid as much to leſſen the Malignity of the Earl as He could, by remembring, how dutifully He had reſigned his Commiſſion of Admiral, upon his Majeſty's Demand; and his Refuſal to accept the Commiſſion the Parliament would have given him: and obſerved ſome Vices in his Nature, which would ſtand in the Place of Vir-

tues, towards the Support of his Fidelity to his Majeſty, and his Animoſity againſt the Parliament; if He were once re-ingratiated to his Majeſty's Truſt.

THE King heard him very quietly without the leaſt Interruption, which He uſed not to do upon Subjects which were not grateful to him, for He knew well, that He was not ſwayed by any Affection to the Man; to whom He was more a Stranger, than He was to moſt of that Condition: and He upon Occaſions, had often made ſharp Reflections upon his Ingratitude to the King. His Majeſty ſeemed at the firſt to inſiſt upon the Improbability, that any ſuch Conceſſion by him, would be attended with any Succeſs; that not only the Earl had not Intereſt in the Houſes, to lead them into a Reſolution, that was only for his particular Benefit; but that the Parliament it ſelf was not able to make a Peace, without ſuch Conditions, as the Army would require. And then He ſhould ſuffer exceedingly in his Honour, for having ſhewn an Inclination to a Perſon, who had requited his former Graces ſo unworthily: and this led him into more Warmth, than He uſed to be affected with. He ſaid, "indeed He had "been very unfortunate in conferring his Favours upon many very ungrate- "ful Perſons: but no Man was ſo inexcuſable as the Earl of *Northumber-* "*land.*" He ſaid, "He knew that the Earl of *Holland* was generally "looked upon as the Man of the greateſt Ingratitude; but (He ſaid) He "could better excuſe him than the other: that it was true, He owed all "He had to his Father's, and his Bounties; and that himſelf had con- "ferred great Favours upon him; but that it was as true, He had fre- "quently given him many Mortifications, which though He had deſerved, "He knew had troubled him very much; that He had oftener denied "him, than any other Man of his Condition; and that He had but lately "refuſed to gratify him in a Suit He had made to him, of which He had "been very confident; and ſo might have ſome Excuſe (how ill ſoever) "for being out of Humour, which led him from one Ill to another; but "that He had lived always without Intermiſſion, with the Earl of "*Northumberland* as his Friend, and courted him as his Miſtreſs; that "He had never denied any Thing He had ever aſked, and therefore his "Carriage to him was never to be forgotten."

The King's Anſwer.

AND this Diſcourſe he continued with more Commotion, and in a more pathetical Stile, than ever He uſed upon any other Argument. And though at that Time it was not fit to preſs the Matter farther, it was afterwards reſumed by the ſame Perſon more than once; but without any other Effect, than that his Majeſty was contented, that the Earl ſhould not deſpair of being reſtored to that Office, when the Peace ſhould be made; or upon any eminent Service performed by him, when the Peace ſhould be deſpaired of. The King was very willing and deſirous that the Treaty ſhould be drawn out in Length; to which Purpoſe a Propoſition was made to the Commiſſioners, for an Addition of Ten Days, which They ſent to the Parliament, without the leaſt Apprehenſion that it would be denied. But They were deceived; and for Anſwer received an Order upon the laſt Day but one of the Time before limited, by which They were expreſly required, to leave *Oxford* the next Day. From that Time, all Intercourſe and Commerce between *Oxford* and *London*, which had been permitted before, was abſolutely interdicted under the higheſt Penalties by the Parliament.

IF this ſecret underhand Propoſition had ſucceeded, and received that Encouragement from the King, that was deſired; and more Application

of the ſame Remedies had been then made to other Perſons (for alone it could never have proved effectual) it is probable, that thoſe violent and abominable Counſels, which were but then in Projection between very few Men of any Intereſt, and which were afterwards miſerably put in Practice, had been prevented. And it was exceedingly wondered at, by thoſe who were then privy to this Overture, and by all who afterwards came to hear of it, that the King ſhould in that Conjuncture decline ſo advantageous a Propoſition; ſince He did already diſcern many ill Humours, and Factions, growing, and nouriſhed, both in his Court and Army, which would every Day be uneaſy to him; and did with all his Soul deſire an End of the War. And there was Nothing more ſuitable and agreeable to his magnanimous Nature, than to forgive thoſe, who had in the higheſt Degree offended him: Which Temper was notorious throughout his whole Life. It will not be therefore amiſs in this Diſcourſe, to enlarge upon this fatal Rejection, and the true Cauſe and Ground thereof.

The true Cauſe of the King's rejecting it.

THE King's Affection to the Queen was of a very extraordinary Alloy; a Compoſition of Conſcience, and Love, and Generoſity, and Gratitude, and all thoſe noble Affections, which raiſe the Paſſion to the greateſt Height; inſomuch as He ſaw with her Eyes; and determined by her Judgment. And did not only pay her this Adoration, but deſired that all Men ſhould know that He was ſwayed by her; which was not Good for either of them. The Queen was a Lady of great Beauty, excellent Wit and Humour, and made him a juſt Return of nobleſt Affections; ſo that They were the true Idea of conjugal Affection, in the Age in which They lived. When She was admitted to the Knowledge, and Participation of the moſt ſecret Affairs (from which She had been carefully reſtrained by the Duke of *Buckingham*, whilſt He lived) She took Delight in the examining and diſcuſſing them, and from thence in making Judgment of them; in which, her Paſſions were always ſtrong.

SHE had felt ſo much Pain in knowing Nothing, and medling with Nothing, during the Time of that great Favourite, that now She took Pleaſure in Nothing but knowing all Things, and diſpoſing all Things: and thought it but juſt, that She ſhould diſpoſe of all Favours and Preferments, as He had done; at leaſt, that Nothing of that Kind might be done, without her Privity: not conſidering, that the univerſal Prejudice that great Man had undergone, was not with Reference to his Perſon, but his Power: and that the ſame Power would be equally obnoxious to Murmur and Complaint, if it reſided in any other Perſon, than the King himſelf. And She ſo far concurred with the King's Inclination, that She did not more deſire to be poſſeſſed of this unlimited Power, than that all the World ſhould take Notice, that She was the entire Miſtreſs of it: which in Truth (what other unhappy Circumſtances ſoever concurred in the Miſchief) was the Foundation upon which, the firſt, and the utmoſt Prejudices to the King, and his Government, were raiſed, and proſecuted. And it was her Majeſty's, and the Kingdom's Misfortune, that She had not any Perſon about her, who had either Ability, or Affection, to inform and adviſe her, of the Temper of the Kingdom, or Humour of the People; or who thought either worth the caring for.

WHEN the Diſturbances grew ſo rude, as to interrupt this Harmony; and the Queen's Fears, and Indiſpoſition, which proceeded from thoſe Fears, diſpoſed her to leave the Kingdom, which the King to comply with her, conſented to (and if that Fear had not been predominant in her, her Jealouſy, and Apprehenſion that the King would, at ſome Time, be prevailed

vailed with to yield to ſome unreaſonable Conditions, would have diſſuaded her from that Voyage) to make all Things therefore as ſure as might be, that her Abſence ſhould not be attended with any ſuch Inconvenience, his Majeſty made a ſolemn Promiſe to her at parting, that He would receive no Perſon into any Favour, or Truſt, who had diſſerved him, without her Privity and Conſent; and that, as She had undergone ſo many Reproaches and Calumnies at the Entrance into the War, ſo He would never make any Peace, but by her Interpoſition, and Mediation, that the Kingdom might receive that Bleſſing only from Her.

THIS Promiſe (of which his Majeſty was too Religious an Obſerver) was the Cauſe of his Majeſty's Rejection, or not Entertaining this laſt Overture. And this was the Reaſon that He had that Averſion to the Ceſſation; which He thought would inevitably oblige him to conſent to the Peace, as it ſhould be propoſed; and therefore He had countenanced an Addreſs, that had been made to him againſt it, by the Gentlemen of ſeveral Counties attending the Court: and in Truth They were put upon that Addreſs by the King's own private Direction. Upon which the Chancellor of the Exchequer told him, when the Buſineſs was over, that He had raiſed a Spirit he would not be able to conjure down: And that thoſe Petitioners had now appeared in a Buſineſs that pleaſed him, but would be as ready to appear at another Time, to croſs what He deſired; which proved true. For He was afterwards more troubled with Application, and Importunity of that Kind, and the Murmurs that aroſe from that Liberty, when all Men would be Counſellors, and cenſure all that the Council did, than with the Power of the Enemy.

ABOUT the Time that the Treaty began, the Queen landed in the North: And She reſolved with a good Quantity of Ammunition, and Arms, to make what Haſte She could to the King: having at her firſt landing, expreſſed by a Letter to his Majeſty, her Apprehenſion of an ill Peace by that Treaty; and declared, that She would never live in *England*, if She might not have a Guard for the Security of her Perſon: which Letter came accidentally afterwards into the Hands of the Parliament, of which They made Uſe to the Queen's Diſadvantage. And the Expectation of her Majeſty's Arrival at *Oxford*, was the Reaſon that the King ſo much deſired the Prolongation of the Treaty. And if it had pleaſed God that She had come thither Time enough, as She did ſhortly after, She would have probably condeſcended to many Propoſitions for the gratifying particular Perſons, as appeared afterwards, if thereby a reaſonable Peace might have been obtained.

WHEN the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners attended the King at *Oxford*, and deſired his Leave, that there might be a Parliament called in *Scotland*, which his Majeſty denied them (well knowing, that They would, againſt all the Proteſtations, and Oaths They had made to him, at his being in that Country, join with thoſe at *Weſtminſter*) They preſented a long Paper to the King, containing a bitter Invective againſt Biſhops, and the whole Government of the Church; as being contrary to the Word of God, and to the Advancement of true Religion: and concluded with a very paſſionate Deſire for the Alteration of that Government, as the only Means to ſettle Peace throughout his Majeſty's Dominions. In all their other Demands, concerning the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and calling a Parliament there, the King had only conferred with two, or three of thoſe He moſt truſted, whereof the Chancellor of the Exchequer was always one, and drew the Anſwers He gave: But this laſt Paper which only concerned *England*,

The Scotiſh Commiſſioners preſent to the King their Requeſt for the Abolition of Epiſcopacy.

England, He brought to the Council Board, and required their Advice, what Anſwer He ſhould give to it. The King himſelf was very deſirous to take this Occaſion, to ſhew his Affection and Zeal for the Church; and that other Men's Mouths might be hereafter ſtopped in that Argument, and that no Body might ever make the ſame Propoſition to him again, He had a great Mind to have made an Anſwer to every Expreſſion in their Paper; and to have ſet out the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy; and how impoſſible it was ever for him in Conſcience to conſent to any Thing, to the Prejudice of that Order and Function, or to the alienating their Lands: enlarging himſelf more in the Debate, than He uſed to do upon any other Argument; mentioning thoſe Reaſons which the ableſt Prelate could do upon that Occaſion; and wiſhed that all thoſe, and ſuch others as might occur, ſhould be contained in his Anſwer.

MANY of the Lords were of Opinion, that a ſhort Anſwer would be beſt, that ſhould contain Nothing but a Rejection of the Propoſition, without giving any Reaſon: no Man ſeeming to concur with his Majeſty, with which He was not ſatisfied; and replied with ſome Sharpneſs upon what had been ſaid. Upon which the Lord *Falkland* replied, having been before of that Mind, deſiring that no Reaſons might be given; and upon that Occaſion anſwered many of thoſe Reaſons the King had urged, as not valid to ſupport the Subject, with a little Quickneſs of Wit (as his Notions were always ſharp, and expreſſed with notable Vivacity) which made the King warmer than He uſed to be; reproaching all who were of that Mind, with want of Affection for the Church; and declaring that He would have the Subſtance of what He had ſaid, or of the like Nature, digeſted into his Anſwer; with which Reprehenſion All ſat very ſilent, having never undergone the like before. Whereupon the King recollecting himſelf, and obſerving, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not yet ſpoke, called upon him to deliver his Opinion, adding, that He was ſure He was of his Majeſty's Mind, with Reference to Religion, and the Church.

The King calls upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer to deliver his Opinion thereon.

THE Chancellor ſtood up, and ſaid, that He would have been glad to have ſaid Nothing that Day, having obſerved more Warmth, than had ever been at that Board, ſince He had the Honour to ſit there (which was not many Days before) that in Truth He was not of the Opinion of any one who had ſpoken; He did not think that the Anſwer ought to be very ſhort, or without any Reaſons; and He did as little think, that the Reaſons mentioned by his Majeſty, ought to be applied to the Paper, which the *Scots* had been ſo bold as to preſent to the King. He ſaid, all thoſe Reaſons were fit to be offered in a Synod, or in any other Place, where that Subject could be lawfully ventilated; and He believed them all to be of that Weight, that Mr. *Henderſon* and all his Aſſembly of Divines could never Anſwer; but He ſhould be very ſorry that his Majeſty ſhould ſo far condeſcend to their Preſumption, as to give thoſe Reaſons; as if He admitted the Matter to be diſputed. He aſked his Majeſty, what Anſwer He would give to the King of *France*, if He ſhould ſend to him, to alter the Government of the City of *London*, or any other City, and that He would ſubſtitute other Magiſtrates in the Place of thoſe, who are; which, as a King, He might more reaſonably demand, than theſe Gentlemen of *Scotland* could do what They propoſe; whether his Majeſty would think it more agreeable to his Honour, to make a reaſonable Diſcourſe, of the Antiquity of the Lord Mayor of *London*, and of the Dependance the preſent Magiſtrates had upon the Law, and the Frame of the Government;

or whether, He would only ſend him Word, that He ſhould meddle with what He had to do. He did think, that it was very fit that his Majeſty's Anſwer to this Paper ſhould contain a very ſevere, and ſharp Reprehenſion for their Preſumption; and take Notice, how ſolicitous They were for the Preſervation of what They called the Right and Privilege of their Country, that his Majeſty might not bring any Thing into Debate at his Council Board here, that concerned the Kingdom of *Scotland*, though it had often too much Relation to the Affairs and Government of *England*; yet that They would take upon them to demand from his Majeſty, at leaſt to adviſe him to make, an Alteration in the Government of *England*, which would quite alter the Frame of it, and make ſuch a Confuſion in the Laws; which They could no more comprehend, than They could any of the ſame Kind, that related to any other foreign Kingdom; and therefore, that for the Future They ſhould not practiſe the like Preſumption.

With which the King is well ſatisfied.

THE King diſcovered himſelf to be very well pleaſed, all the Time He was Speaking; and when He had done, his Majeſty ſaid again, He was ſure the Chancellor was entirely of his Mind, with Reference to the Church; and that He had ſatisfied him, that this was not the Seaſon, nor the Occaſion, in which thoſe Arguments, which He had uſed, were to be inſiſted on; and that He was willing to depart from his own Senſe; and was in Truth ſo well pleaſed, that He vouchſafed to make ſome kind of Excuſe for the Paſſion He had ſpoken with; and all the Lords were very well ſatisfied with the Expedient propoſed; and all commended the Chancellor: and the Anſwer was given to the *Scotiſh* Commiſſioners accordingly: who had too good Intelligence, not to know all that had paſſed; and upon their long Diſcourſes with the King (who was always forward to enlarge upon that Subject, in which He was ſo well verſed) expected ſuch an Anſwer, as might give them Opportunity to bring the whole Matter of Epiſcopacy upon the Stage, and into publick Diſputation. And ſo They returned to *London*, with manifeſt Diſſatisfaction, before the Commiſſioners of the Parliament; and with avowed Deteſtation of a Perſon, againſt whom They were known always to have an inveterate, and an implacable Diſpleaſure.

THE King was much troubled at *the Diſunion between the Princes* Rupert, *and* Maurice, *and the Marquis of* Hertford, *after the taking of* Briſtol; which He knew muſt exceedingly diſorder and divide that Army: For compoſing whereof, his Majeſty reſolved the next Day after the News, to go himſelf to *Briſtol*; which was very neceſſary in many Reſpects. The Settlement of the Port, which was of infinite Importance to the King in Point of Trade, and his Cuſtoms, and with Reference to *Ireland*; and the applying the Army to ſome new Enterprize, without Loſs of Time, could not be done without his Majeſty's Preſence. But there was Nothing more diſpoſed his Majeſty to that Reſolution, than to be abſent from his Council at *Oxford*, when He ſhould ſettle the Differences between the Princes, and the Marquis; for as He was always ſwayed by his Affection to his Nephews, which He did not think Partiality; ſo the Lords, towards whom the Princes did not live with any Condeſcenſion, were very ſolicitous, that the Marquis might receive no Injuſtice, or Diſobligation. And the King, to avoid all Counſel in this Particular, reſolved to declare no Reſolution, till He ſhould come himſelf to *Briſtol*; and ſo went from *Oxford* thither; taking with him, of the Council, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Maſter of the Rolls, and the

Chancellor of the Exchequer. The King lodging the firſt Night at *Malmſbury*; and the Lord *Falkland*, the Maſter of the Rolls, and ſome other Gentlemen lodging that Night with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at his Houſe at *Pirton*, which lay in the Way to *Briſtol*; where They were the next Day within an Hour after the King.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Office invaded by Mr. Aſhburnham.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer had undergone ſome Mortification, during the ſhort Abode at *Briſtol*, which was the only Port of Trade within the King's Quarters; which was like to yield a conſiderable Benefit to the King, if it were well managed; and the Direction thereof belonged entirely to his Office; but when He ſent to the Officers of the Cuſtoms, to be informed of the preſent State of Trade, He found that ſome Treaty was made, and Order given in it by Mr. *Aſhburnham*, a Groom of the Bedchamber; who, with the Aſſiſtance, and Advice of Sir *John Colepepper*, had prevailed with the King, to aſſign that Province to him, as a Means to raiſe a preſent Sum of Money for the Supply of the Army: which the Chancellor took very heavily, and the Lord *Falkland* out of his Friendſhip to him, more tenderly; and expoſtulated it with the King with ſome Warmth; and more paſſionately with Sir *John Colepepper*, and Mr. *Aſhburnham*, as a Violation of the Friendſhip They profeſſed to the Chancellor, and an Invaſion of his Office; which no Man bears eaſily.

The King interpoſes therein.

THEY were both aſhamed of it, and made ſome weak Excuſes, of Incogitance and Inadvertence; and the King himſelf, who diſcerned the Miſchief that would enſue, if there ſhould be an apparent Schiſm amongſt thoſe He ſo entirely truſted, was pleaſed to take Notice of it to the Chancellor, with many gracious Expreſſions; and ſaid, "that Mr. *Aſhburnham* "being Treaſurer, and Paymaſter of the Army, He did believe ſome Mo- "ney might have been raiſed for the preſent Occaſion; and only intended "it for the Preſent, without conſidering, it would be an Invaſion of his "Right; and therefore directed, that an Account ſhould be given to "him of all that had been done, and He ſhould do as He thought fit." But when He underſtood all that had been done, He would make no Alteration in it, that his Majeſty might be convinced, that his Service was not looked after in the Deſign. And it was diſcernable enough, that Mr. *Aſhburnham*, who uſually looked very far before him, had not ſo much intended to diſoblige the Chancellor, as by introducing himſelf this Way into the Cuſtoms, to continue one of the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, when the War ſhould be at an End; of which He got a Promiſe from the King at the ſame Time; who had great Affection for him, and an extraordinary Opinion of his Managery. If there remained after this any Jealouſy or Coldneſs between the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the other Two, as the Diſparity between their Natures, and Humours, made ſome believe there did, it never brake out or appeared, to the Diſturbance, or Prejudice of the King's Service; but all poſſible Concurrence in the carrying it on, was obſerved between them.

THE March of the Earl of *Eſſex* from *London* to *Gloceſter*, over as large a Campania as any in *England*, when the King had an Army of above eight thouſand Horſe, reputed victorious, without being put to ſtrike one Stroke — the Circumſtances of that Siege; and the raiſing it — the Earl's March, after he had performed that great Work; and when the King's Army watched only to engage him in a Battle; and paſſing over a large and open Campania, three Days before the King had Notice, that He was come out of *Gloceſter* — the overtaking the Army; and the Battle by *Newbury* — and his Retreat afterwards to *London*; contained ſo many

particular Actions of Courage, and Conduct, that They all deserve a very punctual, and just Relation; and are much above the Level of this plain, and foreign Discourse.

In this Battle of *Newbury*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer lost the Joy and Comfort of his Life; which He lamented so passionately, that He could not in many Days compose himself to any Thoughts of Business.

The Death of the Lord Falkland.

His dear Friend the Lord *Falkland*, hurried by his Fate, in the Morning of the Battle, as He was naturally inquisitive after Danger, put himself into the Head of Sir *John Byron*'s Regiment, which He believed was like to be in the hottest Service, and was then appointed to charge a Body of Foot; and in that Charge was shot with a Musket Bullet, so that He fell dead from his Horse. The same Day that the News came to *Oxford* of his Death, which was the next after He was killed, the Chancellor received a Letter from him, written at the Time when the Army rose from *Gloucester*; but the Messenger had been employed in other Service, so that He came not to *Oxford* till that Day. The Letter was an Answer to one the Chancellor had then sent to him; in which He had told him, how much He suffered in his Reputation with all discreet Men, by engaging himself unnecessarily in all Places of Danger: And that it was not the Office of a Privy Counsellor, and a Secretary of State, to visit the Trenches, as He usually did; and conjured him, out of the Conscience of his Duty to the King, and to free his Friends from those continual uneasy Apprehensions, not to engage his Person to those Dangers, which were not incumbent to him. His Answer was, that the Trenches were now at an End, there would be no more Danger there: That his Case was different from other Men's; that He was so much taken Notice of for an impatient Desire of Peace, that it was necessary that He should likewise make it appear, that it was not out of Fear of the utmost Hazard of War: He said some melancholick Things of the Time; and concluded, that in few Days They should come to a Battle, the Issue whereof, He hoped, would put an End to the Misery of the Kingdom.

Much hath been said of this excellent Person before; but not so much, or so well, as his wonderful Parts, and Virtues deserved. He died as much of the Time as of the Bullet: For from the very beginning of the War, He contracted so deep a Sadness and Melancholy, that his Life was not pleasant to him; and sure He was too weary of it. Those who did not know him very well, imputed, very unjustly, much of it to a violent Passion He had for a Noble Lady: And it was the more spoken of, because She died the same Day, and as some computed it, in the same Hour that He was killed; but They who knew either the Lord, or the Lady, knew well, that neither of them was capable of an ill Imagination. She was of the most unspotted, unblemished Virtue, never married, of an extraordinary Talent of Mind, but of no alluring Beauty, nor of a Constitution of tolerable Health, being in a deep Consumption, and not like to have lived so long by many Months. It is very true, the Lord *Falkland* had an extraordinary Esteem of her, and exceedingly loved her Conversation, as most of the Persons of eminent Parts of that Time did; for She was in her Understanding, and Discretion, and Wit, and Modesty, above most Women; the best of which had always a Friendship with her. But He was withal so kind to his Wife, whom He knew to be an excellent Person, that, though He loved his Children with more Affection and Fondness, than most Fathers use to do, He left by his Will all He had to his Wife;

and committed his three Sons, who were all the Children he had, to her ſole Care and Bounty.

HE was little more than thirty Years of Age when He was killed; in which Time He was very accompliſhed in all thoſe Parts of Learning, and Knowledge, which moſt Men labour to attain, till They are very Old; and in Wiſdom, and the Practice of Virtue, to a wonderful Perfection. From his Age of twenty Years, He had lived in an entire Friendſhip with the Chancellor, who was about ſix Months elder; and who never ſpake of him afterwards, but with a Love, and a Grief, which ſtill raiſed ſome Commotion in him. And He very often uſed to lament him, in the Words of *Cicero* concerning *Hortenſius*, *Quod magnâ Sapientium & Civium bonorum Penuriâ, Vir egregius, conjunctiſſimuſque mecum Conſiliorum omnium Societate, alieniſſimo Reipublicæ Tempore extinctus, & Auctoritatis, & Prudentiæ ſuæ, triſte nobis Deſiderium reliquerat.* And without Doubt, it was in a Conjuncture of Time, when the Death of every honeſt and diſcreet Perſon was a very ſenſible, and terrible Loſs, in the Judgment of all good Men.

AFTER the unhappy Death of the Lord *Falkland*, the King much deſired that the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſhould be Secretary of State in his Place; which the Queen did not oppoſe, though She rather wiſhed that the Lord *Digby* might have it; who had ſo much Kindneſs and Friendſhip for the Chancellor (which was at that Time, and long after, as Sincere as could receive Harbour in his Breaſt) that He profeſſed, He would not have it, if the other would receive it: but the Chancellor gratified his Civility, and refuſed the Office, the ſecond Time, as He had once before. And He had ſo much more Reaſon now, by the coming of a very ſpecious Embaſſy from *France*, in the Perſon of the Count of *Harcourt*, who was already arrived in *London*; in which the Chancellor knew his own Want of Ability, to act that Part, the Office of Secretary would have obliged him to; and for which, as far as the Perfection of the *French* Tongue could qualify him, the Lord *Digby* was very proper; and ſo He was made Secretary of State; profeſſing to every Body, that as He had the Office by the Chancellor's Refuſal of it, ſo He would wholly adviſe with him in all Things pertaining to it, which He always did; and the Confidence and Friendſhip between them was mutual, and very notorious, until that Lord changed his Religion. And He was no ſooner admitted and ſworn Secretary of State, and Privy-Counſellor, and conſequently made of the *Junto*, which the King at that Time created, conſiſting of the Duke of *Richmond*, the Lord *Cottington*, the two Secretaries of State, and Sir *John Colepepper*, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer was likewiſe added; to the Trouble, at leaſt the Surprize, of the Maſter of the Rolls; who could have been contented, that He ſhould have been excluded from that near Truſt, where all Matters were to be conſulted, before they ſhould be brought to the Council Board. And this Committee was appointed to treat with the Count of *Harcourt*; whom the King believed to be ſent from *France*, to demand any Thing from the Parliament in that King's Name, as his Majeſty ſhould direct; and therefore They were appointed to conſider well, what He ſhould be directed to propoſe.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer refuſes the Office of Secretary of State a ſecond Time.

He is added to the Junto.

BUT the Ambaſſador no ſooner came to the Town in great State and Luſtre, but He quickly ſaved them any farther Labour, by declaring, that He would treat with no Body but the King himſelf; his Buſineſs being only to ſerve the King, with Reference to the Differences between his Majeſty, and the Parliament; and pretended that in his ſhort Stay at *London*,

He had already diſcovered that his Majeſty was betrayed; and that his moſt ſecret Counſels were diſcovered: and ſo there was never any Communication between him, and the King's Council; but all Matters were tranſacted with the King himſelf, and Queen, and Lord *Jermyn*, who was not of the Council, and the Lord *Digby*; the Queen promiſing herſelf very much from his Negotiation; the Ambaſſador being then of great Reputation, having been General of the *French* Army in two or three great Actions, in which his Succeſs had been very notable; and the Queen looked upon him as a Perſon particularly devoted to her Service; and being of the Houſe of *Lorrain* (the younger Son of the Duke *d'Elboeuf*) He was not without ſome Alliance to the King; and ſo He returned to *London* with ſuch Inſtructions, and Advice as They thought fit to entruſt him with; which were too Particular; and with the Privity only of the two other Perſons mentioned before.

BUT it quickly appeared after, that He was not ſent with any Purpoſe to do the King Service; but that Cardinal *Mazarin* (who was newly entered upon the Miniſtry, after the Death of Cardinal *Richelieu*) might take ſuch a View of the Affairs of *England*, as the better to judge what He was to do; and that an Accommodation there might not break his Meaſures, with Reference to his other Deſigns; which the Ambaſſador was eaſily ſatisfied it was not like to do. And ſo, after three, or four Months ſpent between *Oxford*, and *London*, He returned to *France*; leaving the King's Affairs ſo much worſe than He found them, by having communicated ſome Inſtructions, which had been given him at *Oxford*, with over much Confidence, and which leſs diſpoſed ſome Perſons to Peace than They had been, at *London*.

The King directs the Chancellor of the Exchequer to prepare a Proclamation for diſſolving the Parliament at Weſtminſter.

THE King called the Chancellor one Day to him, and told him, "that "He thought there was too much Honour done to thoſe Rebels at *Weſtminſter* in all his Declarations, by his mentioning them as Part of the "Parliament; which as long as They ſhould be thought to be, They would "have more Authority by their continuing their Sitting in the Place, whi-"ther They were firſt called, than all the other Members, though ſo "much more numerous, would have, when They ſhould be convened any "where elſe (there being a Thought of convening them to *Oxford*) there-"fore He knew no Reaſon why He ſhould not poſitively declare them to "be diſſolved; and ſo forbid them to ſit or meet any more there. He ſaid, "that He knew learned Men of an Opinion, that that Act for the conti-"nuance of the Parliament was void from the Beginning; and that it is not "in the Power of the King, to bar himſelf from the Power of diſſolving "it; which is to be deprived of an eſſential Part of his Sovereignty: But "if the Act were good and valid in Law, They had diſſolved themſelves, "by their Force, in driving ſo many Members, and even his Majeſty him-"ſelf, who was their Head, from the Parliament; and had forfeited "their Right of Sitting there, and all that the Act had given them, by "their Treaſon, and Rebellion; which the very being a Parliament could "not ſupport: And therefore He wiſhed, that a Proclamation might be "prepared, to declare them actually diſſolved; and expreſly forbidding "them to meet, or any Body to own them, or ſubmit to them, as a Par-"liament.

His Advice to the King on that Subject.

THE Chancellor told him, that "He perceived by his Majeſty's Diſ-"courſe, that He had very much conſidered the Argument, and was well "prepared in it; which for his Part He was not. But He beſought him "to think it worth a very ſtrict Reflection; and to hear the Opinion of "learned

"learned Men, before He reſolved upon it. That it was of a very nice "and delicate Nature, at which not only the People in general, but thoſe "of his own Party, and even of his Council, would take more Umbrage, "than upon any one Particular, that had happened ſince the Beginning of "the War. That He could not imagine that his forbidding them to meet "any more at *Weſtminſter*, would make one Man the leſs to meet there; "but He might forbid them upon ſuch Grounds and Reaſons, as might "bring more to them: And that They who had ſevered themſelves from "them, upon the Guilt of their Actions; might return, and be recon-"ciled to them, upon their Unity of Opinion. That it had been the "firſt powerful Reproach They had corrupted the People with, towards "his Majeſty, that He intended to diſſolve this Parliament, notwithſtand-"ing the Act for Continuance thereof; and if He had Power to do that, "He might likewiſe by the ſame Power, repeal all the other Acts made "this Parliament; whereof ſome were very precious to the People: And "as his Majeſty had always diſclaimed any ſuch Thought, ſo ſuch a Procla-"mation as He now mentioned, would confirm all the Fears and Jea-"louſies, which had been infuſed into them; and would trouble many of "his own true Subjects.

"THAT for the Invalidity of the Act from the Beginning, He was in his "own Opinion inclined to hope, that it might be originally void; for the "Reaſons and Grounds his Majeſty had mentioned; and that the Parlia-"ment it ſelf, if this Rebellion was ſuppreſſed, might be of the ſame "Judgment, and declare it accordingly, which would enable him quickly "to diſſolve it: But till then, He thought all the Judges together, even "thoſe who were in his own Quarters, and of unqueſtionable Affection to "his Majeſty, would not declare any ſuch Invalidity; and much leſs, that "any private Man, how learned ſoever, would avow that Judgment: in "which his Majeſty might eaſily ſatisfy himſelf, having ſo many of the "Judges, and many other excellent Men of the Robe then at *Oxford*. "For their having diſſolved themſelves, or forfeited their Right of Sitting "there, by their Treaſon and Rebellion, *He ſaid*, He could leſs under-"ſtand it, than the other Argument of Invalidity; for that the Treaſon, "and Rebellion could only concern, and be penal to the Perſons who "committed them; it was poſſible many might ſit there, He was ſure "many had a Right to ſit there, who had always oppoſed every Illegal, "and every Rebellious Act; and therefore the Faults of the others, could "never forfeit any Right of theirs, who had committed no Fault. And "upon the whole Matter, concluded as He had begun, that his Majeſty "would very throughly conſult it, before He did ſo much as incline in his "own Wiſhes.

HIS Majeſty ſaid, He had ſpoken more Reaſon againſt it, than He had thought could have been alledged: However, He bade him confer with his Attorney General, who, He believed, was of another Opinion. The Chancellor moved his Majeſty, that ſince the Ground of what ſhould be reſolved on in this Point, muſt be expreſſed in the Proclamation, the Attorney might put his own Conceptions in Writing, and then his Majeſty would the better judge of them. The King ſaid, it ſeemed reaſonable to him, and He had propoſed it to him, but He had declined it, and commended the Pen his Majeſty had uſed to employ, as very clear and ſignificant; and ſaid, if He had an Hour's Conference with that Perſon, the Buſineſs would be done. Whereupon the Chancellor went immediately to his Lodging, chuſing rather to uſe that Civility towards him, than to

ſend for him; who did not love him ſo well as He had done, before He was his ſuperior Officer.

His Conferences with the Attorney General thereon.

After a long Conference together, and many Circumlocutions (which was his natural Way of Diſcourſe) and aſking Queſtions, *why not this?* and *why not that?* without expreſſing his own Opinion; at laſt He confeſſed, that there muſt be no Attempt to diſſolve them, "though it might be "even that might be lawful in many Reſpects," but that it would be ſufficient to declare the Force which had been, and ſtill was upon them, that rendered them not Free; and ſo They ought not to be looked upon as a Parliament: And that They might be required, to adjourn from Time, to Time, till all the Members might with Safety repair to, and ſit with them; in all which the other agreed with him, and ſo They parted; the Chancellor promiſing that, againſt the next Morning, He would prepare a Proclamation agreeable to that, which He thought to be their joint Meaning; for He did not obſerve any Difference to be between them. The next Morning the Attorney came to his Lodging, where He found the Draught prepared, which as ſoon as He had read, He ſaid did in no Degree expreſs, or comprehend the Senſe that had been agreed between them: And thereupon, He entered again into the ſame Diſcourſe He had made before, and more perplexed than before; being moſt offended with the Preamble, wherein it was declared, that the King neither could, or intended, to break the Parliament: which was ſo contrary to what He had infuſed into the King; and which the Chancellor thought moſt neceſſary, to contradict that Reproach, which naturally would be caſt upon his Majeſty. In the End, when He had wearied himſelf with the Debate, They came both again to mean the ſame Thing; which was no other, than was agreed before, though as the Attorney ſaid, it was not expreſſed in the Draught before them: whereupon it was agreed between them, that againſt the next Morning, either of them ſhould make a Draught apart; and then, when They came together, it would eaſily be adjuſted.

But the next Morning They were as far aſunder as before, and the Attorney had prepared no Paper, and ſaid, it needed not, the Difference being very ſmall, and would be rectified with changing, or leaving out a Word or two; which the Chancellor deſired him to do, and to leave out, or put in, what He pleaſed: which when He went about to do, twenty other Things occurred to him; and ſo He entered upon new Diſcourſes, without concluding any Thing; and every Day entertained the King with an Account, as if all were agreed; but upon Conference with the Chancellor, his Majeſty wondered at the Delay, and told him, He wondered at it, for the Attorney ſpake ſtill as clearly to him, as it was poſſible for any Man to do, and therefore the putting it in Writing could not be hard. The other anſwered him, that it would never be done any other Way, than that, which He had firſt propoſed to him; and therefore beſought his Majeſty, that He would oblige the Attorney to put his own Conceptions, which He made ſo clear to him, into Writing; and then, his Majeſty having likewiſe what the Chancellor prepared in his Hands, He would eaſily conclude which ſhould ſtand; and otherwiſe there would never be any Concluſion.

Whoſe Draught of a Proclamation the King ſhews to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

About two Days after, the Chancellor came into the Garden where the King was walking; and calling him ſhortly to him, in ſome Diſorder, his Majeſty told him, "He was never in that Amazement in his Life; "that He had at laſt, not without a very poſitive Command, obliged the "Attorney to bring him ſuch a Draught in Writing, as was agreeable to

"his own Senſe; and that He had now done it; but in ſuch a Manner, "that He no more underſtood what the Meaning of it was, than if it were "in *Welch*, which was the Language of the Attorney's Country: only, He ſaid, "He was very ſure it contained nothing of the Senſe He had ever "expreſſed to him;" and ſo bade him follow him into a little Room at the End of the Garden; where as ſoon as He was entered He ſhut the Door, becauſe there were many People in the Garden; and then pulled a Paper out of his Pocket, and bade him read it; which when he had done, it being all in the Attorney's own Hand, He ſaid, "it deſerved Wonder in- "deed;" and it was ſo rough, perplexed, and inſignificant, that no Man could judge by it, or out of it, what the Writer propoſed to himſelf. And it made ſo great an Impreſſion upon the King (who had before thought him a Man of a Maſter Reaſon, and that no Man had ſo clear Notions) that He never after had any Eſteem of him.

Character of the Attorney General.

THE Truth is, He was a Man very unlike any other Man; of a very good natural Wit, improved by Converſation with learned Men, but not at all by Study and Induſtry: And then his Converſation was moſt with Men, though much ſuperior to him in Parts, who rather admired, than informed him, of which his Nature (being the proudeſt Man living) made him not capable, becauſe not deſirous. His greateſt Faculty was, and in which He was a Maſter, to make difficult Matters more intricate and perplexed; and very eaſy Things to ſeem more hard than they were. The King conſidered the Matter and Subject of that Proclamation, at the Council; where that Draught the Chancellor had provided, was agreed to; and the Attorney ſeemed to be ſatisfied in it; and was content to have it believed, that it had been conſulted with him; though He never forgave the Chancellor for expoſing him in that Manner; by which He found He had loſt much Ground.

The King's Approbation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Behaviour in the Treaty of Uxbridge.

AFTER the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, moſt of the Commiſſioners had given ſo good a Teſtimony of the Chancellor's Diligence and Induſtry, that the King, ſhortly after his Return, very graciouſly took Notice of it to him; and above all, of his Affection to the Church, of which, He ſaid, Dr. *Steward* had ſo fully informed him, that He looked upon him as one of the few, who was to be relied upon in that Particular: at which He ſaid, himſelf was not at all ſurprized, having long known his Affection, and Judgment in that Point; but confeſſed He was ſurprized with the Carriage of ſome others, from whom He had expected another kind of Behaviour, in Matters of the Church; and named Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, upon whom He ſaid, He had always looked, being the Son of a Biſhop, as ſo firm, that He could not be ſhaken; and therefore He was the more amazed, to hear what Condeſcenſions He had been willing to have made, in what concerned Religion; and preſſed the Chancellor to anſwer ſome Queſtions He aſked him about that Tranſaction: to the Particulars whereof He excuſed himſelf from anſwering, by the Proteſtation, They had all taken before the Treaty, with his Majeſty's Approbation: though indeed himſelf had been very much ſurprized with the firſt Diſcovery of that Temper in that Gentleman, which He had never before ſuſpected: and ever after ſaid, that "He was a Man of excellent Parts, and honeſtly inclined; and would "chuſe much rather to do well than ill; but if it were not ſafe for him to "be ſteady in thoſe Reſolutions, He was ſo much given to find out Expe- "dients to ſatisfy unreaſonable Men, that He would at laſt be drawn to "yield to any Thing, He ſhould be powerfully preſſed to do.

THE *King at that Time having reſolved to ſeparate the Prince his Son from himſelf, by ſending him into the Weſt*, the Chancellor had a great Deſire to excuſe himſelf from attending upon the Prince in that Journey; and repreſented to his Majeſty, that his Office made it more proper for him to be near his Majeſty's Perſon; and therefore renewed his Suit again to him, that his Service might be ſpared in that Employment: which He was the leſs inclined to, becauſe He had diſcovered, that neither the Duke of *Richmond*, or the Earl of *Southampton* did intend to wait upon his Highneſs in that Expedition: But the King told him poſitively, and with ſome Warmth, that if He would not go, He would not ſend his Son: whereupon He ſubmitted to do any Thing which His Majeſty ſhould judge fit for his Service.

THE Chancellor ſpeaking one Day with the Duke of *Richmond*, who was exceedingly kind to him, of the ill State of the King's Affairs, and of the Prince's Journey into the Weſt, the Duke aſked him, whether He was well reſolved to carry the Prince into *France*, when He ſhould be required. He anſwered, that there had been no ſuch Thing mentioned to him, nor could He ever be made inſtrumental in it, but in one Caſe, which was, to prevent his falling into the Hands of the Parliament; and in that Caſe, He did believe every honeſt Man would rather adviſe his going any whither, than be taken by them: Yet even in that Caſe, He ſhould prefer many Places before *France*. The Duke wiſhed He might ſtay till then, implying that He doubted it was the preſent Deſign; but there was never any Thing diſcovered to make it believed, that there was a Deſign at that Time formed to ſuch a Purpoſe: yet the Lord *Digby*, who had all Familiarity, and Confidence with the Chancellor, ſhortly after gave him Occaſion to apprehend, that there might even then be ſome ſuch Intention.

Lord Digby's *Diſcourſe with the Chancellor concerning the Prince's going to* France.

AFTER a long Diſcourſe, of the great Satisfaction the King had in his (the Chancellor's) Service; and how much He was pleaſed with his Behaviour in the Treaty at *Uxbridge*; and that He had not a greater Confidence in any Man's Affection, and Fidelity; He ſaid, his Majeſty had a great Mind to confer with him upon a Point of the laſt Importance; but that He was kept from it, by an Apprehenſion, that He was of a different Judgment from his Majeſty in that Particular. The other anſwered, that He was very ſorry that the King was reſerved for ſuch a Reaſon; for though he knew, the Chancellor did never pretend to think one Thing, when He did think another, and ſo might take the Boldneſs to differ from his Majeſty in his Judgment; yet the King could not believe, that He would diſcover the Secret, or refuſe to do any Thing that became an honeſt Man, upon his Command, though He did not believe it counſellable. Whereupon, He entered upon a very reaſonable Conſideration, of the low Condition of the King; of the Diſcontent and Murmur of the Court, and of the Camp; how very difficult a Thing it was like to be, to raiſe ſuch an Army as would be fit to take the Field; and how much more unfit it would be, for the King to ſuffer himſelf to be encloſed in any Garriſon; which He muſt be, if there were no Army for him to be in. If the firſt Difficulty ſhould be maſtered, and an Army made ready to march, there could be little Doubt, how great ſoever their Diſtractions were at *London*, but that the Parliament would be able to ſend another more numerous, and much better ſupplied than the King's could be; and then, if the King's Army was beaten, He could have no Hope ever to raiſe another; his Quarters already being very ſtreight; and after a Defeat, the victorious Army would find no Oppoſition; nor was there any Garriſon that could

oppoſe them any conſiderable Time; *London* would pour out more Forces; that all the Weſt would be ſwallowed up in an Inſtant; and in ſuch a Caſe He aſked him, whether He would not think it fit, and aſſiſt to the carrying the Prince out of the Kingdom.

THE Chancellor told him, He would deliver his Opinion freely to him, and was willing He ſhould let the King know it. That ſuch a Proſpect as He had ſuppoſed, might, and ought to be prudently conſidered; but that it muſt be with great Secreſy, for that there were already to his Knowledge, ſome Whiſpers of ſuch a Purpoſe; and that it was the true End of ſending the Prince into the Weſt; which, if it ſhould be believed, it would never be in their Power to execute, though the Occaſion ſhould be moſt preſſing; therefore deſired there might not be the leaſt Whiſper of any Contingency, that might make it fit. For the Matter it ſelf, it muſt never be done, upon any Suppoſition of a Neceſſity; but when the Neceſſity ſhould be real, and in View, it ought to be reſolved, and executed at once: And He would make no Scruple of carrying him rather into *Turkey*, than ſuffering him to be made a Priſoner to the Parliament. *The Chancellor's Reply.*

THE Lord *Digby* replied, that though the King would be very well pleaſed with this Opinion of his, yet He would not be ſurprized with it; ſince He knew his Affection, and Wiſdom to be ſuch, that in ſuch an Extremity, He could not but have that Reſolution: therefore that was not the Point that the King doubted He would differ with him in. Then He continued the Diſcourſe, that He hoped there would not ſuch an Occaſion fall out; and that the Diviſions at *London* would yet open ſome Door for a good Peace to enter at; but if They ſhould unite, and ſhould ſend out a ſtrong Army, and likewiſe appoint the *Scots* to march towards them; how the King would do between two ſuch Armies, was a terrible Proſpect: and then the leaſt Blow would raiſe ſo general a Conſternation, that the King would be more diſquieted by his Friends, and Servants, than by the Enemy: That his Council was ſo conſtituted, that They would look upon the Prince's leaving the Kingdom, as leſs adviſable, than giving himſelf up to the Parliament; and that many Men were yet ſo weak, as to believe, that the beſt Way the King could take for his Security, and Preſervation of his Poſterity, was, to deliver up both Himſelf, and all his Children, into the Hands of the Parliament; and that They would then give him better Conditions, than They had offered in their Treaties; having it then in their Power to keep all ſuch Perſons from him, as They were diſſatisfied with.

IF this Opinion ſhould once ſpread it ſelf, as upon any ſignal Defeat it would undoubtedly do, it muſt be expected, that the Council, and moſt of the Lords, who looked upon themſelves as ruined for their Loyalty, out of their natural Apprehenſion, would imagine, that the Prince being then in the Weſt, and at Liberty to do what ſhould be thought fit, would be directed by the King, to tranſport himſelf into Parts beyond the Sea; and the Queen his Mother being then in *France*, moſt probably thither; which was a Circumſtance that would likewiſe make his Tranſportation more univerſally odious. So that upon this Reflection, and erroneous Animadverſion, the King would be, in the firſt unfortunate Conjuncture, importuned by all about him, to ſend for the Prince; or at leaſt to ſend ſuch Orders to thoſe to whoſe Care He was entruſted, that They ſhould not preſume to tranſport him beyond the Seas, in what Exigent ſoever. Moſt Men would believe, that They ſhould merit of the Parliament by this Advice, and would proſecute it with the more Earneſtneſs and Importunity;

whilſt thoſe Few who diſcerned the Miſchief and Ruin that muſt flow from it, would not have the Courage to deliver their Opinions in Publick, for Fear of being accuſed of the Counſel; and by this Means the King might be ſo wearied and tired with Importunity, that againſt his Judgment, He might be prevailed with, to ſign ſuch a Direction and Order, as is before mentioned; though his Majeſty was clearly ſatisfied in his Underſtanding, that if both himſelf and the Prince were in their Hands together, the beſt that could happen, would be Murdering him, and Crowning his Son; whereas if his Son were at Liberty, and out of their Reach, They would get Nothing by his Death, and conſequently would not attempt it.

This he ſaid, was the fatal Conjuncture the King apprehended; and He then aſked the Chancellor, what He would do. To which He anſwered, without pauſing, that He hoped the King had made up a firm Reſolution never to depart from his own Virtue, upon which his Fate depended: and that if He forſook himſelf, He had no Reaſon to depend upon the Conſtancy of any other Man, who had Nothing to ſupport that Confidence, but the Conſcience of doing what was juſt: that no Man could doubt the Lawfulneſs of obeying him, in carrying the Prince out of the Kingdom, to avoid his being taken by the Rebels; and He was not only ready to obey in that Caſe, but would confidently adviſe it, as a Thing in Policy and Prudence neceſſary to be done. But if the King, being at Liberty, and with his own Counſellors and Servants, ſhould under his Hand forbid the Prince to tranſport himſelf, and forbid all about him, to ſuffer it to be done, He would never be guilty of diſobeying that expreſs Command; though He ſhould be very ſorry to receive it. He wiſhed the King would ſpeak with him of it, that He might take the Boldneſs to conjure him, never to put an honeſt, and a faithful Servant to that unjuſt Streight, to do any Thing expreſly contrary to his plain, and poſitive Command, upon Pretence, of knowing his ſecret Pleaſure; which is expoſing him to publick Juſtice, and Reproach, which can never be wiped out by the Conſcience of the other; and that the Artifice was not worthy the Royal Breaſt of a great Monarch. This, he ſaid, was ſtill upon the Suppoſition of the King's Liberty; but if He were a Priſoner in the Hands of his Enemies (though that ſhould not ſhake his Reſolution, or make him ſay Things He doth not intend, upon Imagination that others will know his Meaning) the Caſe would be different; and honeſt Men would purſue former Reſolutions, though They ſhould be countermanded, according to Circumſtances.

The Conference ended; and was never after reſumed: nor did the King ever in the leaſt Degree, enter upon the Argument with the Chancellor, though He had many private Conferences with him upon all that occurred to him with Reference to what the Prince ſhould do in the Weſt; and of all the melancholick Contingencies, which might fall out in his own Fortune. And it was generally believed, that his Majeſty had a much greater Confidence in the Chancellor, than in the other, whoſe Judgment He had no Reverence for; and this made the Chancellor afterwards believe, that all the other Diſcourſe from the Lord *Digby*, proceeded rather from ſome Communication of Counſels He had with the Queen, than any Directions from the King. And He did upon concurrent Circumſtances ever think, that the Queen did from the firſt Minute of the Separation of the Prince, from the King, intend to draw his Highneſs into *France*, that He might be near her, and under her Tuition, before any Thing in the declenſion of the King's Fortune required it, or made it counſellable; and

therefore had appointed the Lord *Digby*, her Creature, who She knew had great Friendſhip with the Chancellor, to feel his Pulſe, and diſcover, whether He (in whom She had never Confidence) might be applicable to her Purpoſes. But He often declared, that the King himſelf never intimated the leaſt Thought of the Prince's leaving the Kingdom, till after the Battle of *Naſeby*; and when *Fairfax* was marched with his Army into the Weſt; and himſelf was in Deſpair of being able to raiſe another Army; and even then, when He ſignified his Pleaſure to that Purpoſe, He left the Time, and the Manner, and the Place to them, who were eſpecially truſted by him, about the Prince; as will appear by the particular Papers which are preſerved of that Affair; and wherein it will likewiſe appear, that his Majeſty received infinite Satisfaction, and Content in the whole Management of that Affair, and the happy and ſecure Tranſportation of the Prince, in the juſt and proper Seaſon, and when all the Kingdom was right glad that it was done.

As his Majeſty was more particularly gracious to the Chancellor from the Time of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*; ſo there was no Day paſſed, without his conferring with him in private upon his moſt ſecret Conſiderations, and Apprehenſions, before his Departure with the Prince for the *Weſt*. One Day He told him, He was very glad of what the Duke of *Richmond* had done the Day before; and indeed He had done ſomewhat the Day before, which very much ſurprized the Chancellor. When his Majeſty aroſe from Council, the Duke of *Richmond* whiſpered ſomewhat privately to him, upon which the King went into his Bedchamber; and the Duke called the Chancellor, and told him, the King would ſpeak with him, and ſo took him by the Hand, and led him into the Bedchamber; the Privilege, and Dignity of which Room was then ſo punctually preſerved, that the King very rarely called any Privy Counſellor to confer with him there, who was not of the Bedchamber; which maintained a juſt Reverence to the Place, and an Eſteem of thoſe who were admitted to attend there.

The Chancellor with the King's Approbation, forms a Friendſhip with the Duke of Richmond.

As ſoon as He came into the Room, before He ſaid any Thing to the King, who was there alone, the Duke ſpake to the Chancellor, and told him, that He had been brought up from his Childhood by the Crown, and had always paid it the Obedience of a Child; that as He had taken a Wife with the Approbation, and Advice of the Crown; ſo He had never made a Friendſhip, which He took to be a Kind of Marriage, without the King's Privity, and particular Approbation; that He had long had a Kindneſs for him, but had taken Time to know him well, which He thought He now did; and therefore had aſked his Majeſty's Conſent, that He might make a Friendſhip with him: and then ſaid to the King, "Sir, "have I not your Approbation to this Conjunction?" to which his Majeſty ſaid, "yes, my Lord, I am very glad of it; and I will paſs my Word "to you for the Chancellor, that you will not repent it;" with many gracious Expreſſions to them both: And ſo the Duke led him out of the Room again, ſaying, now Mr. Chancellor it is in your Power to deceive me. And to this it was, that his Majeſty's Diſcourſe related the next Day, when He told him, He was glad of what had paſſed, &c. and ſaid, He hoped He would give him good Counſel; for He had not of late lived towards him in the Manner he was uſed to do; that He knew well the Duke was a very honeſt, and worthy Man, and had all the Kindneſs, as well as Duty for his Majeſty; but that He was grown ſullen, or diſcontented, and had not the ſame Countenance He uſed to have; for which He could imagine no other Reaſon, but that his Man *Webb* gave him ill Counſel: He

ſaid, He was well contented that He ſhould take Notice, that his Majeſty was not well ſatisfied; and aſked him ſuddenly, when the Duke was at *Oriel* College with them; *Oriel* College was the Lodging of the Lord Treaſurer, where that Committee for ſecret Affairs, of which the Duke was one, uſed to meet. The Chancellor anſwered, that indeed the Duke had not been there lately, which he thought had proceeded from his Attendance upon his Majeſty, or ſome other neceſſary Divertiſement. The King ſaid, it proceeded not from thence; and that He might take Occaſion from his Abſence from thence, to let himſelf into that Diſcourſe; and afterwards proceed as He thought fit.

Character of the Duke of Richmond.

THE Duke was a Perſon of a very good Underſtanding; and of ſo great Perfection, and Punctuality in all Matters of Honeſty, and Honour, that He was infinitely ſuperior to any kind of Temptation. He had all the Warmth, and Paſſions of a Subject, and a Servant, and a Friend for the King, and for his Perſon; but He was then a Man of a high Spirit; and valued his very Fidelity at the Rate it was worth; and not the leſs, for that it had almoſt ſtood ſingle for ſome Time. The Chancellor was very ſorry for this Diſcovery; and choſe to wait upon the Duke the ſame Day, near the Hour when the Meeting uſed to be at *Oriel* College: And when He had ſpent a ſhort Time with him, He ſaid, He thought it was Time to go to *Oriel* College, and aſked his Grace, whether He would pleaſe to go thither; for which He making ſome Excuſe, the other preſſed him with ſome Earneſtneſs, and ſaid, it was obſerved that He had a good Time declined that Meeting, and if He ſhould not now go thither, He ſhould be doubtful there was ſome Reaſon for it.

THE Duke replied, that He had indeed been abſent from thence for ſome Time, and that He would deal clearly with him as his Friend, but deſired it ſhould not be known; that He was reſolved to be there no more. Then complained, that the King was not kind to him; at leaſt had not that Confidence in him, which He had uſed to have: And then ſpake of many Particulars looſely; and eſpecially, that before the Treaty, He had adviſed the King to uſe all the Means He could to draw them to a Treaty, for many Advantages which were like to be gotten by it; and to that Purpoſe, produced a Letter that He had newly received from the Counteſs of *Carliſle*, and read it to his Majeſty, who then ſeemed not to be moved with the Contents; but afterwards in ſeveral Diſcourſes reflected upon it in ſuch a Manner, as if He were jealous, that the Duke held too much Correſpondence with that People: Which He looked upon, as ſuch a Point of Diffidence, that it was no longer fit for him to be preſent, when the ſecret Part of his Affairs was tranſacted; and ſo He had, and would forbear to meet in that Place, till his Majeſty ſhould entertain a better Opinion of him: yet He concealed the Trouble of Mind which He ſuſtained; and wiſhed, that no Notice might be taken of it.

Whom He endeavours to reconcile to the King.

THE Chancellor told him, it was too late for that Caution; that the Lords themſelves could not but obſerve his long Abſence, who before uſed to be the moſt punctual; and confeſſed to him, that the King himſelf had ſpoken to him of it with a Senſe of Wonder, and Diſlike; which, He ſaid, He was to blame himſelf for; ſince the Honour He had done him to the King, had likewiſe diſpoſed his Majeſty to truſt him ſo far, as to expreſs ſome Diſſatisfaction He had in his Grace's late Carriage and Behaviour. The Duke ſeemed not diſpleaſed with the Communication, but thereupon entered into a fuller, and warmer Diſcourſe than before; how much the King had withdrawn his Confidence from him, and truſted others much more

than him. In Sum, it was eaſy to diſcern, that the Thing that troubled him, was the Power and Credit that *John Aſhburnham* had with the King; which his Vanity made him own to that Degree, that He was not content to enjoy the Benefit of it, except He made it publick, and to be taken Notice of by all Men; which could not but reflect upon his Honour: And when the Chancellor ſeemed to think it impoſſible, that himſelf could believe, that the King could prefer a Man of Mr. *Aſhburnham*'s Talent, before his Grace; He proceeded with many Inſtances, and inſiſted with moſt Indignation upon one.

THAT about a Year before, Sir *John Lucas*, who was well known to his Grace, having met him abroad in his Travels, and ever after paid a particular Reſpect to him, had applied himſelf to him, and deſired his Favour, that when there ſhould be any Opportunity offered, He would recommend him to the King, to whom He was not unknown; that his Affection to his Majeſty's Service was notorious enough, and that his Sufferings were ſo likewiſe; his Houſe being the firſt that was plundered in the beginning of the War; by which, the Loſs He ſuſtained in Furniture, Plate, Money, and Stock, was very conſiderable; ſo that He might modeſtly hope, that when his Majeſty ſcattered his Favours upon others of his own Rank, his poor Service might likewiſe be remembered: But He had ſeen Men raiſed to Dignities, who He was ſure had not the Advantage over him in their Sufferings, whatever They might have in their Actings; and He deſired no more, but (ſince it was too evident that his Majeſty's Wants were great, and that Money would do him ſome Service) that He might receive that Degree of Honour which others had, and He would make ſuch a Preſent to him, as ſhould manifeſt his Gratitude; and He deſired to owe the Obligation to his Grace, and to receive it only by his Mediation.

HE ſaid, He had moved this Matter, with the Relation of all the Circumſtances, to his Majeſty, who ſpake very graciouſly of the Gentleman, as a Perſon of Merit, but ſaid, He was reſolved to make no more Lords; which He received as a very good Anſwer, and looked upon as a good Reſolution, and commended it; deſiring only, that if at any Time his Majeſty found it neceſſary to vary from that Reſolution, He would remember his Propoſition, and gratify that Gentleman; which He promiſed to do; and with all which He acquainted the Perſon concerned; thinking it could not but well ſatisfy him. But He told him, that He was ſorry that He could not receive the Honour, by his Grace's Recommendation; but for the Thing it ſelf, He could have it when He would; and ſhortly after it was diſpatched by Mr. *Aſhburnham*. He aſked, whether this was not preferring Mr. *Aſhburnham* very much before him. The Chancellor told him, He was preferred as the better Market Man; and that He ought not to believe, that the King's Affection ſwayed him to that Preference, but an Opinion, that the other would make the better Bargain. He replied, his Majeſty was deceived in that, for He had told him what the other meant to give, without the leaſt Thought of reſerving any Thing for himſelf; whereas his Majeſty had now received five hundred Pounds leſs, and his Market Man had gotten ſo much for his Pains.

IN Concluſion, He prevailed ſo far with him, that They went that Afternoon together to the Committee to *Oriel* College; and the next Day the Chancellor ſpake with the King again, and told him, that the Duke had been in the Afternoon with the Committee, where many Things had been

And the King to the Duke of Richmond;

conſulted; and that He found, all his Trouble proceeded from an Apprehenſion, that his Majeſty had withdrawn his Affection from him; at leaſt that He, the Duke, had not the ſame Credit with his Majeſty, which He had formerly had; and that the Senſe, and Fear of that, could not but make an Impreſſion upon a good Servant, who loved his Maſter as well as He did. His Majeſty ſaid, They two ſhould not live as well together, as They had done, as long as the Duke kept his Man *Webb*; who made him believe, that the King was wholly governed by *Aſhburnham*, and cared not for any Body elſe. He ſaid, no Body who knew him, could believe He could be governed by *Aſhburnham*; who, though an honeſt Man, and one that He believed loved him well, no Man thought was of an Underſtanding ſuperior to his Majeſty; and enlarged himſelf upon this Argument ſo much, that He ſeemed as it were glad of the Opportunity, to clear himſelf from that Aſperſion, or Imputation.

But without Succeſs.

It is a very great Misfortune for any Prince to be ſuſpected to be governed by any Man; for as the Reproach is of all others the moſt grievous, ſo They think the truſting weak Men, who are much ſhort of their own Vigour of Wit, and Underſtanding, is a ſufficient Vindication from that Calumny; and ſo, before They are aware of it, They decline wiſer Men, who are fit to adviſe them, and give themſelves to weaker, upon an Imagination, that no Body will ever ſuſpect, They can be governed by them. In Fine, He found the Work too hard for him; the King being ſo much incenſed againſt *Webb*, that He expected the Duke ſhould turn him away: and the Duke himſelf, looked upon the King's Prejudice, as infuſed into him by *Aſhburnham*, upon particular Malice; having often deſired, that ſome Accuſer might charge *Webb*, and He be heard to anſwer for himſelf; which the King not being willing to admit, the other was unwilling to diſmiſs a Servant, his Secretary, who had ſerved him long, and was very uſeful to him; and who indeed was never ſuſpected for any Infidelity, or Want of Affection to his Maſter: and ſo the Chancellor, to his great Trouble, was not able to remove that Cloudineſs that remained in both their Countenances; which never produced the leaſt ill Effect in the View or Obſervation of any; the Duke's Duty being never in any Degree diminiſhed; and the King's Kindneſs to him continuing with many gracious Evidences, to his Death.

The King's laſt Conference with the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

The laſt Conference his Majeſty had with the Chancellor, was the very Day the Prince began his Journey towards the Weſt, and indeed after He had received his Bleſſing; when his Majeſty ſent for him into his Bedchamber; and repeated ſome Things he had mentioned before. He told him, "there had been many Things which had troubled him, with "Reference to his Son's Abſence from him; for all which, but one, He "had ſatisfied himſelf: the one was, the Inconvenience which might "ariſe from the Weakneſs and Folly of his Governor; againſt which He "had provided, as well as He could, by obliging the Prince to follow the "Advice of his Council in all Things; which He was well aſſured He "would do; and He had given them as much Authority, as They could "wiſh. Another was, that there was one Servant about the Prince, who "He thought, had too much Credit with him, which was *Elliot*; who "He did not intend ſhould be with him in the Journey; and had there-"fore ſent him into *France* to the Queen, with Direction to her Majeſty, "to keep him there; and if He ſhould return whilſt the Prince remained "in the Weſt, that He ſhould be ſent to his Majeſty; and not ſuffered to "ſtay with his Highneſs; and that was all the Care He could take in

"thoſe

"thoſe two Particulars: But there was a Third, in which He knew not "what to do, and that troubled him much more than the other two." When the Chancellor ſeemed full of Expectation to know what that might be, the King ſaid, "I have obſerved of late ſome kind of Sharpneſs, upon "many Occaſions, between *Colepepper* and you; and though you are "joined with other honeſt Men, yet my great Confidence is upon you "two: I know not that the Fault is in you; nay, I muſt confeſs, that it "is very often in him; but let it be where it will, any Difference, and "Unkindneſs between you two, muſt be at my Charge; And I muſt tell "you the Fear I have of it, gives me much Trouble: I have ſpoken very "plainly to him my Apprehenſion in this Point, within this Hour; and "He hath made as fair Promiſes to me as I can wiſh; and upon my Con-"ſcience I think, He loves you, though He may ſometimes provoke you "to be angry.

THE King here making a Pauſe, the Chancellor, out of Countenance, ſaid, "He was very ſorry, that He had ever given his Majeſty any Occa-"ſion for ſuch an Apprehenſion; but very glad, that He had vouchſafed "to inform him of it; becauſe He believed He ſhould give his Majeſty "ſuch Aſſurance in that Particular, as would fully ſatisfy him: He aſſu-"red his Majeſty, that He had a great Eſteem of the Lord *Colepepper*; "and though He might have at ſome Times Paſſions which were incon-"venient, He was ſo confident of himſelf, that they ſhould not provoke, "or diſturb him, that He was well content, that his Majeſty ſhould con-"demn, and think him in the Fault, if any Thing ſhould fall out, of Pre-"judice to his Service, from a Difference between them two." With which his Majeſty appeared abundantly ſatisfied, and pleaſed; and embracing him, gave him his Hand to kiſs; and He immediately went to Horſe, and followed the Prince: And this was the laſt Time the Chancellor ever ſaw that gracious and excellent King.

The Chancellor attends the Prince into the Weſt; and is there firſt aſſaulted by the Gout.

IT was upon the 4th of *March*, in the Year 1644, that the Prince parted from the King his Father. He lodged that Night at *Farringdon*; having made his Journey thither, in one continued Storm of Rain, from the Minute He left *Oxford*: And from thence went the next Day, to the Garriſon of the *Devizes*; and the third to the City of *Bath*; which being a ſafe Place, and within ſeven or eight Miles of *Briſtol*; He ſtaid there two or three Days. And in this Journey the Chancellor was firſt aſſaulted with the Gout; having never had the leaſt Apprehenſion of it before; but from his coming to *Bath*, He was not able to ſtand; and ſo went by Coach to *Briſtol*; where in few Days He recovered that firſt Lameneſs; which ever after afflicted him too often. And ſo the Year 1644 ended, which ſhall conclude this Part.

Montpelier,
6th November,
1669.

The LIFE of

Edward Earl of *Clarendon*

From his Birth to the Reſtoration of the ROYAL FAMILY in the Year 1660.

PART the FOURTH.

A Very particular Memorial of all material Affairs in the Weſt, during the ſubſequent Year of 1645, during the Prince's Reſidence in the Weſt — The State, and Temper of that Country, after the Defeat of his Majeſty's Army at *Naſeby* — The ſeveral Plots and Devices of the Lord *Goring*, to get the Prince into his Power — The Debauchery of that Army, and amongſt the Officers of it; and the Defeats it ſuffered from the Enemy, through that Debauchery — *Goring*'s Departure out of the Kingdom; and the Poſture he left his Army in — The beating up of their Quarters afterwards — The entering of *Fairfax* into the Weſt with his Army; and his ſudden taking the Towns there — The mutinous Behaviour of Sir *Richard Greenvil*, and the Quarrels, and Conflicts between the Troops under his Command, with thoſe under the Lord *Goring* — The Prince's Retreat by Degrees backward into *Cornwall*, as *Fairfax* advanced — The ſeveral Meſſages, and Orders from the King, for the tranſporting the Prince out of *England*; and all the Directions, and Reſolutions thereupon; and the ſeveral Meſſages from the Queen, and the Earl of St. *Albans*; with the Aſſurance of a Supply of ſix thouſand Foot, under the Command of *Ruvignie*, promiſed confidently to be landed in *Cornwall*, within one Month; when there was not any ſuch Thing in Nature, nor one Company raiſed, or Ship in Readineſs, or in View for ſuch an Expedition, &c. — The King's obliging the Lord *Hopton*, to take Charge of thoſe broken and diſſolute Troops — The Commitment of Sir *Richard Greenvil*, for not ſubmitting to be commanded by him; and for endeavouring to raiſe a Party in the Country, to treat with the Enemy, for the Security and Neutrality of *Cornwall*; and the Routing the Lord *Hopton*'s Troops at *Torrington* — The Prince's Retreat thereupon to *Pendennis*; and the Factions, and Conſpiracies between ſome of his own Servants, and ſome Gentlemen of the Country, to hinder the Prince from going out of the Kingdom; and the Departure of his Highneſs from *Pendennis*, in the End of that Year 1645, and his Arrival in the Iſland of *Scilly*, is contained in Papers, orderly and methodically ſet down; which Papers and Relation, are not now at Hand, but are ſafe; and will be eaſily found: Together with his Highneſs's Stay

in the Iſland of *Scilly*: From whence the next Day, the Lord *Colepepper* was diſpatched with Letters, to the Queen to *Paris*, to give Notice of his Highneſs's being in that Iſland; and to deſire Money, Arms, and Ammunition for the Defence thereof: And at the ſame Time another Veſſel was ſent into *Ireland*, to give the Marquis of *Ormond* likewiſe Information of it; and to deſire that two Companies of Foot might be ſent thither, to encreaſe that Garriſon; and to defend it in caſe the Enemy ſhould attack it — His Highneſs's Stay in *Scilly*, near ſix Weeks; until the Lords *Capel*, and *Hopton* came thither; after They had made Conditions for the diſbanding their Troops, with *Fairfax*; which *Goring's* Troops made it neceſſary to do: They not only refuſing to obey all Orders, but mingling every Day with the Troops of the Enemy; and remaining quietly together in the ſame Quarters, drinking and making merry with each other — The Report of a Fleet deſigned from the Parliament for *Scilly*, and thoſe Lords viewing the *Iſland*, and not looking upon it as tenable, cauſed a new Conſultation to be held, whether it were fit for his Highneſs to remain there, till the Return of the Lord *Colepepper*, or to remove ſooner; and whither He ſhould remove; the Frigate which brought the Prince from *Pendennis* being ſtill kept in a Readineſs at *Scilly*, upon the Foreſight that his Remove might come to be neceſſary — That upon this Conſultation it was reſolved, that it would not be ſafe for his Highneſs to remain there; but that He ſhould tranſport himſelf from thence, into the Iſland of *Jerſey*; which was done accordingly — And his Highneſs's Arrival there about the beginning of *April*, 1645 — The Prince's Reception in *Jerſey*, by Sir *George Carteret*; and the univerſal Joy of the Iſland for his Arrival; with the Situation, and Strength of the Iſland — The Lord *Digby*'s Arrival in *Jerſey*, with two Frigates from *Ireland*, and with two hundred Soldiers; having been at *Scilly*, and there heard of his Highneſs's Departure for *Jerſey* — His earneſt Advice for the Prince his going for *Ireland*; and, when He could not obtain his Highneſs's Conſent, till the Return of the Lord *Colepepper*, His going to *Paris* to perſuade the Queen, and to proteſt againſt the Prince's going for *France*; againſt which He inveighed with more Paſſion than any Man — The Arrival of Mr. *Thomas Jermyn* from *Paris*, with very poſitive Orders for the Prince's Repair thither, from the Queen — And ſhortly after, the Lord *Colepepper*'s Arrival, who had been diſpatched from her Majeſty to return to *Scilly*, before She knew of his Highneſs's Remove from thence; which Advertiſement overtook the Lord *Colepepper* at *Havre de Grace*, after He was embarked; and ſo He bent his Courſe thither, and had the ſame Orders for the Prince his going to *Paris*, as Mr. *Jermyn* had likewiſe brought. 1646.

THERE was none of the Council inclined that his Highneſs, being in a Place of unqueſtionable Safety, ſhould ſuddenly depart from thence; till the State and Condition in which his Majeſty was, and his Pleaſure, might be known: It was then underſtood, that his Majeſty had left *Oxford*, and was with the *Scotiſh* Army before *Newark*; which He had cauſed to be rendered, that the Army might retire; which it preſently did, and the King in it, to *Newcaſtle*: The Prince was yet in his Fathers Dominions; ſome Places in *England* ſtill holding out, as *Oxford*, *Worceſter*, *Pendennis*, and other Places; that it would be eaſy, in a ſhort Time, to underſtand the King's Pleaſure; and that there could be no Inconvenience in expecting it; the Prince's Perſon being in no poſſible Danger: But that the Miſchief might be very great, if without the King's Direction it were done;

done; whether his Majeſty ſhould be well or ill treated by the *Scots*; and that the Parliament might make it a new Matter of Reproach againſt the King, that He had ſent the Heir Apparent of the Crown out of the Kingdom; which could be no otherwiſe excuſed, at leaſt by thoſe who attended him, than by evident and apparent Neceſſity: Thoſe Reaſons appeared of ſo much Weight to the Prince himſelf (who had not a natural Inclination to go into *France*) and to all the Council; that the Lord *Capel*, and the Lord *Colepepper* were deſired to go to *Paris*, to ſatisfy the Queen, why the Prince had deferred yielding a preſent Obedience to her Command.

THE Treatment They received at *Paris*; and their Return again to *Jerſey*, together with the Lord *Jermyn*, and Lord *Digby*, and ſome other Perſons of Quality: The Lord *Digby* being to return to *Ireland*, with eight thouſand Piſtoles; which the Cardinal ſent towards the Supply of the King's Service there; and being by it, and the Cardinal, ſo throughly convinced of the Neceſſity of the Prince's going for *France*, that He was more poſitive for it, than any of the Reſt; and had promiſed the Queen, that He would convert the Chancellor, and make him conſent to it; with whom He had a great Friendſhip — The Debate at *Jerſey* upon their coming back — The Lord *Capel* adhering to his former Opinion, that we might firſt know the King's Opinion; towards the receiving of which, He had offered the Queen, and now offered again, to go himſelf to *Newcaſtle*, where the King ſtill was; no Body knowing what would be the Iſſue of the Controverſy between the *Scots*, and the Parliament; and if the King ſhould direct it, every Man would willingly attend his Highneſs; and punctually obſerve whatſoever the King commanded: And becauſe the Objection might be removed, of his being taken Priſoner, by the Parliament, or his being not ſuffered by the *Scots* to ſpeak with the King; He did offer, and all who were of his Opinion conſented to it, that if He did not return to *Jerſey*, within one Month, the Prince ſhould purſue the Queen's Orders; and every Man would attend his Highneſs into *France*; and a Month's Delay could be of no ill Conſequence — The Prince's Reſolution to go preſently for *Paris*; — and the Reaſons which moved the Lords *Capel*, and *Hopton*, and the Chancellor, to excuſe themſelves — and his Highneſs's Permiſſion to remain in *Jerſey*, from whence They would attend his Commands, when He had any Service for them — And the ſudden Reſervedneſs, and Strangeneſs that grew between thoſe, who adviſed the going, and thoſe who were for ſtaying — and the Prince's embarking himſelf for *France*, about *July*, in the Year 1646 —

ALL theſe Particulars are ſo exactly remembered, in thoſe Papers, remaining in a Cabinet eaſy to be found; that they will quickly be put into a Method; and contain enough to be inſerted in the Fourth Part of this Relation.

Montpelier,
9th November,
1669.

N. B. Theſe Materials were afterwards made Uſe of by the Author, when He compleated the *Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, where theſe Occurrences are treated of more at large.

The LIFE of

Edward Earl of *Clarendon*

From his Birth to the Reſtoration of the ROYAL FAMILY in the Year 1660.

PART the FIFTH.

THE Prince having left *Jerſey*, about *July*, in the Year 1646; the Chancellor of the Exchequer remained there about two Years after; where He preſently betook himſelf to his Study; and enjoyed (as He was wont to ſay) the greateſt Tranquillity of Mind imaginable. Whilſt the Lords *Capel*, and *Hopton* ſtaid there, They lived, and kept Houſe together in St. *Hillary*'s; which is the chief Town of the Iſland; where having a Chaplain of their own, They had Prayers every Day in the Church, at Eleven of the Clock in the Morning; till which Hour They enjoyed themſelves in their Chambers, according as They thought fit; the Chancellor betaking himſelf to the Continuance of the Hiſtory, which He had begun at *Scilly*, and ſpending moſt of his Time at that Exerciſe. The other two walked, or rode abroad, or read, as They were diſpoſed; but at the Hour of Prayers They always met; and then dined together at the Lord *Hopton*'s Lodging, which was the beſt Houſe; They being lodged at ſeveral Houſes, with Convenience enough. Their Table was maintained at their joint Expenſe, only for Dinners; They never uſing to ſup; but met always upon the Sands in the Evening to walk, often going to the Caſtle to Sir *George Carteret*; who treated them with extraordinary Kindneſs and Civility, and ſpent much Time with them; and in Truth, the whole Iſland ſhewed great Affection to them, and all the Perſons of Quality invited them to their Houſes, to very good Entertainments; and all other Ways expreſſed great Eſteem towards them.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Reſidence at Jerſey.

AND from hence They writ a joint Letter to the King, which they ſent to him by Mr. *Fanſhaw*; in which They made great Profeſſion of their Duty to his Majeſty, and their Readineſs to proceed in his Service; and to wait upon the Prince upon the firſt Occaſion; with ſuch Reaſons for their not attending him into *France*, as They thought could not but be ſatisfactory to his Majeſty; declaring, that They had only deſired that He would ſtay ſo long in a Place of his own, of unqueſtionable Security, as that They might receive the Signification of his Majeſty's Pleaſure for his Remove; upon which They were all reſolved to have waited upon him:

He writes from thence to the King.

Though it was evident enough to them, that their Advice would be no longer hearkened unto, after his Highneſs ſhould arrive with the Queen.

In *England*, Men's Hopes, and Fears, were raiſed according to their Tempers; for there was Argument for both Affections in the Tranſactions, and Occurrences of every Day; it being no eaſy Matter, to make a Judgment which Party would prevail; nor what They would do, if They did. The Lord *Capel* received Advice from his Friends in *England*, to remove from *Jerſey* into ſome Part of the *United Provinces*: That ſo being in a Place to which there could be no Prejudice, his Friends might the more hopefully ſolicit for Liberty for him to return into his own Country, and that He might live in his own Houſe; which They had Reaſon to hope, would not be denied to a Perſon, who had many Friends, and could not be conceived to have any Enemies; his Perſon being worthily eſteemed by all. Whereupon with the full Concurrence, and Advice of his two Friends from whom He had great Tenderneſs to part; and with whom He renewed his Contract of Friendſhip at parting, in a particular Manner, upon Foreſight of what might happen; He went from thence, and firſt waited upon the Prince at *Paris*, that He might have his Royal Highneſs's Approbation, for his Return into *England*, if He might do it upon honourable Conditions: And from thence, with all poſſible Demonſtration of Grace from the Prince, He tranſported himſelf to *Middleburgh* in *Zealand*; where He remained till his Friends procured Liberty for him to return, and remain at his own Houſe. The worthy and noble Things He did after, deſerve to be tranſmitted to Poſterity, in ſome more illuſtrious Teſtimony, that may be worthy to be recorded.

The Lord *Capel* thus leaving *Jerſey*, the Lord *Hopton* and the Chancellor remained ſtill there, in the ſame Conjunction, until, ſome few Months after, the Lord *Hopton* received the News of the Death of his Wife; and of the Arrival in *France* of his Unkle, Sir *Arthur Hopton*; who having been Ambaſſador from the King in *Spain*, had left that Court, and retired to *Paris*; from whence He ſhortly after removed to *Roüen*, with a Purpoſe, as ſoon as He had at large conferred with his Nephew, to go into *England*, for the Good and Benefit of both their Fortunes: and upon this Occaſion, the Lord *Hopton* likewiſe left *Jerſey*, with all poſſible Profeſſion of an entire Friendſhip to the Chancellor, which was never violated in the leaſt Degree to his Death. And the Chancellor being thus left alone, He was with great Civility, and Friendſhip invited by Sir *George Carteret*, to remove from the Town (where He had lived with his Friends till then) and to live with him in the Caſtle *Elizabeth*; whither He went, the next Day after the Departure of the Lord *Hopton*, and remained there to his wonderful Contentment, in the very chearful Society of Sir *George Carteret*, and his Lady; in whoſe Houſe He received all the Liberty, and Entertainment He could have expected in his own Family; of which He always retained ſo juſt a Memory, that there was never any Intermiſſion, or Decay of that Friendſhip He then made: And He remained there, till He was ſent for again to attend the Prince, which will be mentioned in it's Time.

And removes to Sir George Carteret's.

He built a Lodging in the Caſtle, of two or three convenient Rooms, to the Wall of the Church; which Sir *George Carteret* had repaired, and beautified; and over the Door of his Lodging He ſet up his Arms, with this Inſcription, *Bene Vixit, qui bene Latuit:* And he always took Pleaſure in relating, with what great Tranquillity of Spirit (though deprived of the Joy He took in his Wife, and Children) He ſpent his Time here,

amongſt his Books (which He got from *Paris*) and his Papers; between which He ſeldom ſpent leſs than ten Hours in the Day; and it can hardly be believed how much He read, and writ there; inſomuch as He did uſually compute, that during his whole Stay in *Jerſey*, which was ſome Months above two Years, He writ daily little leſs than one Sheet of large Paper, with his own Hand; moſt of which are ſtill to be ſeen amongſt his Papers. *Where He writes the Hiſtory of the Troubles.*

FROM *Hampton Court*, his Majeſty writ to the Chancellor of the Exchequer with his own Hand; in which He took Notice that He was Writing the *Hiſtory of the late Troubles*, for which He thanked him, ſaying, that He knew no Man could do it ſo well; and that He would not do it the worſe, by the Helps that He would very ſpeedily ſend him (as his Majeſty ſhortly after did, in two Manuſcripts very fairly written; containing all Matters of Importance, that had paſſed from the Time that the Prince of *Wales* went from his Majeſty into the Weſt, to the very Time that his Majeſty himſelf went from *Oxford*, to the *Scotiſh* Army; which were all the Paſſages in the Years 1645, and 1646) He uſed many gracious Expreſſions in that Letter to him; and ſaid, He looked upon him as one of thoſe, who had ſerved him with moſt Fidelity, and therefore He might be confident of his Kindneſs; and that He would bring him to him with the firſt; though He ſaid, He did not hold him to be Infallible, as He might diſcern by what He had commanded Dr. *Sheldon*, who was then Clerk of his Cloſet, to write to him; and at the ſame Time the Doctor writ him Word, that the King was ſorry that He, the Chancellor, ſtaid at *Jerſey*, and did not attend the Prince into *France*; and that if He had been there, He would have been able to have prevented the Vexation his Majeſty had endured at *Newcaſtle*, by Meſſages from *Paris*. *Towards which the King ſo wiſhes him with the Paſſages of the Years 1645, and 1646.*

THE Doctor likewiſe ſent him Word, that great Pains had been taken from *Paris*, to incenſe the King againſt him; but that it had ſo little prevailed, that his Majeſty had with ſome Sharpneſs reprehended thoſe, who blamed him, and had juſtified the Chancellor. He made haſte to anſwer his Majeſty's Letter, and gave him ſo much Satisfaction, that his Majeſty ſaid, He was too hard for him. And about the ſame time the Lord *Capel* came into *England*; and though He was under Security to the Parliament for behaving himſelf peaceably, He was not reſtrained from ſeeing the King; and ſo gave him a very particular Information of all that had paſſed at *Jerſey*; and many other Things, of which his Majeſty had never been informed before; which put it out of any Body's Power to make any ill Impreſſions in him towards the Chancellor.

UPON the King's refuſing to give his Aſſent to the four Acts, ſent to him from the Parliament, when He was in the Iſle of *Wight*, They voted, *that no more Addreſſes ſhould be made to the King*; and publiſhed a Declaration to that Effect, which contained ſevere Charges againſt his Majeſty. *Vid. Hiſt. Reb.* Fol. Vol. 3. P. 67, *&c.*

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer no ſooner received a Copy of it in *Jerſey*, than He prepared a very large and full Anſwer to it; in which He made the Malice, and the Treaſon of that libellous Declaration to appear; and his Majeſty's Innocence in all the Particulars charged upon him, with ſuch pathetical Applications, and Inſinuations, as were moſt like to work upon the Affections of the People: All which was tranſmitted (by the Care of Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, who reſided at *Caen* in *Normandy*, and held a conſtant Correſpondence with the Chancellor) to a truſty Hand in *London*; who cauſed it to be well printed, and divulged, and *The Chancellor of the Exchequer writes and publiſhes an Anſwer to the Parliament's Declaration of the 15th of Feb. 1647.*

found Means to ſend it to the King: Who, after He had read it, ſaid He durſt ſwear it was writ by the Chancellor, if it were not that there was more Divinity in it, than He expected from him, which made him believe He had conferred with Dr. *Steward*. But ſome Months after, being informed by Secretary *Nicholas*, He ſent the Chancellor Thanks for it; and expreſſed upon all Occaſions, that He was much pleaſed with that Vindication.

THE Lord *Capel* had written to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who remained ſtill in *Jerſey*, ſignifying the King's Commands, that as ſoon as the Chancellor ſhould be required to wait upon the Prince, He ſhould without Delay obey the Summons. The King had writ to the Queen, that when it ſhould be neceſſary for the Prince to remove out of *France*, the Chancellor ſhould have Notice of it, and be required to attend him. About the beginning of *April*, in the Year 1648, the Lord *Capel* writ again to the Chancellor, giving him Notice, that He would probably be ſent for ſoon, and deſiring him to be ready. About the middle of *May*, the Queen ſent to the Chancellor of the Exchequer to *Jerſey*, commanding, that He would wait upon the Prince at *Paris*, upon a Day that was paſt before the Letter came to his Hands; but as ſoon as He received the Summons, He immediately tranſported himſelf into *Normandy*, and went to *Caen*; from thence He haſtened to *Roüen*, where He found the Lord *Cottington*, the Earl of *Briſtol*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, who had received the ſame Commands. They were informed that the Prince was paſſed by towards *Calais*, and Direction was ſent, that the Chancellor, and the reſt ſhould ſtay at *Roüen*, till They ſhould receive new Orders from *Calais*. Within few Days They received Advice, that the Prince had put himſelf on board a Ship that He found at *Calais* bound for *Holland*, where They were to hear from him; whereupon They removed from *Roüen* to *Dieppe*; from whence They might embark for *Holland* when required. *Vid. Hiſt. Reb.* Fol. Vol. 3. p. 102, &c.

AFTER the Lord *Cottington*, the Earl of *Briſtol*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had ſtaid at *Dieppe* ſome Days, and were confirmed by Reports every Day, that the Prince was in *Holland*; and that the Fleet wanted ſome Proviſions, without which it could not put out to Sea; They reſolved to make Uſe of the firſt Veſſel, of which there were many then in the Harbour, that ſhould be bound for *Holland*; and to tranſport themſelves thither; and there was one which within two, or three Days would ſet out for *Fluſhing*. The Earl of *Briſtol* had no Mind to venture himſelf in ſuch a Veſſel, and ſince the Fleet that had declared for the King was then in *Holland*, He apprehended that the Parliament might have other Veſſels abroad, that might eaſily ſeize upon that ſmall Bark; and ſo after ſome Debate with the Lord *Cottington* (They two being ſeldom of one Mind) the Earl reſolved to return to his old Habitation at *Caen*, and expect another Occaſion.

THE Chancellor, who knew nothing of the Sea, nor underſtood the Hazards thereof (being always ſo afflicted upon that Element with Sickneſs, that He conſidered nothing about it; and holding himſelf obliged to make what Haſte he could to the Prince) committed himſelf entirely to the Lord *Cottington*: And when They reſolved to embark themſelves in the Veſſel bound for *Fluſhing*, a *French* Man of War, which was called the King's Ship, came into the Road of *Dieppe*, and offered to carry them the next Day to *Dunkirk*; which They took to be the ſafer Paſſage: And

ſo

ſo giving the Captain as much Money as He demanded, They put themſelves upon his miſerable Frigate; where They had no Accommodations, but the open Deck; and were ſafely ſet on Shore at *Dunkirk*; where Marſhal *Rantzaw* was then Governor. And They no ſooner landed in the Evening, but *Carteret*, a Servant of the Prince's, came to them, and informed them, that the Prince was entered the River of *Thames* with the Fleet; and that He was ſent by his Highneſs to the Marſhal for a Frigate, which he had offered to lend the Prince: and that He had delivered the Letter, and the Marſhal (who had been out all the Night before upon a Deſign upon the Enemy; and was newly arrived, and gone to Bed) had promiſed him that the Frigate ſhould be ready the next Day. This ſeemed an extraordinary good Fortune to them, that They might now embark directly for the Fleet, without going into *Holland*, which They were willing to avoid; and ſo reſolved to ſpeak with the Marſhal as ſoon as They could, that They might be confirmed by him, that his Frigate ſhould be ready the next Day; and thereupon ſent a Servant to wait at the Marſhal's Lodging, that They might know when He waked, and was to be ſpoken with.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer embarks for Dunkirk.

THE Marſhal had Notice of their Arrival before the Servant came to him, and of their Deſire to go to the Prince; and ſent one of his Officers to welcome them to the Town, and to ſee them well accommodated with Lodging; and to excuſe him, that He did not wait upon them that Night, by Reaſon of the Fatigue He had undergone the Night before, and that Day; and to oblige them to dine with him the next Day, againſt which Time the Veſſel would be made ready to receive them, and tranſport them to the Prince's Fleet; with which They were abundantly ſatisfied; and betook themſelves to their Reſt for that Night: And were early up the next Morning to ſee the Marſhal; but it was late before he roſe.

HE received them with great Civility, being a very proper Man, of a moſt extraordinary Preſence, and Aſpect, and might well be reckoned a very handſome Man, though He had but one Leg, one Hand, one Eye, and one Ear, the other being cut off with that Side of his Face; beſides many other Cuts on the other Cheek, and upon his Head, with many Wounds in the Body; notwithſtanding all which, He ſtood very upright, and had a very graceful Motion, a clear Voice, and a charming Delivery; and if He had not, according to the Cuſtom of his Nation (for He was a *German*) too much indulged to the Exceſs of Wine, He had been one of the moſt excellent Captains of that Age. He profeſſed great Affection to the Prince, and much commended the Frigate He intended to ſend to him; which, for the ſwiftneſs of it was called the *Hare*; and out ſailed, as He ſaid, all the Veſſels of that Coaſt; and after He had treated them with a very excellent, and a jovial Dinner, about Four of the Clock in the Afternoon, He brought them to their Boat, that put them on board their Frigate; which was but a ſmall Veſſel of twenty Guns, much inferior to what They expected, by the Deſcription the Marſhal had made of it. However, it was very proper for the Uſe They were to make of it, to be delivered at the Fleet; and ſo, the Moon ſhining very fair, They weighed Anchor about Sun ſet, with a very ſmall Gale of Wind.

And from thence for the Prince's Fleet.

THE Prince being Maſter at Sea, They had no manner of Apprehenſion of an Enemy; not knowing, or conſidering, that They were very near *Oſtend*, and ſo, in Reſpect of the Veſſel They were in, liable to be made a Prize by thoſe Men of War; as it fell out: For about Break of

Day, in a dead Calm, They found themſelves purſued by ſix, or ſeven Ships, which, as They drew nearer, were known by the Seamen to be the Frigates of *Oſtend*. There was no Hope to Eſcape by the Swiftneſs of the Veſſel, for there was not the leaſt Breath of Wind; and it was to no Purpoſe to reſiſt; for beſides that the Veſſel was not half manned, four, or five of the Purſuers were ſtronger Ships; ſo that it was thought beſt to let the Sails fall, that They might ſee there was no Purpoſe of Reſiſtance; and to ſend *Carteret* in the Boat, to inform the Ships who the Perſons were, that were on Board, and that They had a Paſs from the Arch-Duke; for an authentick Copy of a Paſs the Arch-Duke had ſent to the Prince, had been ſent to them. All the Ships, though They had the King of *Spain*'s Commiſſion, were Freebooters, belonging to private Owners, who obſerved no Rules, or Laws of Nations; but They boarded the Veſſel, with their Swords drawn, and Piſtols cocked, and without any Diſtinction, plundered all the Paſſengers with equal Rudeneſs; ſave that They ſtripped ſome of the Servants to their very Shirts; They uſed not the reſt with that Barbarity, being ſatisfied with taking all They had in their Pockets, and carefully examined all their *Valiſes*, and Trunks, in which They found good Booty.

But is taken by ſome Frigates of Oſtend;

The Lord *Cottington* loſt in Money, and Jewels, above one thouſand Pounds; the Chancellor in Money, about two hundred Pounds, and all his Cloaths and Linen; and Sir *George Ratcliffe*, and Mr. *Wansford*, who were in the Company, above five hundred Pounds in Money, and Jewels. And having pillaged them in this Manner, They carried them all, with the Frigate They had been in, Priſoners to *Oſtend*; where They arrived about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon; all the Men and Women of the Town being gathered together to behold the Prize that was brought in within ſo few Hours; for Intelligence had been ſent from *Dunkirk*, the Night before (according to the Cuſtom, and good Intelligence obſerved in thoſe Places) of the going out of this Veſſel, which had ſuch Perſons on Board. When They were on Shore, They were carried, through all the Spectators to a common Inn; from whence They ſent to the Magiſtrates, to inform them of what Condition They were; and of the Injuries They had received, by having been treated as Enemies; and demanded Reſtitution of Ship, and Goods.

and carried to that Port.

The Magiſtrates, who were called the Lords of the Admiralty, came preſently to them, and when They were fully informed of the whole Matter, and had ſeen the Arch-Duke's Paſs, They ſeemed very much troubled; and with much Civility aſſured them, that They ſhould not only receive all that had been taken from them; but that the Men ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed for their Tranſgreſſion. They immediately diſcharged thoſe Guards that kept them as Priſoners; and provided the beſt Lodgings in the Town for them: And becauſe it was growing towards the Evening, and the Frigates were not yet come in, They excuſed themſelves that They could do no more that Night; but promiſed to go themſelves on board the Ships the next Morning early; and deſired that ſome of the Gentlemen of their Company might go with them, to the End that They might diſcover at leaſt ſome of thoſe, who had been moſt rude towards them; who ſhould be ſure to be impriſoned till full Satisfaction were made by the reſt.

He is ſet at Liberty; and promiſed Satisfaction.

As ſoon as the Lords of the Admiralty were gone, the Governor, an old *Spaniard*, came to viſit them with all Profeſſions of Civility, and Service; and ſeemed to abhor the Barbarity with which They had been treat-

ed; aſked very particularly of the Manner, of them, and of every Particular that had been taken from them; and told them, They ſhould be ſure to have it all returned; for that They did not trouble themſelves in ſuch Caſes to find out the Seamen, who were the Plunderers, but reſorted always to the Owners of the Ships, who lived in the Town, and were ſubſtantial Men, and bound to anſwer and ſatisfy for all Miſdemeanours committed by the Company; and ſaid, He would be with them the next Day, and take Care that all ſhould be done that was Juſt. Theſe Profeſſions and Aſſurances made them believe, that They ſhould receive full Reparation for the Damages They had received; and the Lord *Cottington* began to commend the good Order and Diſcipline that was obſerved under the *Spaniſh* Government, much different from that in other Places; and in how much better Condition They were, after ſuch Uſage, to be brought into *Oſtend*, than if They had been ſo uſed by the *French*, and carried into any of their Ports.

THE next Morning two of the Lords of the Admiralty called upon them, in their Way to the Ships; retaining the ſame Profeſſions They had made the Night before; and Sir *George Ratcliffe*, Mr. *Wansford*, and ſome of their Servants accompanied them according to their Deſire; and as ſoon as They were on Board the Admiral's Veſſel, that had brought them in, and had taken them out of their own, They knew ſome of thoſe Seamen, who had been moſt buſy about them; which were immediately ſeized on, and ſearched, and about ſome of them ſome Pieces of Chains of Gold, and other Things of Value belonging to the Lord *Cottington* were found; and ſome Mails, in which were Linen, and Cloaths, all which were preſently reſtored and delivered to ſome of the Servants, who were preſent, and brought them to their Maſters. The Chancellor was more ſolicitous for ſome Papers He had loſt, than for his Money; and He was uſed to ſay, that He looked upon it as a ſingular Act of Providence, that thoſe Officers prevailed with a Seaman, who had taken it out of his Pocket, to reſtore a little Letter which He had lately received from the King, whilſt He was in the Hands of the Army; which for the Grace and Kindneſs contained in it, He did ever exceedingly value.

THOSE of the Admiralty, though They had not yet found out either any of the Jewels, or Money, of which They had been robbed, thought They had done enough for the Morning; and ſo returned to Dinner; declaring that They would return in the Afternoon; and directed the Ships to be drawn nearer together, to the End They might viſit them together; and They did return in the Afternoon, accompanied as before, but their Reception by the Seamen was not as in the Morning. The Captains anſwered thoſe Queſtions which were aſked of them negligently, and ſcornfully; and thoſe Seamen who had been ſearched in the Morning, and were appointed to be produced in the Afternoon to be further examined, could not be found; and inſtead of bringing the Ships nearer together, ſome of them were gone more out to Sea; and the reſt declared, that They would go all out to Sea that Night; and when the Magiſtrates ſeemed to threaten them, They ſwore They would throw both them, and all who came with them, over Board; and offered to lay Hands upon them in Order to it; ſo that They were all glad to get off; and returned to the Town, talking loud what Vengeance They would take upon the Captains and Seamen when They returned again into Port (for They already ſtood out to Sea in their Sight) and in the mean Time They would proſecute the Owners of the Veſſels, who ſhould ſatisfy for the Damage received; but from this

Time, the Governor, nor the Lords of Admiralty cared to come near them: And They quickly found that the Reaſon of all the Governor's Civility the firſt Night, and the many Queſtions He had aſked concerning all the Particulars They had loſt of any Kind, was only to be the better informed, to demand his Share from the Seamen; and that the Lords of the Admiralty were the Owners of the ſeveral Veſſels, or had Shares in them, and in the victualling, and ſo were to divide the Spoil, which They pretended ſhould be reſtored. So that after They had remained there four, or five Days, They were contented to receive one hundred Piſtoles for diſcharging the Debts They had contracted in the Town (for there was not any Money left amongſt them) and to carry them to the Prince; which thoſe of the Admiralty pretended to have received from ſome of the Owners, and to wait for farther Juſtice, when the Ships ſhould return, which They doubted not ſhould be effectually called for, by the Commands of the Arch-Duke, when He ſhould be informed: and ſo They proſecuted their Journey to the Prince, making their Way by *Bruges*, and from thence by the Way of *Sluys* to *Fluſhing*; and thoſe hundred Piſtoles were the only Recompence that They ever received for that Affront, and Damage They had ſuſtained; which in the whole amounted to two thouſand Pounds at the leaſt; though the King's Reſident *De-Vic* at *Bruſſels* proſecuted the Pretence with the Arch-Duke, as long as there was any Hope.

But cannot obtain it.

THE Chancellor was often uſed to relate an Obſervation that was generally made, and diſcourſed at *Oſtend*, at that Time, that never any Man who adventured in ſetting out thoſe Frigates of Rapine, which are called Men of War, or in victualling, or bearing any Share in them, died rich, or poſſeſſed of any valuable Eſtate: and that as He walked one Morning about the Town, and upon the Quay, with an *Engliſh* Officer, who was a Lieutenant in that Garriſon, They ſaw a poor old Man walk by them, whom the Lieutenant deſired the Chancellor to obſerve; and when He was paſſed by, He told him, that He had known that Man the richeſt of any Man in the Town; that He had been the Owner of above ten Ships of War at one Time, without any Partner or Sharer with him; that He had had in his Warehouſes in the Town, as much Goods, and Merchandiſe together, as amounted to the Value of one hundred thouſand Pounds, within ſeven Years before the Time He was then ſpeaking; and after the Loſs of two or three Frigates, He inſenſibly decayed ſo faſt, that having begun to build another Frigate, which He ſhewed him as They walked, and which lay then not half finiſhed, He was not able to go through with it, and that He was at that Time ſo poor, that He had not wherewith to maintain him; but received the Charity of thoſe who had known him in a plentiful Eſtate: And this Relation He made in Confirmation of that Diſcourſe and Obſervation; and it made ſo deep an Impreſſion upon the Chancellor, that afterwards, when the War was between *England*, and *Holland*, and *France*, and when many Gentlemen thought it good Huſbandry to adventure in the ſetting out ſuch Ships of War, He always diſſwaded his Friends from that Traffick, relating to them this Story, of the Truth whereof He had ſuch Evidence; and did in Truth, moreover in his own Judgment believe, that all Engagements of that Kind were contrary to the Rules of Juſtice, and a good Conſcience.

He goes to Flushing;

WHEN They came to *Fluſhing*, They thought it beſt to ſtay there, as the moſt likely Place to have Commerce with the Fleet; and They found there Colonel *William Vavaſour*, who had by the Prince's Commiſſion,

drawn ſome Companies of Foot together, and expected ſome Veſſel to be ſent from the Fleet, for their tranſportation; and *Carteret* was already diſpatched, to inform the Prince of what had befallen the Treaſurer, and Chancellor, and that They waited his Commands at *Fluſhing*: And becauſe *Middleburgh* would be as convenient to receive Intelligence, and more convenient for their Accommodation, They removed thither, and took a private Lodging; where, by having a Cook, and other Servants, They might make their own Proviſions. They had been at *Middleburgh* very few Days, before the *Hind* Frigate was ſent by the Prince to bring them to the Fleet; with Direction that They ſhould make as much Haſte as was poſſible; and They had no Occaſion to delay, but the Wind was ſo directly againſt them for two or three Days, that They could not put themſelves on Board. It was now about the middle of *July*, when the Wind appeared fair, and They preſently embarked, and weighed Anchor, and ſailed all the Night; but in the Morning the Wind changed, and blew ſo hard a Gale, that They were compelled to turn about, and came before Night again to *Fluſhing*; whence They endeavoured three Times more to get into the Downs; from whence They might eaſily have got to the Fleet; but as often as They put to Sea, ſo often They were driven back; and once with ſo violent a Storm, that their Ship was in Danger; and was driven in under the *Ramekins*, a Fort near the Mouth of the River that goes to *Middleburgh*; whither They again repaired: And the Winds were ſo long contrary, that They received Order from the Prince to repair into *Holland*; for that his Highneſs reſolved within very few Days, it being now towards the End of *Auguſt*, to carry the Fleet thither; as He ſhortly after did. And by this Means the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor were not able to attend the Prince whilſt He remained with the Fleet within the River of *Thames*; but were well informed, when They came to him, of all that had paſſed there.

From thence to Middleburgh;

Embarks to attend the Prince in the River of Thames, but is driven back.

THE Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as ſoon as They received Advertiſement at *Middleburgh*, that the Prince reſolved to return with the Fleet into *Holland*, made all the haſte They could to the *Hague*; it being then about the end of *Auguſt*, and came thither within one Day after the Prince's Arrival there.

Arrives at the Hague.

THE next Morning after the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer came to the *Hague*, the Prince appointed his Council to meet together, to receive, and deliberate upon a Meſſage, the Lord *Lautherdale* had brought from the Parliament of *Scotland*; earneſtly preſſing him to repair forthwith to their Army; which was already entered into *England*, under the command of the Duke of *Hamilton* — The Chancellor reproves the Lord *Lautherdale* for his inſolent Behaviour before the Council. *Vid. Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 129, 130, &c.

THE Factions in the Prince's Family, and the great Animoſity which Prince *Rupert* had againſt the Lord *Colepepper*, infinitely diſturbed the Counſels; and perplexed the Lord *Cottington*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer — *Colepepper* had Paſſions, and Infirmities which no Friends could reſtrain; and Prince *Rupert*, though very well inclined to the Chancellor, was abſolutely governed by *Herbert* the Attorney General, who induſtriouſly cultivated his Prejudice to *Colepepper* — *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 149, &c.

WHILST the Prince was at the *Hague*, He received the ſhocking account of the Murder of the King his Father; and ſoon after, the

Queen wrote to him from *Paris*, adviſing him to repair into *France*, as ſoon as poſſible; and deſiring him not to ſwear any Perſons to be of his Council, till She could ſpeak with him: But before He received her Letter, He had already cauſed thoſe of his Father's Council, who had attended him, to be ſworn of his Privy Council; adding only Mr. *Long* his Secretary. He had no Mind to go into *France*; and it was evident that He could not be long able to reſide at the *Hague*; an Agent from the Parliament being there at that very Time; ſo that it was Time to think of ſome other Retreat. *Ireland* was then thought moſt adviſeable; ſome favourable Accounts having been received from thence, of the Tranſactions of the Marquis of *Ormond*, and Lord *Inchiquin*; and of the Arrival of Prince *Rupert* at *Kinſale* with the Fleet. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 216.

THE Chancellor of the Exchequer was ſent to confer with the Marquis of *Montroſe* in a Village near the *Hague*, upon the State of Affairs in *Scotland*. The Marquis came now into *Holland* to offer his Service to his Majeſty; expecting that He would preſently ſend him to *Scotland* with ſome Forces, to prepare the Way for his Majeſty to follow after. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 223, *&c.*

THE King declared his Reſolution of going into *Ireland*, and Preparations were made for that Expedition; which however, from Accidents that afterwards fell out, did not take Effect. The Lord *Cottington*, wiſhing to avoid the Fatigue of ſuch Expeditions, took that Occaſion to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon the Expediency of the King's ſending an Embaſſy into *Spain*; and propoſed, that himſelf and the Chancellor ſhould be appointed Ambaſſadors to that Court, to which the Chancellor conſented; and upon the Lord *Cottington*'s Repreſentation of the Matter to the King, his Majeſty ſoon after publickly declared his Reſolution to ſend thoſe Two, Ambaſſadors Extraordinary into *Spain*. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 234, *&c.*

The Murmurs of the Court on his being appointed Ambaſſador to Spain.

THIS was no ſooner known, but all kind of People, who agreed in nothing elſe, murmured, and complained of this Counſel; and the more, becauſe it had never been mentioned, or debated in Council. Only the *Scots* were very glad of it (*Montroſe* excepted) believing that when the Chancellor was gone, their beloved Covenant would not be ſo irreverently mentioned; and that the King would be wrought upon to withdraw all Countenance and Favour from the Marquis of *Montroſe*; and the Marquis himſelf looked upon it as a deſerting him, and complying with the other Party; and from that Time, though They lived with Civility towards each other, He withdrew very much of his Confidence, which He had formerly repoſed in him. They who loved him were ſorry for him, and themſelves; They thought He deſerted a Path He had long trod, and was well acquainted with; and was henceforward to move *extra Sphæram Activitatis*, in an Office He had not been acquainted with; and then They ſhould want his Credit to ſupport, and confirm them in the King's Favour and Grace: And there were many who were very ſorry when They heard it, out of particular Duty to the King; who being young, They thought might be without that Counſel, and Advertiſement, which They knew well He would ſtill adminiſter to him.

No Man was more angry, and offended with the Counſel than the Lord *Colepepper*; who would have been very glad to have gone himſelf in the Employment, if He could have perſuaded the Lord *Cottington* to have accepted

accepted his Company; which He would by no Means do; and though He and the Chancellor were not thought to have the greateſt Kindneſs for each other, yet He knew He could agree with no other Man ſo well in Buſineſs; and was very unwilling He ſhould be from the Perſon of the King. But the Chancellor himſelf, from the Time that the King had ſignified his own Pleaſure to him, was exceedingly pleaſed with the Commiſſion; and did believe that He ſhould in ſome Degree improve his Underſtanding, and very much refreſh his Spirits, by what He ſhould learn by the one, and by his Abſence from being continually converſant with thoſe Wants which could never be ſevered from that Court, and that Company which would be always corrupted by thoſe Wants. And ſo He ſent for his Wife, and Children, to meet him at *Antwerp*, where He intended They ſhould reſide whilſt He continued in *Spain*, and where They were like to find ſome Civilities in reſpect of his Employment.

His own Content in that Office.

THE Ambaſſadors took Leave of the King before the Middle of *May*, and went to *Antwerp*, where the Chancellor's Wife, and Family were arrived, who were to remain there during his Embaſſy — After ſtaying two or three Days at *Antwerp*, They went to *Bruſſels*, to deliver their Credentials to the Arch-Duke, and to the Duke of *Lorrain*, and to viſit the *Spaniſh* Miniſters there, *&c.* *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 240.

WHEN the Ambaſſadors had diſpatched all their Buſineſs at *Bruſſels*, They returned to *Antwerp*, to negotiate the Remittance of their Money to *Madrid*. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 242.

THE Queen is much diſpleaſed, that the King had taken any Reſolutions, before She was conſulted, and imputed all that had been done principally to the Chancellor of the Exchequer; ſuſpecting He meant to exclude her from meddling in the Affairs. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 242.

LORD *Cottington*, and the Chancellor, hearing that the King was on his Way to *France*, Reſolves to defer going to St. *Germains*, till the King's firſt Interview with the Queen ſhould be over.

ABOUT a Week after the King left *Bruſſels*, the two Ambaſſadors proſecuted their Journey to *Paris*; ſtaid only one Day there; and then went to St. *Germains*; where the King, and the Queen his Mother, with both their Families, and the Duke of *York* then were — They found that Court full of Jealouſy, and Diſorder — The Queen much troubled at the King's Behaviour to her, as if He had no Mind that She ſhould interfere in his Affairs — She now attributes this Reſervedneſs of the King towards her, more to the Influence of ſome Body elſe, than to the Chancellor of the Exchequer — He had a private Audience of the Queen — She complained of the King's Unkindneſs to her; and of the great Credit Mr. *Elliot* (one of his Majeſty's Grooms of the Bedchamber) had with the King. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Vol. 3. Folio. p. 243, *&c.*

ABOUT the middle of *September*, the King left St. *Germains*, and began his Journey towards *Jerſey*, and the Queen removed to *Paris* — The two Ambaſſadors attended her Majeſty thither, and prepared for their Journey into *Spain*. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 252.

DURING the Time of their ſhort Stay at *Paris*, the Queen uſed the Chancellor very graciouſly; but ſtill expreſſed Trouble that He was ſent on that Embaſſy, which She ſaid, would be fruitleſs, as to any Advantage the King would receive from it; and She ſaid, She muſt confeſs, that

The Queen is diſpleaſed at his going to Spain.

though She was not confident of his Affection and Kindneſs towards her, yet She believed that He did wiſh that the King's Carriage towards her, ſhould be always fair and reſpectful; and that She did deſire that He might be always about his Majeſty's Perſon; not only becauſe She thought He underſtood the Buſineſs of *England* better than any Body elſe; but becauſe She knew that He loved the King, and would always give him good Counſel, towards his living virtuouſly; and that She thought He had more Credit with him, than any other, who would deal plainly and honeſtly with him.

THERE was a Paſſage at that Time, of which He uſed to ſpeak often, and looked upon as a great Honour to him: The Queen one Day amongſt ſome of her Ladies, in whom She had moſt Confidence, expreſſed ſome ſharpneſs towards a Lord of the King's Council, whom She named not, who She ſaid, always gave her the faireſt Words, and promiſed her every Thing She deſired; and had perſuaded her to affect ſomewhat that She had before no Mind to; and yet She was well aſſured, that when the ſame was propoſed to the King on her behalf, He was the only Man who diſſuaded the King from granting it. Some of the Ladies ſeemed to have the Curioſity to know who it was; which the Queen would not tell; one of them who was known to have a Friendſhip for him, ſaid, She hoped it was not the Chancellor; to which her Majeſty replied with ſome Quickneſs, that She might be ſure it was not He, who was ſo far from making Promiſes, or giving fair Words, and flattering her, that She did verily believe, that *if He thought her to be a Whore, He would tell her of it*; which when that Lady told him, He was not diſpleaſed with the Teſtimony.

The Queen's Opinion of his Sincerity.

THE two Ambaſſadors began their Journey from *Paris*, on *Michaelmaſs* Day; and continued it without one Day's Reſt to *Bourdeaux* — *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 253.

THEY continue their Journey to *Bayonne*; and from thence to St. *Sebaſtian's*; where They were told by the Corregidor, that He had received Directions from the Secretary of State, to perſuade them to remain there till the King's farther Pleaſure might be known; and They received a Packet from Sir *Benjamin Wright* at *Madrid*, incloſing a Paſs for them, under the Title of Ambaſſadors from the *Prince of Wales*. They immediately ſent an Expreſs to the Court, complaining of their Treatment, and deſiring to know, whether their Perſons were unacceptable to his Catholick Majeſty; and if otherwiſe, They deſired They might be treated in the Manner due to the Honour, and Dignity of the King their Maſter. They received an Anſwer full of Civility, imputing the Error in the Style of their Paſs, to the Negligence, or Ignorance of the Secretary; and new Paſſes were ſent to them in the proper Style; with Aſſurance, that they ſhould find a very good Welcome from his Majeſty — They left St. *Sebaſtian*'s about the middle of *November* — *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 254, 255.

WHEN They came to *Alcavendas*, within three Leagues of *Madrid*, Sir *Benjamin Wright* came to them, and informed them, that all Things were in the State they were, when He writ to them at St. *Sebaſtian*'s; that no Houſe was yet prepared for their Reception; and that there was an evident want of Attention for them in the Court; the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador in *England* having done them ill Offices, leſt their good Reception in *Spain* might incenſe the Parliament — After a Week's ſtay in that little Town, They accepted of Sir *Benjamin Wright*'s Invitation to his Houſe at *Madrid*; They went privately thither, to reſide *incognito* —

nito — The Court knew of their Arrival, but took no Notice of it — Lord *Cottington* desired, and obtained a private Audience of Don *Lewis de Haro* — *Don Lewis* excused the Omissions towards the Ambassadors, on Pretence that the *Fiestas* for their new Queen's Arrival, had engrossed the whole Attention of all the Officers about the Court; and promised immediate Reparation — Lord *Cottington* returned Home well satisfied — The Ambassadors are invited to see the Exercises of the *Fiestas*; and the Chancellor accordingly went to the Place assigned. *Hist. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. p. 256, 257.

Description of the Masquerade.

THE Masquerade is an Exercise They learned from the Moors; performed by Squadrons of Horse, seeming to charge each other with great Fierceness; with Bucklers in their left Hands, and a kind of Cane in their right; which, when They come within little more than a Horse's Length, They throw with all the Strength They can; and against them They defend themselves with very broad Bucklers; and as soon as They have thrown their Darts, They wheel about in a full Gallop, till They can turn to receive the like Assault from those whom They had charged; and so several Squadrons of twenty, or five and twenty Horse, run round, and charge each other. It hath at first the Appearance of a Martial Exercise; the Horses are very beautiful, and well adorned; the Men richly clad, and must be good Horsemen, otherwise They could not conduct the quick Motions and Turns of their Horses; all the rest is too childish; the Darts being nothing else but plain Bulrushes of the biggest Growth. After this, They run the Course; which is like our running at the Ring; save that two run still together, and the swifter hath the Prize; a Post dividing them at the End: From the Start They run their Horses full speed about fifty Paces, and the Judges are at that Post to determine who is first at the End.

Description of the Toros.

THE next Day, and so for two or three Days together, both the Ambassadors had a Box prepared for them, to see the *Toros*; which is a Spectacle very wonderful. Here the Place was very noble, being the Market-Place, a very large Square, built with handsome Brick Houses, which had all Balconies, which were adorned with Tapestry, and very beautiful Ladies. Scaffolds were built round to the first Story; the lower Rooms being Shops, and for ordinary Use; and in the division of those Scaffolds, all the Magistrates, and Officers of the Town knew their Places. The Pavement of the Place was all covered with Gravel, which in Summer Time was upon those Occasions watered by Carts charged with Hogsheads of Water. As soon as the King comes, some Officers clear the whole Ground from the Common People; so that there is no Man seen upon the Plain, but two or three *Alguazills*, Magistrates with their small white Wands. Then one of the four Gates which lead into the Streets is opened; at which the *Torreadors* enter, all Persons of Quality richly clad, and upon the best Horses in *Spain*, every one attended by eight, or ten, or more Lackeys, all clinquant with Gold, and Silver Lace; who carry the Spears, which their Masters are to use against the Bulls; and with this Entry many of the common People break in, for which sometimes They pay very dear. The Persons on Horseback have all Cloaks folded up upon their left Shoulder; the least Disorder of which, much more the letting it fall, is a very great Disgrace; and in that grave Order, They march to the Place where the King sits, and after They have made the Reverences, They place themselves at a good Distance from one another, and expect the Bull.

The Bulls are brought in the Night before from the Mountains, by People uſed to that Work; who drive them into the Town when no Body is in the Streets, into a Pen made for them, which hath a Door that opens into that large Space; the Key whereof is ſent to the King, which the King, when He ſees every Thing ready, throws to an *Alguazill*, who carries it to the Officer that keeps the Door; and He cauſes it to be opened when a ſingle Bull is ready to come out. When the Bull enters, the common People who ſit over the Door, or near it, ſtrike him, or throw ſhort Darts with ſharp Points of Steel to provoke him to Rage: He commonly runs with all his Fury againſt the firſt Man he ſees on Horſeback; who watches him ſo carefully, and avoids him ſo dexterouſly, that when the Spectators believe him to be even between the Horns of the Bull, He avoids him by the quick Turn of his Horſe; and with his Lance ſtrikes the Bull upon a Vein that runs through his Pole, with which in a Moment he falls down dead. But this fatal Stroke can never be ſtruck, but when the Bull comes ſo near upon the Turn of the Horſe, that his Horn even touches the Rider's Leg; and ſo is at ſuch a Diſtance, that He can ſhorten his Lance, and uſe the full Strength of his Arm in the Blow; and They who are the moſt ſkilful in the Exerciſe, do frequently kill the Beaſt with ſuch an exact Stroke: inſomuch as in a Day, two, or three fall in that Manner: But if They miſs the Vein, it only gives a Wound that the more enrages him.

Sometimes the Bull runs with ſo much Fierceneſs (for if he eſcapes the firſt Man, he runs upon the reſt as They are in his Way) that he gores the Horſe with his Horns, ſo that his Guts come out, and He falls, before the Rider can get from his Back. Sometimes, by the Strength of his Neck, he raiſes Horſe and Man from the Ground, and throws both down; and then the greateſt Danger is another Gore upon the Ground. In any of theſe Diſgraces, or any other, by which the Rider comes to be diſmounted, He is obliged in Honour to take his Revenge upon the Bull by his Sword, and upon his Head; towards which the Standers by aſſiſt him, by running after the Bull, and hocking him, by which he falls upon his hinder Legs, but before that Execution can be done, a good Bull hath his Revenge upon many poor Fellows. Sometimes he is ſo unruly that no Body dares to attack him; and then the King calls for the Maſtiffs, whereof two are let out at a Time, and if they cannot maſter him, but are themſelves killed, as frequently they are, the King then, as the laſt Refuge, calls for the *Engliſh* Maſtiffs, of which They ſeldom turn out above one at a Time, and he rarely miſſes taking the Bull, and holding him by the Noſe, till the Men run in; and after They have hocked him, They quickly kill him.

In one of thoſe Days there were no fewer than ſixteen Horſes, as good as any in *Spain*, the worſt of which would that very Morning have yielded three hundred Piſtoles, killed, and four or five Men; beſides many more of both hurt, and ſome Men remained perpetually maimed: for after the Horſemen have done as much as They can, They withdraw themſelves, and then ſome accuſtomed nimble Fellows to whom Money is thrown, when They perform their Feats with Skill, ſtand to receive the Bulls, whereof the worſt are reſerved till the laſt; and it is a wonderful Thing to ſee with what Steadineſs thoſe Fellows will ſtand a full Career of the Bull, and by a little quick Motion upon one Foot, avoid him, and lay a Hand upon his Horn, as if They guided him from them; but then the next Standers by, who have not the ſame Activity, commonly pay for it;

and there is no Day without much Miſchief. It is a very barbarous Exerciſe, and Triumph; in which ſo many Mens Lives are loſt, and always ventured; but ſo rooted in the Affections of that Nation, that it is not in the King's Power, They ſay, to ſuppreſs it; though if He diſliked it enough, He might forbear to be preſent at it.

THERE are three Feſtival Days in the Year, whereof *Midſummer* is one, on which the People hold it to be their Right to be treated with theſe Spectacles; not only in great Cities, where They are never diſappointed, but in very ordinary Towns, where there are Places provided for it. Beſides thoſe ordinary annual Days, upon any extraordinary Accidents of Joy, as at this Time for the Arrival of the Queen, upon the Birth of the King's Children, or any ſignal Victory, theſe Triumphs are repeated; which no Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, or Authority can ſuppreſs, or diſcountenance; for Pope *Pius* the V, in the Time of *Philip* the II, and very probably with his Approbation, if not upon his Deſire, publiſhed a Bull againſt the *Toros* in *Spain*, which is ſtill in force; in which He declared, that no Body ſhould be capable of *Chriſtian* Burial, who loſt his Life at thoſe Spectacles; and that every Clergyman who ſhould be preſent at them, ſtood excommunicated *ipſo facto*; and yet there is always one of the largeſt Galleries aſſigned to the Office of the Inquiſition, and the chief of the Clergy, which is always filled; beſides that many Religious Men in their Habits get other Places; only the *Jeſuits* out of their Submiſſion to the ſupreme Authority of the Pope, are never preſent there; but on thoſe Days, do always appoint ſome ſuch ſolemn Exerciſe to be performed, that obliges their whole Body to be together.

Is viſited by the other Ambaſſadors at Madrid, before his Audience.

THOUGH it is not the Courſe for the Ambaſſadors to make their Viſits to thoſe who come laſt, before They receive their firſt Audience from the King; yet the very Night They came to the Town, the *Venetian* Ambaſſador ſent to congratulate their Arrival, and to know what Hour They would aſſign of the next Day to receive a Viſit from him: To which They returned their Acknowledgments; and that when They had obtained their Audience of the King, They would be ready to receive that Honour from him. However, the very next Day He came to viſit them; and He was no ſooner gone, but the *German* Ambaſſador, not ſending Notice till He was at the bottom of the Stairs, likewiſe came to them; and then the other Ambaſſadors, and Publick Miniſters took their Times to make their Viſits, without attending the Audience.

Some Account of the Ambaſſadors then at Madrid.

Of Julio Roſpiglioſi.

Of the Marquis of Grana.

THERE was one Thing very notable, that all the foreign Miniſters reſiding then in *Madrid* (the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, and the Reſident of *Denmark* only excepted) were *Italians*; and all, but the *Venetian*, Subjects of the Great Duke. *Julio Roſpiglioſi* Nuntio for the Pope, was of *Piſtoja*, and ſo a Subject to the Duke of *Florence*; a grave Man, and at that Time, ſave that his Health was not good, like to come to be, what He was afterwards, Pope, as He was *Clement* the IX. The Emperor's Ambaſſador, the Marquis of *Grana* was likewiſe an *Italian*, and a Subject of *Florence*; He had been General of one of the Emperor's Armies, and was ſent afterwards Ambaſſador to *Madrid*; He was a Man of great Parts; and the removing the Conde-Duke *Olivarez* from Court, was imputed to his Artifice. He made the Match between the King, and the preſent Queen, for which He expected to have the Cap of a Cardinal; and had received it, if He had not died before the following Creation; the Cardinal of *Heſſe* being nominated by the Emperor upon his Death. He was a Man of an imperious, and inſolent Nature, and capable of any

Temptation, and no Body was more glad of his Death than his own Servants, over whom He was a great Tyrant.

Of the Venetian *Ambaſſador.*

THE Ambaſſador of *Venice*, *Pietro Baſadonna*, a Noble *Venetian*, was a Man, as all that Nation is, of great Civility, and much Profeſſion; He was the firſt who told the Ambaſſadors, that the King their Maſter had a Reſident at *Venice*; which was Mr. *Killigrew*, which They did not at firſt believe, having before They left St. *Germains*, diſſuaded the King from that Purpoſe; but afterwards his Majeſty was prevailed upon, only to gratify him, that in that Capacity, He might borrow Money of *Engliſh* Merchants for his own Subſiſtence; which He did, and nothing to the Honour of his Maſter; but was at laſt compelled to leave the Republick, for his vicious Behaviour; of which the *Venetian* Ambaſſador complained to the King, when He came afterwards to *Paris*.

Of the Poliſh *Ambaſſador.*

THE Ambaſſador of the King of *Poland*, was likewiſe a *Florentine*; who was much in Favour with the King *Uladiſlaus*, from whom He was ſent; and continued by King *Caſimir*. He had lived in great Splendour; but by his vicious Courſe of Life, and ſome Miſcarriages, He fell very low, and was revoked with ſome Circumſtances of Diſhonour. He was a Man of a great Wit; if it had not ſerved him to very ill Purpoſes. The Ambaſſador of *Florence*, was a Subject of his Maſter, and an Abbot; a grave Man, and though He was frequently called Ambaſſador, He was in Truth but Reſident; which was diſcovered by a Conteſt He had with the *Denmark* Reſident for Place; who alledged, that the other was no more than Reſident; which was true, and made the Diſcovery that the *Florentines* ſend no Ambaſſadors to *Madrid*, becauſe They are not ſuffered to cover, which They uſe to do in many other Courts. The Arch-Duke of *Inſpruck*'s Miniſter was likewiſe a *Florentine*, and had been bred in *Spain*, and was a Knight of the Order; and ſupported that Character upon a ſmall Aſſignation from his Maſter, for ſome Benefit and Advantage it gave him in Negotiations, and Pretences He had in that Court.

Of the Ambaſſador of Florence.

Of the Arch-Duke of Inſpruck's *Miniſter.*

Of the Reſident of Denmark.

THE Reſident of *Denmark* was Don *Henrique Williamſon* (He was afterwards called *Roſewell*) who came Secretary to *Hannibal Zeſted*; who had been the Year before Ambaſſador in that Court, and lived in extraordinary Splendour, as all the Northern Miniſters do; who have not their Allowance from the King, but from a Revenue that is purpoſely ſet aſide for that Kind of Service. When He went away, He left this Gentleman to remain there as Reſident. He was a grave, and a ſober Man, wiſer than moſt of his Nation; and lived with much more Plenty, and with a better Retinue than any other Miniſter of that Rank in that Court.

THEY had not been many Days in *Madrid*, when Don *Lewis* ſent them the News of the Impriſonment of the Prince of *Condè*, Prince of *Conti*, and the Duke of *Longueville*; and that Marſhall *Turenne* was fled into *Flanders*; ſo much the Cardinal had improved his Condition from the Time that They had left *Paris*. There was yet no Houſe provided for them, which They took very heavily; and believed that it might advance that Buſineſs, if They had once a publick Reception as Ambaſſadors; and therefore They reſolved to demand an Audience. Don *Lewis* came to be advertiſed, that the Ambaſſadors had prepared Mourning for themſelves, and all their Train, againſt their Audience, which was true; for They thought it the moſt proper Dreſs to appear in, and to demand Aſſiſtance to revenge the Murder of their Maſter, it being yet within the Year: But Don *Lewis* ſent to them, that He hoped that when the whole Court was *in Gala*, upon the Joy of the Marriage of the King, and to give the Queen

a cheerful Reception; They would not dishonour the Festival by appearing *in Luto*, which the King could not but take unkindly; which He said, He thought fit to advertise them of, out of Friendship, and without any Authority. Whereupon, as well to comply in an Affair which seemed to have somewhat of Reason in it, as out of Apprehension, that from hence They might take Occasion to defer their Audience, They changed their Purpose, and caused new Cloaths to be made; and then sent to demand their Audience.

Lord Cottington, *and the Chancellor of the Exchequer demand their Audience.*

Montpelier,
1st of March,
1670.

The LIFE of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*

From his Birth to the Reſtoration of the ROYAL FAMILY in the Year 1660.

PART the SIXTH.

THE Ambaſſadors were conducted in Form to their Audience of the King of *Spain*; and afterwards of the Queen, and Infanta; and at laſt a Houſe was provided for them. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 259.

THEY perceived that Court was more inclined to cultivate a ſtrict Friendſhip with the new Commonwealth of *England*, than with the King their Maſter, from an Opinion of his Condition being irrecoverable — After all Ceremonies were over, the Ambaſſadors had a private Audience of the King, to whom They delivered a Memorial containing their Propoſitions, and Demands — They received ſhortly after ſuch an Anſwer, as was Evidence enough to them, how little They were to expect from any avowed Friendſhip of that Crown — They reſted for ſome Time without giving the Court any farther Trouble (*Hiſtory of the Rebellion*, Folio, Vol. 3. P. 261, 262.) and enjoyed themſelves in no unpleaſant Retreat from Buſineſs, if They could have put off the Thought of the miſerable Condition of their Maſter; and their own particular Concernments in their own Country. The Chancellor betook himſelf to the learning their Language, by reading their Books; of which He made a good Collection; and informing himſelf the beſt He could, of their Government, and the Adminiſtration of their Juſtice: And there began his Devotions upon the Pſalms, which He finiſhed in another Baniſhment.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer applies himſelf to the learning Spaniſh.

PRINCE *Rupert* came upon the Coaſt of *Spain* with the Fleet under his Command; and wrote to the Chancellor, acquainting him, that He had brought away all the Fleet from *Ireland*; and deſiring him to procure Orders from the Court, that He might find a good Reception in all the *Spaniſh* Ports, if his Occaſions brought him thither — The news of a Fleet of the King of *England* being on their Coaſt, at a Time when their *Galleons* were expected Home, occaſioned great Alteration in the Behaviour of that Court; and all that the Ambaſſadors aſked, was eaſily granted; but that ſeeming favourable Diſpoſition was of ſhort Duration; for on the Arrival afterwards of a ſtrong Fleet ſent out by the Parliament, and the Commander thereof writing an inſolent

Letter to the King of *Spain*, the Ambaſſadors found themſelves leſs regarded — *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 262, 263.

THE King had now determined to go into *Scotland*, upon the Invitation of the Council, and Parliament of that Kingdom; and the Ambaſſadors, who in Reality diſapproved of that Meaſure, notified it to the Court of *Spain*, as a happy Turn in the King's Affairs; ſetting forth, that his Majeſty was now Maſter of that Kingdom; and therefore might reaſonably hope to be reſtored to the Poſſeſſion of the Reſt of his Dominions — The Court of *Spain* then began again to treat the Ambaſſadors with more Regard — *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 269.

UPON the news of *Cromwell*'s Victory over the Marquis of *Argyle*'s Army in *Scotland*, the Ambaſſadors received a Meſſage from the King of *Spain*, deſiring them to depart, ſince their Preſence in the Court would be prejudicial to his Affairs — They imagined this proceeded from the Expectation of the Arrival of an Ambaſſador from the Commonwealth of *England*, which was then reported; but They knew afterwards that the true Cauſe of this Impatience to get rid of them, was, that their Miniſter in *England*, having purchaſed many of the King's Pictures, and rich Furniture, had ſent them to the *Groyne*; from whence they were expected to arrive about that Time, at *Madrid*: which They thought could not decently be brought to the Palace, while the Ambaſſadors remained at the Court — *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 295.

LORD *Cottington* reſolves, and obtains Leave to ſtay as a private Man in *Spain*; but is not permitted to reſide at *Madrid*. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 297.

THE other Ambaſſador made his Journey by *Alcala*; and ſtaid a Day there, to ſee that Univerſity; where the College, and other Buildings made by the Cardinal *Ximenes*, are well worth the ſeeing; and went through the Kingdom of *Navarre* to *Pampeluna*, where the Vice-King, the Duke of *Eſcalona* received him; and lodged him two Days in the Palace; and treated him with great Civility. There He was ſeized upon with the Gout; yet He continued his Journey by Mules, there being no Paſſage by Coach, or Litter, over the *Pirenees*, to *Bayonne*; where He was forced to keep his Bed, and to bleed, for many Days; but was ſo impatient of Delay, that after a Week's Reſt, and before He was fit for the Journey, He put himſelf into a Litter, and reached *Bourdeaux*; where He was forced to follow the Preſcription of Dr. *Lopez*, a very learned *Jew*, and Phyſician; and yet went too ſoon from thence too; ſo that when He came to *Paris*, He was caſt into his Bed by a new Defluxion of the Gout, more violent than ever.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer begins his Journey from Madrid,

And arrives at Paris.

AS ſoon as He had recovered any Strength, He waited upon the Queen Mother, who received him very graciouſly; complained very much to him of the Duke of *York*; who having been left with her by the King when He parted with her Majeſty at *Beauvais*, had expreſly againſt her Conſent, and Command, tranſported himſelf to *Bruſſels*, upon Imaginations, which had no Foundation; and upon ſome Treaty with the Duke of *Lorrain*, which She was ſure could produce no good Effect. Her Majeſty ſeemed moſt offended with Sir *Edward Herbert* the Attorney General, and Sir *George Ratcliffe*, as the two Perſons who prevailed with the Duke, and had engaged him in that Journey, and governed him in it, againſt the Advice of the Lord *Byron*, who was his Governor; and that being diſappointed

The Queen's Complaints to him of the Duke of York.

of what They had unreaſonably looked for at *Bruſſels*, They had carried his Royal Highneſs into *Holland*, to his Siſter; who ſuffered much by his Preſence; the States of *Holland* being reſolved not to ſuffer him to reſide within their Province; the Prince of *Orange* being lately dead of the Small Pox, and his Son, who was born after his Death, being an Infant, and depending ſo intirely upon the good Will of the States; and therefore the Princeſs Royal was much troubled that the coming of the Duke her Brother into thoſe Parts, gave the States any Occaſion of Offence. The Queen ſaid, that She had writ to the Duke to return into *France*, but had received no Anſwer; and therefore She deſired the Ambaſſador, as ſoon as He ſhould come into thoſe Parts (for He meant to go to *Antwerp*, where his Wife and Children then were) that He would make a Journey to the *Hague*, to reduce the Duke, and to prevail with him to return into *France*; which the Ambaſſador could not refuſe to promiſe.

He found there the Queen's own Family in ſome Diſorder, upon ſome Declaration She had made, that the Proteſtant Chaplain ſhould be no more permitted to perform his Function in the *Louvre*; where the Queen's Court reſided, and where there was a lower Room which had been always uſed as a Chapel, from the Time of the Prince's firſt coming thither, to that Time; and where twice a Day, the Common Prayer was read to thoſe who were Proteſtants, in both Families; and now the Queen had ſignified to Dr. *Coſins* (who was the Chaplain aſſigned by the late King, to attend in her Majeſty's Family, for the Proteſtant Part of it) that He ſhould be no more permitted to have the Uſe of that Room.

Dr. Coſins forbid to officiate to the Proteſtants in the Queen's Family.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer took this Occaſion to ſpeak with the Queen; and put her in Mind of ſome Promiſe She had made him, when He took his Leave of her to go for *Spain*, that She would not withdraw her Stipend, which She allowed to Dr. *Coſins*; whereby He muſt be compelled to withdraw; and ſo the Proteſtant Part of her Family would be deprived of their publick Devotions; which Promiſe She had obſerved to that Time: But if now the Room ſhould be taken from that Uſe, it would be the ſame Thing, as if the Chaplain was turned away. He put her Majeſty in Mind of the ill Impreſſion it might make in the Hearts of the Proteſtants in *England*, who retained their Reſpects, and Duty for her Majeſty; and of what pernicious Conſequence it might prove to the King, who was ſtill in *Scotland*, in a hopeful Condition; and depended moſt upon the Affections of his Proteſtant Subjects of *England*; and in the laſt Place, whether it might not prove a better Argument to thoſe, who were ſuſpected by her to miſlead the Duke of *York*, to diſſuade him from returning to her, ſince She would not permit him to have the Exerciſe of his Religion. The Queen ſeemed to think that what He ſaid, was not without Reaſon, and confeſſed that She was not the Author of this new Reſolution, which She did not believe to be ſeaſonable.

The Chancellor ſpeaks to the Queen on that Subject.

The Queen's Anſwer.

Mr. *Walter Montague*, who had ſome Years ago changed his Religion, and was become Catholick, after He had ſuſtained a long Impriſonment in the *Tower* of *London*, procured his Releaſe from thence, upon Aſſurance that He would no more return into *England*; and ſo came into *France*, where He was very well known in the *French*, as well, as the *Engliſh* Court, and in great Reputation, and Eſteem with both Queens. He appeared a Man wholly reſtrained from all the Vanity, and Levity of his former Life; and perfectly mortified to the Pleaſures of the World, which He had enjoyed in a very great Meaſure and Exceſs.

He

HE dedicated himſelf to his Studies with great Auſterity; and ſeemed to have no Affection, or Ambition for Preferment; but to live within himſelf upon the very moderate Exhibition He had left to him by his Father; and in this melancholick Retreat He had newly taken the Order of Prieſthood; which was in Truth, the moſt reaſonable Way to ſatisfy his Ambition, if He had any left; for both the Queen Regent, and the Cardinal, could not but liberally provide for his Support, in that Profeſſion; which They did very ſhortly after: and this devout Profeſſion, and new Function much improved the Intereſt, and Credit He always had in his old Miſtreſs; who very much hearkened to him in Caſes of Conſcience: and She confeſſed to the Chancellor, that He was a little too bigotted in this Affair; and had not only preſſed her very paſſionately to remove the Scandal of having a Proteſtant Chapel in her Houſe, as inconſiſtent with a good Conſcience; but had likewiſe inflamed the Queen Regent with the ſame Zeal; who had very earneſtly preſſed and importuned her Majeſty no longer to permit that Offence to be given to the Catholick Religion. And upon this Occaſion She lamented the Death of her late Confeſſor, Father *Philips*, who, She ſaid, was a very diſcreet Man, and would never ſuffer her to be troubled with ſuch Infuſions, and Scruples. In Concluſion, She wiſhed him to confer with Mr. *Montague*, and to try if He could withdraw him from that Aſperity in that Particular; to which Purpoſe, the Chancellor conferred with him, but without any Effect.

The Chancellor confers with Mr. Montague thereon, but without Effect.

HE ſaid, the Houſe was the King of *France*'s; who only permitted the Queen to live there; and that the Queen Regent thought her ſelf bound in Conſcience no longer to ſuffer that Reproach, of which She had never had Information till very lately: That if the Duke of *York* came thither, there was no Thought, or Purpoſe to deny him the Exerciſe of his Religion; He might have his Chaplain ſay Prayers to him in his own Chamber; or in ſome Room adjacent, which ſerved likewiſe to all other Purpoſes; but that the ſetting a Room apart, as this was, for that Service, was upon the Matter dedicating it as a Chapel, for the Exerciſe of a Religion, contrary to what was eſtabliſhed in that Kingdom; which the King of *France* would not ſuffer to be done in a Houſe of his, though the King ſhould return thither again. He undervalued all the Conſiderations which were offered of *England*, or of a Proteſtant Intereſt; as if He thought them all, as no Doubt He did, of no Importance to the King's Reſtoration, which could never be effected but by that Intereſt which was quite oppoſite to it. When He gave the Queen an Account of this Diſcourſe, He prevailed ſo far with her, that She promiſed, in Caſe She ſhould be compelled to take away that Room, as She foreſaw She ſhould be, the Family ſhould be permitted to meet in ſome other Room; and if the Duke of *York* came, the Place that ſhould be appointed for his Devotions, ſhould ſerve for all the reſt to reſort to.

AS ſoon as the Chancellor had recovered his ſtrength, He took Leave of the Queen, and purſued his Journey for *Flanders*. At *Bruſſels* He ſtaid till He had an Audience of the Arch-Duke, to whom He had Letters from the King of *Spain*, and Don *Lewis*; by which the King ſignified his Pleaſure, that He ſhould reſide any where in thoſe Provinces He beſt liked, until He could conveniently repair to the King his Maſter; and that in the mean Time He ſhould enjoy all the Privileges due to an Ambaſſador: And ſo He had his Audience in that Quality. He ſpake in *Latin*, and the Arch-Duke anſwering in the ſame, aſſured him of all the Reſpects He could pay him, whilſt He ſtaid in thoſe Parts; and thereupon He went

The Chancellor goes to Bruſſels.

has an Audience of the Arch-Duke.

And resides with his Family at Antwerp in the Character of Ambassador.

to his Family at *Antwerp*, and kept that Character till the King's coming into *France*, and his Return to him; by Means whereof He enjoyed many Privileges, and Exemptions in the Town; and had the Freedom of his Chapel, not only for his own Devotions, but for the Resort of all the Protestants, who were then in the Town; whereof the Marquis of *Newcastle*, the Earl of *Norwich*, and Sir *Charles Cavendish* were the principal; who came always on the *Sundays*, and frequently on the Week Days, to the Common Prayer, to the Grief of many *English*, and *Irish* Roman Catholicks; who used all the malicious Artifices They could, to procure that Liberty to be restrained; and which could not have been enjoyed under any other Concession, than by the Privilege of an Ambassador.

He goes to the Duke of York *at* Breda, *to perswade him to return to* Paris.

Whilst He was preparing to make a Journey to the *Hague* to wait upon the Duke of *York*, according to the Promise He had made to the Queen, He received Information from the *Hague*, that his Royal Highness would be at *Breda* such a Day; whereupon He was glad to shorten his Journey, and at the Day, to kiss his Hands there; where He found his Highness newly arrived; and in an Inclination enough to return to the Queen; so that the Chancellor had no great Task to confirm him in that Resolution; nor in Truth did He know what else to do: however all about him were very glad of the Chancellor's Presence, every Body hoping to get him to their Party, that He might be ready to make a fair Report of their Behaviour to the King; whom They knew the Queen would endeavour to incense against them.

Some account of the Duke of York's Family.

Never little Family was torn into so many Pieces and Factions. The Duke was very young; yet loved Intrigues so well, that He was too much inclined to hearken to any Men, who had the Confidence to make bold Propositions to him. The King had appointed him to remain with the Queen; and to obey her in all Things, Religion only excepted. The Lord *Byron* was his Governour, ordained to be so by his Father, and very fit for that Province; being a very fine Gentleman; well bred both in *France*, and *Italy*; and perfectly versed in both Languages; of great Courage, and Fidelity; and in all Respects qualified for the Trust; but his being absent in the King's Service, when the Duke made his Escape out of *England*, and Sir *John Berkley* being then put about him, all Pains had been taken to lessen his Esteem of the Lord *Byron*; and Sir *John Berkley* knowing that He could no longer remain Governour, when the Lord *Byron* came thither; and hearing that He was in his Journey, infused into the Duke's Mind, that it was a great lessening of his Dignity at that Age (when He was not above fourteen Years of Age, and backward enough for that Age) to be under a Governour; and so partly by disesteeming the Person, and partly by reproaching the Office, He grew less inclined to the Person of that good Lord, than He should have been.

But what Title soever any Body had, the whole Authority was in the Queen; not only by the Direction of the King, but by inevitable Necessity; for there was no Kind of Fund assigned for the Support of the Duke; but He depended entirely upon the Queen his Mother's Bounty, who had no more assigned for her self, than They, to whom the Management thereof was committed, knew well how to dispose of, nor was it enough to serve their Occasions; so that her Majesty her self, certainly spent less upon her own Person, or in any Thing relating to her self, than ever any Queen, or Lady of a very eminent Degree did. This visible, and total Dependance of the Duke upon his Mother, made her Majesty the less apprehensive of his doing any Thing contrary to her liking; and there was not that

Care for the general Part of his Education; nor that Indulgence to his Perſon, as ought to have been; and the Queen's own Carriage and Behaviour towards him was at leaſt ſevere enough; as it had been before to the King, in the Time that He was Prince; which then, and now gave Opportunity to thoſe, who were not themſelves at Eaſe, to make many Infuſions; which how contrary ſoever to their Duties, were not ſo unreaſonable, as to be eaſily rejected, or to make no Impreſſion.

THE King at his going from *Beauvais* in his Voyage for *Scotland*, had given ſome Recommendation to the Duke his Brother, of Sir *George Ratcliffe*; to whoſe Care his Father had once deſigned to commit him, when He meant to have ſent him into *Ireland*; and his Majeſty had likewiſe, at the ſame Time at *Beauvais*, made ſome Promiſe to Sir *George Ratcliffe* of ſome Place about his Brother, when his Family ſhould be ſettled, of which there was then little Appearance: however it was enough to entitle him to give his frequent Attendance upon the Duke; and the general Reputation He had, of having been the Perſon of the neareſt Truſt with the Earl of *Strafford*, might well diſpoſe the Duke to think him a wiſe Man; and the better to eſteem any Thing He ſaid to him.

SIR *Edward Herbert* thought himſelf the wiſeſt Man that followed the King's Fortune; and was always angry that He had no more to do; and now Prince *Rupert* was abſent, endeavoured all He could, to get Credit with the Duke of *York*; and came very frequently to him, and held him in long Whiſpers, which the Duke eaſily indulged to him, out of a real Belief that He was a Man of great Wiſdom, and Experience. The Queen liked neither of theſe two; which They well enough diſcerning, grew into a Friendſhip, or rather, a Familiarity together, though They were of the moſt different Natures, and Humours imaginable: *Ratcliffe* being a Man very capable of Buſineſs; and if the Proſperity of his former Fortune, had not raiſed in him ſome Fumes of Vanity, and Self-conceitedneſs, was very fit to be adviſed with; being of a Nature conſtant, and ſincere; which the other was not; yet They agreed well in the Deſign of making the Duke of *York* diſcontented, and weary of his Condition; which was not pleaſant enough to be much delighted in.

The Cauſe of the Duke of York's having left Paris.

THE news from *England*, of the State of the King's Affairs in *Scotland*, made moſt Men believe that his Majeſty was irrecoverably loſt; and there was for ſome Time a Rumour ſcattered abroad, and by many believed, that the King was dead. Theſe two Gentlemen, upon the Fame of this, conſulted together, whether if the news were, or ſhould be true, the Duke of *York*, who muſt ſucceed, were in a good Place; and both concluded, that in that Caſe, it would not be fit that He ſhould be with his Mother. Hereupon They perſuaded the Duke, that it was not fit for him to remain idle in *France*; but to employ himſelf Abroad, whereby his Experience might be improved; and He might put himſelf into a Poſture to be able to aſſiſt the King his Brother; or if any Misfortune ſhould befal him, in ſome Degree to provide for himſelf; and propoſed to him, that He would reſolve to make a Journey to *Bruſſels*, to adviſe and conſult with the Duke of *Lorrain*, who was a Prince of great Wiſdom, Wealth, and Courage; and being driven out of his own Country, by too powerful and potent a Neighbour, had yet by his own Activity, and Virtue made himſelf ſo conſiderable, that *Spain* depended upon his Army; and *France* it ſelf would be glad of his Friendſhip; that He was very rich, and would not be only able to give the Duke good Counſel, but Aſſiſtance to make it effectual.

THE Duke without farther examining the Probability of the Deſign, which He concluded had been thought upon enough by two ſuch wiſe Men, gave his full Conſent to it; and They having likewiſe found Credit for ſo much Money as would defray the charges of the Journey, and really believing that the King was dead, the Duke one Day told the Queen, that He was reſolved to make a Journey to *Bruſſels* to ſee the Duke of *Lorrain*; with which the Queen being ſurprized, uſed both her Reaſon, and her Authority to diſſuade him from it, but could not prevail by either; his Highneſs telling her very obſtinately, that He would begin his Journey within two Days. She found that none of his Servants were privy to the Deſign, or were at all acquainted with the Purpoſe; and quickly diſcovered the two Counſellors; who having no Relation to his Service that She knew, were prepared to wait on him, and had drawn Dr. *Steward* (who was Dean of the Chapel to the King, and left behind, when his Majeſty went for *Scotland*, with Direction to be with the Duke of *York*) to be of their Party.

Character of Dr. Steward.

THE Doctor was a very honeſt, and learned Gentleman; and moſt converſant in that Learning, which vindicated the Dignity, and Authority of the Church; upon which his Heart was moſt entirely ſet; not without ſome Prejudice to thoſe, who thought there was any other Object to be more carefully purſued. Sir *George Ratcliffe* ſeemed to be of his Mind; and ſo was looked upon by him as one of the beſt Friends of the Church, which was Virtue enough to cover many Defects. He told him of the Rumour of the Death of the King; and what Conference had been between him, and the Attorney General upon it, which They both believed; and how neceſſary They thought it was for the Duke to be out of *France*, when the Certainty of that News ſhould arrive: That They had ſpoken with the Duke of it; who ſeemed very well diſpoſed, yet They knew not how his Mother's Authority might prevail over his Obedience; and therefore wiſhed that He would ſpeak with the Duke, who had great Reverence for him in all Matters of Conſcience, and remove any Scruples which might ariſe. The Doctor did not think himſelf ſo much regarded by the Queen, as He expected to be; and did really believe the Caſe to be ſuch as the other had informed him; and confirmed the Duke in his Reſolution, notwithſtanding any Thing his Mother ſhould ſay to the contrary; and the Queen could neither ſay, or do any Thing to diſſuade him from the Journey.

THE Lord *Byron* his Governour, and Mr. *Bennet* his Secretary, both well liked by the Queen, and of great Confidence in each other, thought it their Duty to attend upon him. Sir *John Berkley* ſtaid behind, as well to avoid the being inferior to another, which He always abhorred; as to proſecute an Amour, which He was newly embarked in; and Sir *George Ratcliffe*, and Sir *Edward Herbert*, and the good Doctor were ſo to improve their Intereſt, that neither the Queen, or any who depended on her, might have any Credit with the Duke. Moſt of the inferior Servants depended upon them, becauſe They ſaw They had moſt Intereſt with their Maſter; and with theſe Thoughts, and Reſolutions, They all ſet out for *Bruſſels*; and theſe wild Notions were the true Reaſons, and Foundation of that Journey; which many ſober Men ſo much wondered at then; and ſo much cenſured afterwards.

WHEN his Highneſs came to *Bruſſels*, He was accommodated in the Houſe of Sir *Henry De Vic*, the King's Reſident there: And He was no ſooner there, but They began to model his Houſe, and regulate his Fa-

mily; towards which, Sir *George Ratcliffe* was deſigned to manage all the Affairs of Money; the Attorney contenting himſelf with having the greateſt Power in governing the Councils; and all looking for other Stations upon the Arrival of the News from *Scotland*. But in a ſhort Time the Intelligence from thence was quite contrary to what They expected; the King was not only in good Health, but his Affairs in no deſperate Condition; all Factions ſeemed reconciled; and He was at the Head of an Army, that looked *Cromwell* in the Face.

HEREUPON They were at a great Stand in their Councils. The Duke of *Lorrain* had been civil to the Duke; and had at his firſt coming lent him ſome Money; but when He found He was without any Deſign; and by what Perſons his counſels were directed, He grew colder in his Reſpects: and They who had gone thus far, took upon them the Preſumption to propoſe a Marriage between the Duke of *York*, and a natural Daughter of the Duke of *Lorrain*; his Marriage with *Madame de Cantecroix*, the Mother of the ſaid Lady, being declared void in the Court of *Rome*: but the Duke of *Lorrain* was ſo wiſe as not to entertain the Motion, except it ſhould be made with the King's Privity. So apt are unexperienced Men, when They are once out of the Way, to wander into Bogs, and Precipices, before They will be ſenſible of their falſe Conduct. When They found there was Nothing to be done at *Bruſſels*, They perſuaded the Duke to go to the *Hague*, with as little Deſign; and when They had wearied all People there, They came to *Breda*, where the Chancellor had met them.

The State of the Duke of York's Family at Breda.

THE Duke himſelf was ſo young, that He was rather delighted with the Journies He had made, than ſenſible that He had not entered upon them with Reaſon enough; and They had fortified him with a firm Reſolution, never to acknowledge that He had committed any Error. But his Counſellors had loſt all the Pleaſure of their Combination; and reproached each other of their Follies, and Preſumptions, with all the Animoſity imaginable. The Lord *Byron*, and Mr. *Bennet*, who had comforted each other in their Sufferings, were glad enough to ſee that there was ſome End put to their Peregrinations; and that by returning to the Queen, They were like to find ſome Reſt again: and They entertained the Chancellor with many ridiculous Relations of the Politicks of the Attorney, and Sir *George Ratcliffe*, and of the pleaſant Diſcourſes the Duke of *Lorrain* made of the *Latin* Orations, Sir *George Ratcliffe* had entertained him with.

ON the other Hand, Sir *George* was well pleaſed with the Grace He had received from the Duke of *Lorrain*; and with the Teſtimony He had given of him to ſome Men, who had told him of it again, that He was a very grave, and a wiſe Man; and that He wiſhed He had ſuch another to look after his Affairs. He, and Dr. *Steward* continued their Affections towards each other; and concurred in moſt bitter Invectives againſt Sir *Edward Herbert*, as a mad Man, and of that intolerable Pride, that it was not poſſible for any Man to converſe with him; and the Attorney as frankly reproached them all, with being Men of no Parts, of no Underſtanding, no Learning, no Principles, and no Reſolution; and was ſo juſt to them all, as to contemn every Man alike; and in Truth, had rendered himſelf ſo grievous to them all, and behaved himſelf ſo inſolently towards all, that there was not a Man who deſired to be in his Company: yet by the Knack of his Talk, which was the moſt like Reaſon, and not it, He retained ſtill great Credit with the Duke; who being ſtill confounded with his po-

ſitive Diſcourſe, thought him to be wiſer than thoſe who were more eaſy to be underſtood.

THE Duke upon the Receipt of the Queen's Letters, which the Chancellor delivered to him, reſolved upon his Journey to *Paris*, without farther Delay; and the Chancellor waiting upon his Highneſs as far as *Antwerp*, He proſecuted his Journey with the ſame Retinue He had carried with him; and was received by his Mother without thoſe Expoſtulations, & Reprehenſions, which He might have expected; though her Severity was the ſame towards all thoſe, who She thought had the Credit, and Power to ſeduce him.

THE Chancellor was now at a little Reſt again with his own Family in *Antwerp*; and had Time to be vacant to his own Thoughts, and Books; and in the Interval to enjoy the Converſation of many worthy Perſons of his own Nation, who had choſen that Place to ſpend the Time of their Baniſhment in. There was the Marquis of *Newcaſtle*, who having married a young Lady, confined himſelf moſt to her Company; and lived as retired, as his ruined Condition in *England* obliged him to; yet with Honour, and Decency, and with much Reſpect paid him by all Men, as well Foreigners, as thoſe of his own Country. The Converſation the Chancellor took moſt Delight in, was that of Sir *Charles Cavendiſh*, Brother to the Marquis; who was one of the moſt extraordinary Perſons of that Age, in all the noble Endowments of the Mind. He had all the Diſadvantages imaginable in his Perſon; which was not only of ſo ſmall a Size, that it drew the Eyes of Men upon him; but with ſuch Deformity in his little Perſon, and an Aſpect in his Countenance, that was apter to raiſe Contempt than Application: But in this unhandſome, or homely Habitation, there was a Mind and a Soul lodged that was very lovely, and beautiful; cultivated, and poliſhed by all the Knowledge, and Wiſdom, that Arts, and Sciences could ſupply it with. He was a great Philoſopher, in the Extent of it; and an excellent Mathematician; whoſe Correſpondence was very dear to *Gaſſendus*, and *Deſcartes*; the laſt of which dedicated ſome of his Works to him. He had very notable Courage; and the Vigour of his Mind, ſo adorned his Body, that being with his Brother the Marquis in all the War, He uſually went out in all Parties, and was preſent, and charged the Enemy in all Battles, with as keen a Courage, as could dwell in the Heart of Man. But then the Gentleneſs of his Diſpoſition, the Humility and Meekneſs of his Nature, and the Vivacity of his Wit was admirable. He was ſo modeſt, that He could hardly be prevailed with to enlarge himſelf on Subjects, He underſtood better than other Men, except He were preſſed by his very familiar Friends; as if He thought it Preſumption to know more, than handſomer Men uſe to do. Above all, his Virtue, and Piety was ſuch, that no Temptation could work upon him to conſent to any Thing, that ſwerved in the leaſt Degree from the preciſe Rules of Honour; or the moſt ſevere Rules of Conſcience.

The Chancellor's Friendſhip with, and Character of Sir Charles Cavendiſh.

WHEN He was exceedingly importuned by thoſe whom He loved beſt, to go into *England*, and compound for his Eſtate, which was very good, that thereby He might be enabled to help his Friends, who were reduced into great Streights; He refuſed it, out of Apprehenſion that He might be required to take the *Covenant*, or *Engagement*, or to do ſomewhat elſe, which his Conſcience would not permit him to do: and when They endeavoured to undervalue that Conſcience, and to perſuade him not to be governed by it, that would expoſe him to Famine; and reſtrain him from being charitable to his beſt Friends; He was ſo offended with their Argu-

mentation, that He would no more admit any Diſcourſe upon the Subject. Upon which They applied themſelves to the Chancellor; who They thought, had moſt Credit with him; and deſired him to perſuade him to make a Journey into *England*; the Benefit whereof to him, and themſelves was very intelligible; but informed him not of his Refuſal, and the Arguments They had uſed to convert him.

THE next Time They met, which They uſually did once a Day, the Chancellor told him, He heard He had a Purpoſe to make a Journey into *England*; to which He ſuddenly anſwered, that indeed He was deſired to do ſo, but that He had poſitively refuſed; and thereupon with much Warmth, and Indignation, related what Importunity, and what Arguments had been uſed to him, and what He had anſwered: and thereupon ſaid, that his preſent Condition was in no Degree pleaſant, or eaſy to him (as in Truth it was not, He being in very viſible Want of ordinary Conveniencies) but, He proteſted, that He would rather ſubmit to Nakedneſs, or ſtarving in the Street, than ſubſcribe to the *Covenant*, or *Engagement*, or do any Thing elſe that might trench upon his Honour, or his Conſcience. To which the Chancellor replied, that his Reſolution became him, and was worthy of his Wiſdom, and Honeſty; and that if He found him inclined to do any Thing that might trench upon either, He was ſo much his Friend, that He would put him in Mind of his Obligations to both; that indeed the Arguments which had been uſed to him could never prevail upon a virtuous Mind; however, He told him, He thought the Motion from his Friends might be a little more conſidered, before it was rejected; and confeſſed to him, that He was deſired to confer with him about it, and to diſpoſe him to it; without being informed, that any Attempt had been already made: and then aſked him, whether He did in Truth believe, that his Journey thither, might probably produce thoſe Benefits to himſelf, and his Friends, as They imagined; and then it would be fit to conſider whether thoſe Conveniences were to be purchaſed at a dearer Price than they were worth.

The Chancellor perſuades Sir Charles Cavendiſh *to go into* England.

HE anſwered, there could be no Doubt, but that if He could go thither with Safety, and be admitted to compound for his Eſtate, as others did, He could then ſell it at ſo good a Price, that He could not only provide for a competent Subſiſtence for himſelf, when He returned, but likewiſe aſſiſt his Friends for their better Support; and that He could otherwiſe, out of Lands that were in Truſt, and not known to be his, and ſo had not been yet ſequeſtered, raiſe other Sums of Money, which would be attended with many Conveniences; and He confeſſed Nothing of all this could be done without his own Preſence. But then that which deprived him of all this, was, in the firſt Place, the Apprehenſion of Impriſonment; which, He ſaid, his Conſtitution would not bear; but eſpecially, becauſe by their own Ordinance, no Body was capable to compound, till He had ſubſcribed to the *Covenant*, and *Engagement*; which He would not do to ſave his Life; and that in what Neceſſity ſoever He was, He valued what Benefit He could poſſibly receive by the Journey, only as it might conſiſt with his Innocence, and Liberty to return; and ſince He could not reaſonably preſume of either, He had no Thought of going.

THE Chancellor told him, that They were both of the ſame Mind in all Things which related to Conſcience and Honour; but yet, ſince the Benefits that might reſult from this Journey were great, and very probable, and in ſome Degree certain; and the Miſchiefs He apprehended were not certain, and poſſibly might be avoided, He thought He was not to lay

aſide all Thoughts of the Journey, which He was ſo importuned to undertake by thoſe who were ſo dear to him. That He was of the Few who had many Friends, and no Enemies; and therefore had no Reaſon to fear Impriſonment, or any other Rigour extraordinary; which was ſeldom uſed, but to Perſons under ſome notable Prejudice. That after He once came to *London*, He would not take much Pleaſure in going abroad; but might diſpatch his Buſineſs by others, who would repair to him: and that for the *Covenant* and *Engagement*, they were ſo contrary, that both were rarely offered to the ſame Perſon; and They had now ſo much juſtled, and reviled each other, that they were neither in ſo much Credit as they had been; and were not preſſed, but upon ſuch Perſons, againſt whom They had a particular Deſign; however He went well armed as to that Point, with a Reſolution not to ſubmit to either; and the worſt that could happen, was to return without the full Effect of his Journey. Whereas if thoſe Miſchiefs could be avoided, which the ſkilfull upon the Place could only inſtruct him in, He would return with great Benefit, and Satisfaction to himſelf, and his Friends: and if He were ſubjected to Impriſonment (which He ought not to apprehend, and could be but ſhort) even in that Caſe, his Journey could not be without Fruit, by the Conference, and Tranſactions with his Friends; though no Compoſition could be made. Upon revolving theſe Conſiderations, He reſolved to undertake the Journey; and performed it ſo happily, without thoſe Obſtructions He feared, that He finiſhed all He propoſed to himſelf; and made a competent Proviſion to ſupport his Brother during his Diſtreſs; though when He had diſpatched it, He lived not to enjoy the Repoſe He deſired; but died before He could return to *Antwerp*. and the Marquis ever after publickly acknowledged the Benefit He received hereby, to the Chancellor's Advice.

As ſoon as the Chancellor had repoſed himſelf at *Antwerp*, after ſo much Fatigue; He thought it neceſſary to give ſome Account of himſelf to the King; and though the Prohibition before his going into *Scotland*, and the ſending away many of the Servants who attended him thither, out of the Kingdom, made it unfit for him to repair thither himſelf; He reſolved to ſend his Secretary (a Man of Fidelity, and well known to the King) to inform his Majeſty of all that had paſſed; and to bring back his Commands; but when He was at *Amſterdam*, ready to embark, upon a Ship bound for *Scotland*, the News arrived there, of his Majeſty's being upon his March for *England*; upon which He returned to *Antwerp*; where He found the Spirits of all the *Engliſh* exalted with the ſame Advertiſement.

As ſoon as the King came to *Paris* (after his wonderful Deliverance from the Battle of *Worceſter*) and knew that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was at *Antwerp*, his Majeſty ſent to him to repair thither, which He accordingly did; and for the firſt four, or five Days after his Arrival, the King ſpent many Hours with him in Private; and informed him of many Particulars of the Treatment He had met with in *Scotland*; of his March into *England*; of the Confuſion at *Worceſter*; and all the Circumſtances of his happy Eſcape and Deliverance. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 332.

The Queen endeavours to attach the Chancellor to her Intereſt.

The Chancellor was yet looked upon with no ungracious Eye by her Majeſty; only the Lord *Jermyn* knew well He would never reſign himſelf to be diſpoſed of, which was the Temper that could only endear any Man to him: For beſides former Experience, an Attempt had been lately made upon

upon him by Sir *John Berkley*; who told him, that the Queen had a good Opinion of him; and knew well in how ill a Condition He muſt be, in Reſpect of his Subſiſtence; and that She would aſſign him ſuch a competent Maintenance, that He ſhould be able to draw his Family to him out of *Flanders*, to *Paris*, and to live comfortably together, if She might be confident of his Service, and that He would always concur with her in his Advice to the King. To which He anſwered, that He ſhould never fail in performing his Duty to the Queen, whom He acknowledged to be his moſt gracious Miſtreſs, with all poſſible Integrity: But as He was a Servant, and Counſellor to the King, ſo He ſhould always conſider what was good for his Service; and never decline that out of any Compliance whatſoever; and that He did not deſire to be ſupported from any Bounty, but the King's; nor more by his, than in Proportion with what his Majeſty ſhould be able to do for his other Servants. And ſhortly after the Queen her ſelf ſpeaking with him, and complaining, that She had no Credit with the King; the Chancellor deſired her not to think ſo; He knew well the King had great Duty for her, which He would ſtill preſerve towards her; but as it would not be fit for her to affect ſuch an Intereſt as to be thought to govern; ſo Nothing could be more diſadvantageous to the King, and to his Intereſt, than that the World ſhould believe that He was abſolutely governed by his Mother; which He found (though She ſeemed to conſent to it) was no acceptable Declaration to her. However She did often employ him to the King, upon ſuch Particulars as troubled, or offended her; as once for the Removal of a young Lady out of the *Louvre*, who had procured a Lodging there, without her Majeſty's Conſent; and with whom her Majeſty was juſtly offended, for the little Reſpect She ſhewed towards her Majeſty; and when the Chancellor had prevailed ſo far with the King, that He obliged the Lady to remove out of the *Louvre*, to ſatisfy his Mother; the Queen was well content that the Lady her ſelf, and her Friends ſhould believe, that She had undergone that Affront merely by the Malice, and Credit of the Chancellor.

His Anſwer.

THE King remained at *Paris* till the Year 1654; when in the Month of *June*, He left *France*; and paſſing through *Flanders*, went to *Spa*; where He propoſed to ſpend two, or three Months, with his Siſter, the Princeſs Royal. His Stay at *Spa* was not ſo long as He intended, the Small Pox breaking out there — His Majeſty, and his Siſter ſuddenly removed to *Aix-la-Chapelle*. *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. P. 417, 418, 419.

† AT this Time there fell out an Accident neceſſary to be inſerted in the particular Relation of the Chancellor's Life; which had afterwards an Influence upon his Fortune; and a very great one upon the Peace and Quiet of his Mind, and of his Family. When the King reſolved, immediately after the Murder of his Father, to ſend the Chancellor his Ambaſſador into *Spain*; the Chancellor, being to begin his Journey from the *Hague*, ſent for his Wife, and Children, to meet him at *Antwerp*; and had at that Time only four Children, one Daughter, and three Sons; all of ſo tender Years, that their own Diſcretions could contribute little to their Education. Theſe Children, under the ſole Direction of a very diſcreet Mother, He left at *Antwerp*, competently provided for, for the Space of a Year or more; hoping in that Time, to be able to ſend them ſome farther Supply; and having removed them out of *England*, to prevent any Inconvenience that

The Situation of the Chancellor's Family at Antwerp.

† The Entrance of the Chancellor's Daughter into the Family of the Princeſs Royal, is related in both Manuſcripts. The Fact is here retained, as beſt preſerving the Order of Time: The Circumſtances preceding it, from p. 129. l. 42. to p. 130. l. 42. and the concluſion of it p. 132. l. 52. to p. 133. l. 6. are tranſcribed from the Manuſcript of *The Continuation*, and therefore the whole Tranſaction is omitted in that Part of the Work.

might befall them there, upon any Accident that might result from his Negotiation in *Spain*; it being in those Times no unusual Thing for the Parliament, when it had conceived any notable Displeasure against a Man, who was out of their Reach, to seize upon his Wife, and Children; and to imprison them, in what Manner, and for what Time seemed reasonable to them; and from this Hazard He was willing to preserve his. The King was in *Scotland* when the Chancellor returned from his Embassy to *Antwerp*, where his Family had still remained; his Children being grown as much as usually attends the Space of two Years, which was the Time He had been absent. The fatal Success at *Worcester* about this Time had put a Period to all his Majesty's present Designs; and He had no sooner made his wonderful Escape into *France*, than He sent for the Chancellor; who left his Family, as He had done formerly, and as meanly supplied, and made all Haste to *Paris*, where He found the King; with whom He remained till his Majesty was even compelled to remove from thence into *Germany*; which was above three Years.

They remove to Breda.

During that Time the Princess Royal had, out of her own Princely Nature, and Inclination, cultivated by the Civility, and Offices of the Lady *Stanhope*, conferred a very seasonable Obligation upon him, by assigning a House, that was in her Disposal at *Breda*, to his Wife, and Children; who had thereupon left *Antwerp*; and without the Payment of any House Rent, were more conveniently, because more frugally, settled in their new Mansion at *Breda*; where He got Liberty to visit them for four, or five Days, whilst the King continued his Journey to the *Spa*; and after another Absence of near four Years; finding his Children grown, and improved after that Rate. The gracious Inclination in the Princess Royal, towards the Chancellor's Wife, and Children (not without some Reprehension from *Paris*) and the Civilities in the Lady *Stanhope*, had proceeded much from the good Offices of *Daniel O Neile* of the King's Bed-chamber; who had for many Years lived in very good Correspondence with the Chancellor; and was very acceptable in the Court of the Princess Royal, and to those Persons who had the greatest Influence upon her Councils, and Affections.

The Princess met the King her Brother at the *Spa*, rather for the mutual Comfort They took in each other, than for the Use either of them had of the Waters; yet the Princess engaged herself to that Order, and Diet that the Waters required; and after near a Months Stay there, They were forced suddenly to remove from thence, by the Sickness of some of the Princesses Women of the Small Pox; and resided at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where They had been but one whole Day, when Notice came from the *Spa* that Mrs. *Killigrew*, one of the Maids of Honour to the Princess, was dead of the Small Pox. *O Neile* came in the Instant to the Chancellor with very much Kindness, and told him, that the Princess Royal had a very good Opinion of him, and kind Purposes towards his Family; which She knew suffered much for his Fidelity to the King; and therefore that She was much troubled to find that her Mother the Queen had less Kindness for him than He deserved; that by the Death of Mrs. *Killigrew* there was a Place now fallen, which very many would desire; and that it would no sooner be known at *Paris*, than the Queen would undoubtedly recommend some Lady to the Princess; but He was confident that, if the Chancellor would move the King to recommend his Daughter, who was known to the Princess, her Highness would willingly receive her. He thanked him for his particular Kindness; but conjured him not to use his Interest to promote any such Pretence; and told him that "himself would not ap-

Mr. O Neile proposes to the Chancellor to ask for Mrs. Killigrew's Place for his his Daughter.

Which the Chancellor declines.

"ply the King's Favour to ſuch a Requeſt; that He had but one Daugh-
"ter, who was all the Company, and Comfort her Mother had, in her
"melancholick Retirement; and therefore He was reſolved not to ſepa-
"rate them; nor to diſpoſe his Daughter to a Court Life;" which He did in Truth perfectly deteſt. *O Neile*, much diſappointed with the Anſwer, and believing that the Propoſition would have been very grateful to him, confeſſed, that the Princeſs had been already moved in it by the Lady *Cheſterfield*; and that it was her own Deſire that the King ſhould move it to her; to the End, that She might be thereby ſheltered from the Reproach which She expected from the Queen; but that the Princeſs herſelf had ſo much Kindneſs for his Daughter, that She had long reſolved to have her upon the firſt Vacancy. The Chancellor was exceedingly perplexed; and reſolved nothing more, than that his Daughter ſhould not live from her Mother; and therefore renewed his Conjurations to Mr. *O Neile*, that He would not farther promote it, ſince it would never be acceptable to him; and concluded, that his making no Application, and the Importunity of others who deſired the Honour, would put an End to the Pretence.

The King ſpeaks to him on that Subject.

THE King had heard of the Matter, from the Princeſs, and willingly expected when the Chancellor would move him for his Recommendation; which when He ſaw He forbore to do, He ſpake himſelf to him of it; and aſked him, why He did not make ſuch a Suit to him; upon which the Chancellor told him all that had paſſed between *O Neile* and him; and that for many Reaſons, He declined the receiving that Obligation from the Princeſs; and therefore He had no Uſe of his Majeſty's Favour in it. The King told him plainly, that "his Siſter upon having ſeen his Daugh-
"ter ſome Days, liked her ſo well, that She deſired to have her about her
"Perſon; and had herſelf ſpoken to him to move it to her, for the Rea-
"ſon aforeſaid, and to prevent any Diſpleaſure from the Queen; and He
"knew not how the Chancellor could, or why He ſhould omit ſuch an
"Opportunity of providing for his Daughter, in ſo honourable a Way."

The Chancellor's Anſwer.

The Chancellor told him, "He could not diſpute the Reaſons with him;
"only that He could not give himſelf Leave to deprive his Wife of her
"Daughter's Company; nor believe that She could be more advanta-
"geouſly bred, than under her Mother." Hereupon he went to the Princeſs, and took Notice of the Honour She was inclined to do him; but, He told Her, the Honour was not fit for him to receive, nor the Conjuncture ſeaſonable for her Royal Highneſs to confer it: That She could not but know his Condition, being deprived of his Eſtate; and if her Highneſs's Bounty had not aſſigned a Houſe at *Breda*, where his Wife, and Family lived Rent free, They had not known how to have ſubſiſted: But by that her Favour, the ſmall Supplies his Friends in *England* ſecretly ſent over to them, ſuſtained them in that private Retirement in which They lived; ſo that it was not in his Power to make his Daughter ſuch an Allowance, as would enable her to live in her Court, in that Manner as would become her Relation.

His Diſcourſe with the Princeſs Royal.

THE Princeſs would not permit him to enlarge; but very generouſly told him, that She knew well the Streightneſs of his Condition, and how it came to be ſo low; and had no Thought, that He ſhould be at the Charge to maintain his Daughter in her Service; that He ſhould leave that to Her: and ſo uſed many Expreſſions of Eſteem of him, and of Kindneſs, and Grace to his Daughter. He foreſeeing, and expecting ſuch Generoſity, replied to her, that ſince her Goodneſs diſpoſed her to ſuch an Act of Charity, and Honour; it became his Duty, and Gratitude to pro-

vide, that She ſhould bring no Inconvenience upon her ſelf: That He had the Misfortune (with all the Innocence, and Integrity imaginable) to be more in the Queen her Mother's Diſfavour, than any Gentleman, who had had the Honour to ſerve the Crown ſo many Years in ſome Truſt; that all the Application He could make, nor the King's own Interpoſition, could prevail with her Majeſty, to receive him into her gracious Opinion; and that He could not but know, that this unſeaſonable Act of Charity, which her Highneſs would vouchſafe to ſo ungracious a Family, would produce ſome Reſentment, and Diſpleaſure from the Queen her Mother, towards her Highneſs; and increaſe the Weight of her ſevere Indignation againſt him, which ſo heavily oppreſſed him already; and therefore He reſolved to prevent that Miſchief, which would undoubtedly befall her Highneſs; and would not ſubmit to the receiving the Fruits of her favourable Condeſcenſion.

To this the Princeſs anſwered with ſome Warmth, that She had always paid that Duty to the Queen her Mother, which was due to her; and would never give her a juſt Cauſe to be offended with her: But that She was Miſtreſs of her own Family, and might receive what Servants She pleaſed; and that She ſhould commit a great Fault againſt the Queen, if She ſhould forbear to do a good, and a juſt Action, to which She was inclined, out of Apprehenſion that her Majeſty would be offended at it. She ſaid, She knew ſome ill Offices had been done him to her Mother, for which She was ſorry; and doubted not, but her Majeſty would in due Time diſcern that She had been miſinformed, and miſtaken; and then She would like and approve of what her Highneſs ſhould now do. In the mean Time She was reſolved to take his Daughter, and would ſend for her as ſoon as She returned into *Holland*. The Chancellor, not in any Degree converted; but confounded with the gracious and frank Diſcourſe of the Princeſs Royal, knew not what more to ſay; replied only, that He hoped her Highneſs would think better of what She ſeemed to undervalue, and that He left his Daughter to be diſpoſed of by her Mother, who He knew would be very unwilling to part with her; upon which her Highneſs anſwered, "I'll warrant you, my Lady and I will agree upon the Matter." To conclude this Diſcourſe, which, conſidering what fell out afterwards, is not impertinent to be remembered; He knew his Wife had no Inclination to have her Daughter out of her own Company; and when He had by Letter informed her of all that had paſſed, He endeavoured to confirm her in that Reſolution: but when the Princeſs after her Return into *Holland* ſent to her, and renewed her gracious Offer; She, upon Conſultation with Dr. *Morley* (who upon the old Friendſhip between the Chancellor and him, choſe in his Baniſhment, from the Murder of the King, to make his Reſidence for the moſt Part in his Family, and was always perfectly kind to all his Intereſts) believed it might prove for her Daughter's Benefit; and writ to her Huſband her Opinion, and that the Doctor concurred in the ſame.

His Wife accepts the Offer, and preſents her Daughter to the Princeſs.

The Chancellor looked upon the Matter it ſelf, and all the Circumſtances thereof, as having ſome Marks of Divine Providence, which He would not reſiſt; and ſo referred it wholly to his Wife: who when She had preſented her Daughter to the Princeſs, came her ſelf to reſide with her Huſband, to his great Comfort; and which He could not have enjoyed, if the other Separation had not been made; and poſſibly that Conſideration had the more eaſily diſpoſed her to conſent to the other. We have now ſet down all the Paſſages, and Circumſtances which accompanied, or attended that Lady's firſt Promotion, to the Service of the Princeſs Royal;

which the extreme Averſeneſs in her Father, and Mother, from embracing that Opportunity, and the unuſual Grace, and Importunity from them who conferred the Honour, being conſidered, there may appear to many an extraordinary Operation of Providence, in giving the firſt Riſe to what afterwards ſucceeded; though of a Nature ſo tranſcendent, as cannot be thought to have any Relation to it.

AFTER an unſucceſsful Inſurrection of ſome of the King's Friends in *England*, *Cromwell* exerciſed the utmoſt Severity, and Cruelty againſt them; putting many to Death; and tranſporting others, as Slaves to *Barbadoes*; and by his own Authority, and that of his Council, made an Order, that all Perſons who had ever born Arms for, or declared themſelves of, the Royal Party, ſhould be decimated; that is, pay a tenth Part of all the Eſtate They had left, to ſupport the Charge of the Commonwealth; and publiſhed a Declaration to juſtify his Proceedings: *Hiſt. of the Reb.* Folio, Vol. 3. from P. 429, to 444. which confidently ſet down ſuch Maxims, as made it manifeſt to all who had ever ſerved the King, or would not ſubmit to *Cromwell*'s Power, and Government, that They had Nothing that They could call their own, but muſt be diſpoſed of at his Pleaſure; which as much concerned all other Parties, as the King's, in the Conſequence.

Cromwell publiſhes a Declaration juſtifying his Order for decimating the King's Party.

THIS Declaration as ſoon as printed, was ſent over to *Cologne*, *where the King then was*, and the Chancellor was commanded by the King to write ſome Diſcourſe upon it, to awaken the People, and ſhew them their Concernment in it; which He did by Way of *a Letter to a Friend*; which was likewiſe ſent into *England*, and there printed; and when *Cromwell* called his next Parliament, it was made great Uſe of to inflame the People; and make them ſenſible of the Deſtruction that attended them; and was thought then to produce many good Effects. And ſo we conclude this Part.

To which the Chancellor by the King's Command writes an Anſwer.

Concluſion.

Montpelier, 27*th of May*, 1670.

THE Seventh and laſt Part of the Manuſcript is dated at Montpelier, Auguſt *the* 1*ſt*, 1670, *and continues the Hiſtory from the King's Reſidence at* Cologne, *to the Reſtoration of the Royal Family in* 1660; *containing the Subſtance of what is printed in the two laſt Books of* The Hiſtory of the Rebellion. *The only remarkable Circumſtance of the Author's Life during that Period is, that in the Year* 1657, *while the King was at* Bruges, *his Majeſty appointed the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be Lord High Chancellor of* England; *and delivered the Great Seal into his Cuſtody, upon the Death of Sir* Edward Herbert, *the laſt Lord Keeper thereof.* Hiſt. of the Reb. *Vol.* 3. *P.* 480.

THE

CONTINUATION

Of the LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of *CLARENDON*, &c.

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR of *ENGLAND*,

AND

CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY of *OXFORD*,

From the Reſtoration in 1660, to his Baniſhment in 1667.

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THE CONTINUATION

Of the LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of *CLARENDON*, &c.

Molins, 8th Day of *June*, 1672.

Reflections upon the most material Passages which happened after the King's Restoration to the Time of the Chancellor's Banishment; out of which his Children, for whose Information they are only collected, may add some important Passages to his Life, as the true Cause of his Misfortunes.

HE easy and glorious Reception of the King, in the Manner that hath been mentioned, without any other Conditions than what had been frankly offered by himself in his Declaration and Letters from *Breda*; the Parliament's casting themselves in a Body at his Feet, in the Minute of his Arrival at *Whitehall*, with all the Professions of Duty and Submission imaginable; and no Man having Authority there, but They who had either eminently served the late King, or who were since grown up out of their Nonage from such Fathers, and had throughly manifested their fast Fidelity to his present Majesty; the rest who had been enough criminal, shewing more Animosity towards the severe Punishment of those, who having more Power in the late Times had exceeded them in Mischief, than Care for their own Indemnity: This Tem- *The Author's Preface.*

per ſufficiently evident, and the univerſal Joy of the People, which was equally viſible, for the total Suppreſſion of all thoſe who had ſo many Years exerciſed Tyranny over them, made moſt Men believe both abroad and at home, that God had not only reſtored the King miraculouſly to his Throne, but that He had, as He did in the Time of *Hezekiah*, *prepared the People, for the Thing was done ſuddenly*, (2 *Chron.* xxix. 36.) in ſuch a Manner that his Authority and Greatneſs would have been more illuſtrious, than it had been in any of his Anceſtors. And it is moſt true, and muſt never be denied, that the People were admirably diſpoſed and prepared to pay all the Subjection, Duty and Obedience, that a juſt and prudent King could expect from them, and had a very ſharp Averſion and Deteſtation of all thoſe who had formerly miſled and corrupted them; ſo that, except the General, who ſeemed to be poſſeſſed entirely of the Affection of the Army, and whoſe Fidelity was now above any Miſapprehenſion, there appeared no Man whoſe Power and Intereſt could in any Degree ſhake or endanger the Peace and Security the King was in; the Congratulations for his Return being ſo univerſal, from all the Counties of *England*, as well as from the Parliament and City; from all thoſe who had moſt ſignally differved and diſclaimed him, as well as from thoſe of his own Party and thoſe who were deſcended from them: Inſomuch as the King was wont merrily to ſay, as hath been mentioned before, "that it could be no Bodies Fault but his "own that He had ſtayed ſo long abroad, when all Mankind wiſhed him "ſo heartily at home." It cannot therefore but be concluded by the Standers by, and the Spectators of this wonderful Change and Exclamation of all Degrees of Men, that there muſt be ſome wonderful Miſcarriages in the State, or ſome unheard of Defect of Underſtanding in thoſe who were truſted by the King in the Adminiſtration of his Affairs; that there could in ſo ſhort a Time be a new Revolution in the general Affections of the People, that They grew even weary of that Happineſs They were poſſeſſed of and had ſo much valued, and fell into the ſame Diſcontents and Murmurings which had naturally accompanied them in the worſt Times. From what fatal Cauſes theſe miſerable Effects were produced, is the Buſineſs of this preſent Diſquiſition to examine, and in ſome Degree to diſcover; and therefore muſt be of ſuch a Nature, as muſt be as tenderly handled, with Reference to Things and Perſons, as the Diſcovery of the Truth will permit; and cannot be preſumed to be intended ever for a publick View, or for more than the Information of his Children of the true Source and Grounds from whence their Father's Misfortunes proceeded, in which nothing can be found that can make them aſhamed of his Memory.

THE King brought with him from beyond the Seas that Council which had always attended him, and whoſe Advice He had always received in his Tranſactions of greateſt Importance; and his ſmall Family, that conſiſted of Gentlemen who had for the moſt Part been put about him by his Father, and conſtantly waited upon his Perſon in all his Diſtreſs, with as much Submiſſion and Patience undergoing their Part in it, as could reaſonably be expected from ſuch a People; and therefore had the keener Appetites, and the ſtronger Preſumption to puſh on their Fortunes (as They called it) in the Infancy of their Maſter's Reſtoration, that other Men might not be preferred before them, who had not *borne the Heat of the Day*, as They had done.

OF the Council were the Chancellor, the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Colepepper*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, who lived in great Unity and Concurrence in the Communication of the moſt ſecret Counſels. There had been more of his Council abroad with him, who, according to the Motions He made and the Places He had reſided in, were ſome Times with him, but other remained in *France*, or in ſome Parts of *Holland* and *Flanders*, for their Convenience, ready to repair to his Majeſty when They ſhould be called. The four nominated above were They who conſtantly attended, were privy to all Counſels, and waited upon him in his Return. *The King's Council at the Reſtoration.*

THE Chancellor was the higheſt in Place, and thought to be ſo in Truſt, becauſe He was moſt in private with the King, had managed moſt of the ſecret Correſpondence in *England*, and all Diſpatches of Importance had paſſed through his Hands; which had hitherto been with the leſs Envy, becauſe the indefatigable Pains He took were very viſible, and it was as viſible that He gained Nothing by it. His Wants and Neceſſities were as great as any Man's, nor was the Allowance aſſigned to him by the King in the leaſt Degree more, or better paid, than every one of the Council received. Beſides, the Friendſhip was ſo entire between the Marquis of *Ormond* and him, that no Arts that were uſed could diſſolve it; and it was enough known, that as He had an entire and full Confidence from the King and a greater Eſteem than any Man, ſo, that the Chancellor ſo entirely communicated all Particulars with him, that there was not the leaſt Reſolution taken without his Privity and Approbation. The Chancellor had been employed by the laſt King in all the Affairs of the greateſt Truſt and Secrecy; had been made Privy Counſellor and Chancellor of the Exchequer in the very Beginning of the Troubles; and had been ſent by that King into the *Weſt* with his Son, when He thought their Intereſt would be beſt preſerved and provided for by ſeparating their Perſons. A greater Teſtimony and Recommendation a Servant could not receive from his Maſter, than the King gave of him to the Prince, who from that Time treated him with as much Affection and Confidence as any Man, and which (notwithſtanding very powerful Oppoſition) He continued and improved to this Time of his Reſtoration; and even then rejected ſome Intimations rather than Propoſitions which were ſecretly made to him at the *Hague*, that the Chancellor was a Man very much in the Prejudice of the Preſbyterian Party, as in Truth He was, and therefore that his Majeſty would do beſt to leave him behind, till He ſhould be himſelf ſettled in *England:* Which the King received with that Indignation and Diſdain, and anſwered the Perſon, who privately preſumed to give the Advice, in ſuch a Manner, that He was troubled no more with the Importunity, nor did any Man ever own the Advice. Yet the Chancellor had beſought the King, upon ſome Rumours which had been ſpread, that if any Exception or Prejudice to his Perſon ſhould be ſo inſiſted on, as might delay his Return one Hour, He would decline giving him any Protection, till He ſhould find it more in his Power, after his Arrival in *England:* Which Deſire of his, though it found no Reception with the King, proceeded from ſo much Sincerity, that it is well known, the Chancellor did poſitively reſolve, that if any ſuch Thing had been urged by any Authority, He would render the King's Indulgence and Grace of no Inconvenience to his Majeſty, by his ſecret and voluntary withdrawing himſelf, without his Privity, and without the Reach of his Diſcovery for ſome Time: So far He was from being biaſſed by his own particular Benefit and Advantage. *Lord Chancellor Hyde.*

The Marquis of Ormond. THE Marquis of *Ormond* was the Perſon of the greateſt Quality, Eſtate, and Reputation, who had frankly engaged his Perſon and his Fortune in the King's Service from the firſt Hour of the Troubles, and purſued it with that Courage and Conſtancy, that when the King was murdered, and He deſerted by the *Iriſh*, contrary to the Articles of the Peace which they had made with him, and when He could make no longer Defence, He refuſed all the Conditions which *Cromwell* offered, who would have given him all his vaſt Eſtate, if He would have been contented to have lived quietly in ſome of his own Houſes, without farther concerning himſelf in the Quarrel; and tranſported himſelf without ſo much as accepting a Paſs from his Authority, in a little weak Veſſel into *France*, where He found the King, from whom He never parted till He returned with him into *England*. And having thus merited as much as a Subject can do from a Prince, He had much more Credit and Eſteem with the King than any other Man: And the Luſtre the Chancellor was in, was no leſs from the declared Friendſhip the Marquis had for him, than from the great Truſt his Majeſty repoſed in him.

The Lord Colepepper. THE Lord *Colepepper* was a Man of great Parts, a very ſharp and preſent Wit, and an univerſal Underſtanding; ſo that few Men filled a Place in Council with more Sufficiency, or expreſſed themſelves upon any Subject that occurred with more Weight and Vigour. He had been truſted by the late King (who had a ſingular Opinion of his Courage and other Abilities) to wait upon the Prince when He left his Father, and continued ſtill afterwards with him, or in his Service, and in a good Correſpondence with the Chancellor.

Secretary Nicholas. SECRETARY *Nicholas* was a Man of general good Reputation with all Men, of unqueſtionable Integrity and long Experience in the Service of the Crown; whom the late King truſted as much as any Man to his Death. He was one of thoſe who were excepted by the Parliament from Pardon or Compoſition, and ſo was compelled to leave the Kingdom ſhortly after *Oxford* was delivered up, when the King was in the Hands of the *Scots*. The preſent King continued him in the Office of Secretary of State, which He had ſo long held under his Father. He was a Man of great Gravity, and without any ambitious or private Deſigns; and had ſo faſt a Friendſhip with the Chancellor for many Years, that He was very well content and without any Jealouſy for his making many Diſpatches and other Tranſactions, which more immediately related to his Office, and which indeed were always made with his Privity and Concurrence.

THIS was the State and Conſtitution of the King's Council, and his Family, when he embarked in *Holland*, and landed at *Dover*: The Additions and Alterations which were after made will be mentioned in their Place.

IT will be convenient here, before We deſcend to thoſe Particulars which had an Influence upon the Minds of Men, to take a clear View of the Temper and Spirit of that Time; of the Nature and Inclination of the Army; of the Diſpoſition and Intereſt of the ſeveral Factions in Religion, all which appeared in their ſeveral Colours without diſſembling their Principles, and with equal Confidence demanded the Liberty of Conſcience They had enjoyed in and ſince the Time of *Cromwell*; and the Humour and the preſent Purpoſe and Deſign of the Parliament itſelf, to whoſe Judgment and Determination the whole Settlement of the Kingdom both in Church and State ſtood referred by the King's own Declaration from *Breda*, which by God's Inſpiration had been the ſole viſible Motive to that wonderful Change that had enſued. And whoſoever takes a Proſpect of all

those several Passions and Appetites and Interests, together with the divided Affections, Jealousies and Animosities, of those who had been always looked upon as the King's Party, which if united would in that Conjuncture have been powerful enough to have ballanced all the other: I say, whoever truly and ingenuously considers and reflects upon all this Composition of contradictory Wishes and Expectations, must confess that the King was not yet the Master of the Kingdom, nor his Authority and Security such as the general Noise and Acclamation, the Bells and the Bonfires, proclaimed it to be; and that there was in no Conjuncture more Need, that the Virtue and Wisdom and Industry of a Prince should be evident and made manifest in the Preservation of his Dignity, and in the Application of his Mind to the Government of his Affairs; and that all who were eminently trusted by him, should be Men of unquestionable Sincerity, who with Industry and Dexterity should first endeavour to compose the publick Disorders, and to provide for the Peace and Settlement of the Kingdom, before They applied themselves to make or improve their own particular Fortunes. And there is little Question, but if this good Method had been pursued, and the Resolutions of that Kind, which the King had seriously taken beyond the Seas, when He first discerned his good Fortune coming towards him, had been executed and improved; the Hearts and Affections of all Degrees of Men were so prepared by their own natural Inclinations and Integrity, by what They had seen and what They had suffered, by their Observations and Experience, by their Fears or by their Hopes; that They might have been all kneaded into a firm and constant Obedience and Resignation to the King's Authority, and to a lasting Establishment of monarchick Power in all the just Extents which the King could expect, or Men of any publick or honest Affections could wish or submit to.

The Temper and Spirit of that Time.

THE first Mortification the King met with was as soon as He arrived at *Canterbury*, which was within three Hours after He landed at *Dover*; and where He found many of those who were justly looked upon, from their own Sufferings or those of their Fathers, and their constant adhering to the same Principles, as of the King's Party, who with Joy waited to kiss his Hand, and were received by him with those open Arms and flowing Expressions of Grace, calling all those by their Names who were known to him, that They easily assured themselves of the Accomplishment of all their Desires from such a generous Prince. And some of them, that They might not lose the first Opportunity, forced him to give them present Audience, in which They reckoned up the insupportable Losses undergone by themselves or their Fathers, and some Services of their own; and thereupon demanded the present Grant or Promise of such or such an Office. Some, for the real small Value of one though of the first *Classis*, pressed for two or three with such Confidence and Importunity, and with such tedious Discourses, that the King was extremely nauseated with their Suits, though his Modesty knew not how to break from them; that He no sooner got into his Chamber, which for some Hours He was not able to do, than He lamented the Condition to which He found He must be subject: And did in Truth from that Minute contract such a Prejudice against the Persons of some of those, though of the greatest Quality, for the Indecency and Incongruity of their Pretences, that He never afterwards received their Addresses with his usual Grace or Patience, and rarely granted any Thing They desired, though the Matter was more reasonable, and the Manner of asking much more modest.

Importunate Solicitations made to the King at Canterbury by some Royalists.

Monk recommends a List of Privy Counſellors to the King.

BUT there was another Mortification which immediately ſucceeded this, that gave him much more Trouble, and in which He knew not how to comport himſelf. The General, after He had given all neceſſary Orders to his Troops, and ſent a ſhort Diſpatch to the Parliament of the King's being come to *Canterbury*, and of his Purpoſe to ſtay there two Days till the next *Sunday* was paſt, He came to the King in his Chamber, and in a ſhort ſecret Audience, and without any Preamble or Apology, as He was not a Man of a graceful Elocution, He told him "that He could not do him "better Service, than by recommending to him ſuch Perſons, who were "moſt grateful to the People, and in Reſpect of their Parts and Intereſts "were beſt able to ſerve him:" And thereupon gave him a large Paper full of Names, which the King in Diſorder enough received, and without reading put it into his Pocket that He might not enter into any particular Debate upon the Perſons, and told him "that He would be always ready "to receive his Advice, and willing to gratify him in any Thing He ſhould "deſire, and which would not be prejudicial to his Service." The King, as ſoon as He could, took an Opportunity, when there remained no more in his Chamber, to inform the Chancellor of the firſt Aſſaults He had encountred as ſoon as He alighted out of his Coach, and afterwards of what the General had ſaid to him; and thereupon took the Paper out of his Pocket and read it. It contained the Names of at leaſt threeſcore and ten Perſons, who were thought fitteſt to be made Privy Counſellors; in the whole Number whereof, there were only two, who had ever ſerved the King or been looked upon as zealouſly affected to his Service, the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, who were Both of ſo univerſal Reputation and Intereſt, and ſo well known to have the very particular Eſteem of the King, that They needed no ſuch Recommendation. All the reſt were either thoſe Counſellors who had ſerved the King, and deſerted him by adhering to the Parliament; or of thoſe who had moſt eminently diſſerved him in the Beginning of the Rebellion, and in the carrying it on with all Fierceneſs and Animoſity until the new Model, and diſmiſſing the Earl of *Eſſex*: Then indeed *Cromwell* had grown terrible to them, and diſpoſed them to wiſh the King were again poſſeſſed of his regal Power, and which They did but wiſh. There were then the Names of the principal Perſons of the Presbyterian Party, to which the General was thought to be moſt inclined, at leaſt to ſatisfy the fooliſh and unruly Inclinations of his Wife. There were likewiſe the Names of ſome who were moſt notorious in all the other Factions; and of ſome who in Reſpect of their mean Qualities and meaner Qualifications, no Body could imagine how They could come to be named, except that, by the very odd Mixture, any ſober and wiſe Reſolutions and Concurrence might be prevented.

With which He is diſpleaſed.

THE King was in more than ordinary Confuſion with the reading this Paper, and knew not well what to think of the General, in whoſe abſolute Power He now was. However, He reſolved in the Entrance upon his Government not to conſent to ſuch Impoſitions, which might prove perpetual Fetters and Chains upon him ever after. He gave the Paper therefore to the Chancellor, and bade him "take the firſt Opportunity to diſcourſe the "Matter with the General" (whom He had not yet ſaluted) "or rather "with Mr. *Morrice* his moſt intimate Friend," whom He had newly preſented to the King, and "with Both whom He preſumed He would ſhortly "be acquainted," though for the preſent Both were equally unknown to him. Shortly after, when mutual Viſits had paſſed between them, and ſuch Profeſſions as naturally are made between Perſons who were like to

have much to do with each other; and Mr. *Morrice* being in private with him, the Chancellor told him "how much the King was ſurpriſed with "the Paper He had received from the General, which at leaſt recommend-"ed (and which would have always great Authority with him) ſome ſuch "Perſons to his Truſt, in whom He could not yet, till They were better "known to him, repoſe any Confidence." And thereupon He read many of their Names, and ſaid, "that if ſuch Men were made Privy Counſel-"lors, it would either be imputed to the King's own Election, which would "cauſe a very ill Meaſure to be taken of his Majeſty's Nature and Judg-"ment; or (which more probably would be the Caſe) to the Inclination "and Power of the General, which would be attended with as ill Effects." Mr. *Morrice* ſeemed much troubled at the Apprehenſion, and ſaid, "the "Paper was of his Handwriting, by the General's Order, who He was aſ-"ſured had no ſuch Intention; but that He would preſently ſpeak with him "and return," which He did within leſs than an Hour, and expreſſed "the "Trouble the General was in upon the King's very juſt Exception; and "that the Truth was, *He had been obliged to have much Communication with "Men of all Humours and Inclinations, and ſo had promiſed to do them "good Offices to the King, and could not therefore avoid inſerting their Names "in that Paper, without any Imaginations that the King would accept them: "That He had done his Part, and all that could be expected from him, and "left the King to do what He had thought beſt for his own Service, which "He would always deſire him to do, whatever Propoſition He ſhould at any "Time preſume to make to his Majeſty, which He would not promiſe ſhould "be always reaſonable. However, He did ſtill heartily wiſh, that his Ma-"jeſty would make uſe of ſome of thoſe Perſons,*" whom He named, and ſaid, "*He knew moſt of them were not his Friends, and that his Service would "be more advanced by admitting them, than by leaving them out.*"

THE King was abundantly pleaſed with this good Temper of the Gene- *But ſatisfied by* Monk's *Explanation.*
ral, and leſs diſliked thoſe, who He diſcerned would be grateful to him, than any of the reſt: And ſo the next Day, He made the General Knight of the *Garter*, and admitted him of the Council; and likewiſe at the ſame Time gave the Signet to Mr. *Morrice*, who was ſworn of the Council and Secretary of State; and Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, who had been preſented by the General under a ſpecial Recommendation, was then too ſworn of the Council, and the rather, becauſe having lately married the Niece of the Earl of *Southampton* (who was then likewiſe preſent, and received the *Garter* to which He had been elected ſome Years before) it was believed that his ſlippery Humour would be eaſily reſtrained and fixed by the Uncle. All this was tranſacted during his Majeſty's Stay at *Canterbury*.

UPON the 29th of *May*, which was his Majeſty's Birth-Day, and now *The King's triumphant Entry into* London.
the Day of his Reſtoration and Triumph, He entered *London* the Highway from *Rocheſter* to *Blackheath*, being on both Sides ſo full of Acclamations of Joy, and crowded with ſuch a Multitude of People that it ſeemed one continued Street wonderfully inhabited. Upon *Blackheath* the Army was drawn up, conſiſting of above fifty thouſand Men, Horſe and Foot, in excellent Order and Equipage, where the General preſented the chief Officers to kiſs the King's Hands, which Grace They ſeemed to receive with all Humility and Chearfulneſs. Shortly after, the Lord Mayor of *London*, the Sheriffs, and Body of the Aldermen, with the whole Militia of the City, appeared with great Luſtre; whom the King received with a moſt graceful and obliging Countenance, and knighted the Mayor and all the Aldermen, and

Sheriffs, and the principal Officers of the Militia: an Honour the City had been without near eighteen Years, and therefore abundantly welcome to the Husbands and their Wives. With this Equipage the King was attended through the City of *London*, where the Streets were railed in on Both Sides that the Livery of the Companies of the City might appear with the more Order and Decency, till he came to *Whitehall*; the Windows all the Way being full of Ladies and Persons of Quality, who were impatient to fill their Eyes with a beloved Spectacle of which They had been so long deprived. The King was no sooner at *Whitehall*, but (as hath been said) the Speakers, and Both Houses of Parliament, presented themselves with all possible Professions of Duty and Obedience at his Royal Feet, and were even ravished with the chearful Reception They had from him. The Joy was universal; and whosoever was not pleased at Heart, took the more Care to appear as if He was; and no Voice was heard but of the highest Congratulation, of extolling the Person of the King, admiring his Condescentions and Affability, raising his Praises to Heaven, and cursing and detesting the Memory of those Villains who had so long excluded so meritorious a Prince, and thereby withheld that Happiness from them, which They should enjoy in the largest Measure They could desire or wish. The Joy on all Sides was with the greatest Excess, so that most Men thought, and had Reason enough to think, that the King was even already that great and glorious Prince, which the Parliament had wantonly and hypocritically promised to raise his Father to be.

Excessive Joy upon the Restoration.

Both Houses of Parliament meet.

The Chancellor took his Place in the House of Peers with a general Acceptation and Respect; and all those Lords who were alive and had served the King his Father, and the Sons of those who were dead and were equally excluded from sitting there by Ordinances of Parliament, together with all those who had been created by this King, took their Seats in Parliament without the least Murmur or Exception. The House of Commons seemed equally constituted to what could be wished; for though there were many Presbyterian Members, and some of all other Factions in Religion, who did all promise themselves some Liberty and Indulgence for their several Parties, yet They all professed great Zeal for the establishing the King in his full Power. And the major Part of the House was of sober and prudent Men, who had been long known to be very weary of all the late Governments, and heartily to desire and pray for the King's Return. And there were many, who had either themselves been actual and active Malignants and Delinquents in the late King's Time, or the Sons of such, who inherited their Fathers Virtues. Both which Classes of Men were excluded from being capable of being elected to serve in Parliament, not only by former Ordinances, but by express Caution in the very Writs which were sent out to summon this Parliament, and were notwithstanding made choice of and returned by the Country, and received without any Hesitation in the House, and treated by all Men with the more Civility and Respect for their known Malignity: So that the King, though it was necessary to have Patience in the Expectations of their Resolutions in all important Points, which could not suddenly be concluded in such a popular Assembly, was very reasonably assured, that He should have nothing pressed upon him that should be ungrateful, with Reference to the Church or State.

The Character of the House of Commons.

Particularly of the Presbyterian Party in it.

It is true, the *Presbyterians* were very numerous in the House, and many of them Men of good Parts, and had a great Party in the Army, and a greater in the City, and except with reference to Episcopacy were desirous to make themselves grateful to the King in the settling all his Interest, and

eſpecially in vindicating themſelves from the odious Murder of the King by loud and paſſionate Inveighing againſt that monſtrous Parricide, and with the higheſt Animoſity denouncing the ſevereſt Judgments not only againſt thoſe who were immediately guilty of it, but againſt thoſe principal Perſons who had moſt notoriouſly adhered to *Cromwell* in the Adminiſtration of his Government, that is, moſt eminently oppoſed them and their Faction. They took all Occaſions to declare, "that the Power and Intereſt of the Party had "been the chief Means to bring home the King;" and uſed all poſſible Endeavours that the King might be perſuaded to think ſo too, and that the very *Covenant* had at laſt done him Good and expedited his Return, by the cauſing it to be hung up in Churches, from whence *Cromwell* had caſt it out, and their Miniſters preſſing upon the Conſcience of all thoſe who had taken it, "that They were bound by that Clauſe which concern-"ed the Defence of the King's Perſon, to take up Arms if Need were on "his Behalf, and to reſtore him to his rightful Government;" when the very ſame Miniſters had obliged them to take up Arms againſt the King his Father by Virtue of that *Covenant*, and to fight againſt him till They had taken him Priſoner, which produced his Murder. This Party was much diſpleaſed, that the King declared himſelf ſo poſitively on Behalf of Epiſcopacy, and would hear no other Prayers in his Chapel than thoſe contained in the *Book of Common Prayer*, and that all thoſe Formalities and Solemnities were now again reſumed and practiſed, which They had cauſed to be aboliſhed for ſo many Years paſt. Yet the King left all Churches to their Liberty, to uſe ſuch Forms of Devotion which They liked beſt; and ſuch of their chief Preachers who deſired it, or were deſired by their Friends, were admitted to preach before him, even without the Surplice, or any other Habit than They made choice of. But this Connivance would not do their Buſineſs: Their Preaching made no Proſelytes who were not ſo before; and the Reſort of the People to thoſe Churches, where the *Common Prayer* was again introduced, was Evidence enough of their Inclinations; and They ſaw the King's Chapel always full of thoſe, who had uſed to poſſeſs the chief Benches in their Aſſemblies: So that it was manifeſt that Nothing but the ſupreme Authority would be able to ſettle their Diſcipline; and therefore with their uſual Confidence They were very importunate in the Houſe of Commons, "that the Eccleſiaſtical Government might be ſet-"tled and remain according to the *Covenant*, which had been practiſed "many Years, and ſo the People generally well devoted to it, whereas the "introducing the *Common Prayer* (with which very few had ever been "acquainted or heard it read) would very much offend the People, and give "great Interruption to the compoſing the Peace of the Kingdom." This was urged in the Houſe of Commons by eminent Men of the Party, who believed They had the major Part of their Mind. And their Preachers were as ſolicitous and induſtrious to inculcate the ſame Doctrine to the principal Perſons who had returned with the King, and every Day reſorted to the Court as if They preſided there, and had frequent Audiences of the King to perſuade him to be of the ſame Opinion; from whom They received no other Condeſcentions than They had formerly had at the *Hague*, with the ſame gracious Affability and Expreſſions to their Perſons.

Which urges the Settlement of Eccleſiaſtical Government according to the Covenant.

THAT Party in the Houſe that was in Truth devoted to the King, and to the old Principles of Church and of State, which every Day increaſed, thought not fit ſo to croſs the *Preſbyterians* as to make them deſperate in their Hopes of Satisfaction, but, with the Concurrence with thoſe who were of contrary Factions, diverted the Argument by propoſing other Sub-

jects of more immediate Relation to the publick Peace, as the *Act of Indemnity* which every Man impatiently longed for, and the raiſing Money towards the Payment of the Army and the Navy, without which that unſupportable Charge could not be leſſened, to be firſt conſidered and diſpatched; and the Model for Religion to be debated and prepared by that Committee, which had been nominated before his Majeſty's Return to that Purpoſe; They not doubting to croſs and puzzle any pernicious Reſolutions there, till Time and their own extravagant Follies ſhould put ſome End to their deſtructive Deſigns.

In the mean Time there were two Particulars, which the King with much inward Impatience, though with little outward Communication, did moſt deſire, the diſbanding the Army, and the ſettling the Revenue, the Courſe and Receipt whereof had been ſo broken and perverted, and a great Part extinguiſhed by the Sale of all the Crown Lands, that the old Officers of the Exchequer, Auditors or Receivers, knew not how to reſume their Adminiſtrations. Beſides that the great Receipt of Exciſe and Cuſtoms was not yet veſted in the King; nor did the Parliament make any Haſte to aſſign it, finding it neceſſary to reſerve it in the old Way, and not to divert it from thoſe Aſſignments, which had been made for the Payment of the Army and Navy, for which until ſome other Proviſion could be made, it was to no Purpoſe to mention the disbanding the one or the other, though the Charge of Both was ſo vaſt and unſupportable, that the Kingdom muſt in a ſhort Time ſink under the Burden. For what concerned the Revenue and raiſing Money, the King was leſs ſolicitous, and yet there was not ſo much as any Aſſignation made for the Support of his Houſhold, which cauſed a vaſt Debt to be contracted before taken Notice of, the Miſchief of which is hardly yet removed. He ſaw the Parliament every Day doing ſomewhat in it, and it quickly diſſolved all Bargains, Contracts and Sales, which had been of any of the Crown Lands, ſo that all that Royal Revenue (which had been too much waſted and impaired in thoſe improvident Times which had preceded the Troubles) was entirely remitted to thoſe to whom it belonged, the King and the Queen his Mother; but very little Money was returned out of the ſame into the Exchequer in the Space of the firſt Year; ſo difficult it was to reduce any Payments which had been made for ſo many Years irregularly, into the old Channel and Order. And every Thing elſe of this Kind was done, how ſlowly ſoever, with as much Expedition as from the Nature of the Affair, and the Crowd in which it was neceſſary to be agitated, could reaſonably be expected; and therefore his Majeſty was leſs troubled for thoſe Inconveniencies which He foreſaw muſt inevitably flow from thence.

The Nature and Inclination of the Army.

But the Delay in disbanding the Army, how unavoidable ſoever, did exceedingly afflict him, and the more, becauſe for many Reaſons He could not urge it nor complain of it. He knew well the ill Conſtitution of the Army, the Diſtemper and Murmuring that was in it, and how many Diſeaſes and Convulſions their infant Loyalty was ſubject to; that how united ſoever their Inclinations and Acclamations ſeemed to be at *Blackheath*, their Affections were not the ſame: And the very Countenances then of many Officers as well as Soldiers did ſufficiently manifeſt, that They were drawn thither to a Service They were not delighted in. The General, before He had formed any Reſolution to himſelf, and only valued himſelf upon the Preſbyterian Intereſt, had caſhiered ſome Regiments and Companies which He knew not to be devoted to his Perſon and Greatneſs; and after He found it neceſſary to fix his own Hopes and Dependance upon the King, He had

diſmiſſed many Officers who He thought might be willing and able to croſs his Deſigns and Purpoſes, when He ſhould think fit to diſcover them, and conferred their Charges and Commands upon thoſe who had been diſfavoured by the late Powers; and after the Parliament had declared for and proclaimed the King, He caſhiered others, and gave their Offices to ſome eminent Commanders who had ſerved the King; and gave others of the loyal Nobility Leave to liſt Voluntiers in Companies to appear with them at the Reception of the King, who had all met and joined with the Army upon *Blackheath* in the Head of their Regiments and Companies: Yet, notwithſtanding all this Providence, the old Soldiers had little Regard for their new Officers, at leaſt had no Reſignation for them; and it quickly appeared, by the ſelect and affected Mixtures of ſullen and melancholick Parties of Officers and Soldiers, that as ill-diſpoſed Men of other Claſſes were left as had been disbanded; and that much the greater Part ſo much abounded with ill Humours, that it was not ſafe to adminiſter a general Purgation. It is true that *Lambert* was cloſe Priſoner in the *Tower*, and as many of thoſe Officers who were taken and had appeared in Arms with him when He was taken, were likewiſe there or in ſome other Priſons, with others of the ſame Complexion, who were well enough known to have the preſent Settlement that was intended in perfect Deteſtation: But this Leproſy was ſpread too far to have the Contagion quickly or eaſily extinguiſhed. How cloſe ſoever *Lambert* himſelf was ſecured from doing Miſchief, his Faction was at Liberty and very numerous; his disbanded Officers and Soldiers mingled and converſed with their old Friends and Companions, and found too many of them poſſeſſed with the ſame Spirit; They concurred in the ſame Reproaches and Revilings of the General, as the Man who had treacherouſly betrayed them, and led them into an Ambuſcade from whence They knew not how to diſentangle themſelves. They looked upon him as the ſole Perſon who ſtill ſupported his own Model, and were well aſſured that if He were removed, the Army would be ſtill the ſame and appear in their old Retrenchments; and therefore They entered into ſeveral Combinations to aſſaſſinate him, which They reſolved to do with the firſt Opportunity. In a Word, They liked neither the Mien nor Garb nor Countenance of the Court, nor were wrought upon by the gracious Aſpect and Benignity of the King himſelf.

ALL this was well enough known to his Majeſty, and to the General, who was well enough acquainted and not at all pleaſed with the Temper and Diſpoſition of his Army, and therefore no leſs deſired it ſhould be diſbanded than the King did. In the mean Time, very diligent Endeavours were uſed to diſcover and apprehend ſome principal Perſons, who took as much Care to conceal themſelves; and every Day many dangerous or ſuſpected Men of all Qualities were impriſoned in all Counties: Spies were employed, who for the moſt Part had the ſame Affections which They were to diſcover in others, and received Money on both Sides to do, and not to do, the Work They were appointed to do. And in this melancholick and perplexed Condition the King and all his Hopes ſtood, when He appeared moſt gay and exalted, and wore a Pleaſantneſs in his Face that became him and looked like as full an Aſſurance of his Security as was poſſible to put on.

Diſunion of the King's Friends.

THERE was yet added to this ſlippery and uneaſy Poſture of Affairs, another Mortification, which made a deeper Impreſſion upon the King's Spirit than all the reſt, and without which the worſt of the other would have been in ſome Degree remediable; that was, the Conſtitution and Diſunion of

thoſe who were called and looked upon as his own Party, which without Doubt in the whole Kingdom was numerous enough, and capable of being powerful enough to give the Law to all the reſt; which had been the Ground of many unhappy Attempts in the late Time, that if any preſent Force could be drawn together, and poſſeſſed of any ſuch Place in which They might make a Stand without being overrun in a Moment, the general Concurrence of the Kingdom would in a ſhort Time reduce the Army, and make the King ſuperiour to all his Enemies; which Imagination was enough confuted, though not enough extinguiſhed, by the dearbought Experience in the woful Enterpriſe at *Worceſter*. However, it had been now a very juſtifiable Preſumption in the King, to believe as well as hope, that He could not be long in *England* without ſuch an Apparency of his own Party that wiſhed all that He himſelf deſired, and ſuch a Manifeſtation of their Authority, Intereſt and Power, that would prevent or be ſufficient to ſubdue any froward Diſpoſition that might grow up in the Parliament, or more extravagant Demands in the Army itſelf. And Apparence there was of that People, great enough, who had all the Wiſhes for the King which He entertained for himſelf. But They were ſo divided and diſunited by private Quarrels, Factions and Animoſities; or ſo unacquainted with each other; or, which was worſe, ſo jealous of each other; the Underſtandings and Faculties of many honeſt Men were ſo weak and ſhallow, that They could not be applied to any great Truſt; and others who wiſhed and meant very well had a Peeviſhneſs, Frowardneſs and Opiniatrety, that They would be engaged only in what pleaſed themſelves, nor would join in any Thing with ſuch and ſuch Men whom They diſliked. The ſevere and tyrannical Government of *Cromwell* and the Parliament had ſo often baniſhed and impriſoned them upon mere Jealouſies, that They were grown Strangers to one another, without any Communication between them: And there had been ſo frequent Betrayings and Treacheries uſed, ſo many Diſcoveries of Meetings privately contrived, and of Diſcourſes accidentally entered into, and Words and Expreſſions raſhly and unadviſedly uttered without any Deſign, upon which Multitudes were ſtill impriſoned and many put to Death; that the Jealouſy was ſo univerſal, that few Men who had never ſo good Affections for the King, durſt confer with any Freedom together.

A Review of the Cauſes of this Diſunion previous to the Reſtoration.

Most of thoſe of the Nobility who had with Conſtancy and Fidelity adhered to the laſt King, and had greateſt Authority with all Men who profeſſed the ſame Affections, were dead, as the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Dorſet*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Hopton*, and many other excellent Perſons. And of that *Claſſis*, that is, of a powerful Intereſt and unſuſpected Integrity (for there were ſome very good Men, who were without any Cauſe ſuſpected then, becauſe They were not equally perſecuted upon all Occaſions) there were only two who ſurvived, the Marquis of *Hertford* and Earl of *Southampton*; who were Both great and worthy Men, looked upon with great Eſtimation by all the moſt valuable Men who could contribute moſt to the King's Reſtoration, and with Reverence by their greateſt Enemy, and had been courted by *Cromwell* himſelf till He found it to no Purpoſe. And though the Marquis had been prevailed with once and no more to give him a Viſit, the other, the Earl, could never be perſuaded ſo much as to ſee him; and when *Cromwell* was in the *New Foreſt* and reſolved one Day to viſit him, He being informed of it or ſuſpecting it, removed to another Houſe He had at ſuch a Diſtance as exempted him from that Viſitation. But theſe two great Perſons had for ſeveral Years withdrawn themſelves into the Country, lived retired, ſent ſometimes ſuch

Money as They could raiſe out of their long-ſequeſtered and exhauſted Fortunes, by Meſſengers of their own Dependance, with Advice to the King, "to ſit ſtill and expect a reaſonable Revolution, without making "any unadviſed Attempt;" and induſtriouſly declined any Converſation or Commerce with any who were known to correſpond with the King: So that now upon his Majeſty's Return, They were totally unacquainted with any of thoſe Perſons, who now looked as Men to be depended upon in any great Action and Attempt. And for themſelves, as the Marquis ſhortly after died, ſo the other with great Abilities ſerved him in his moſt ſecret and important Counſels, but had been never converſant in martial Affairs.

THERE had been ſix or eight Perſons of general good and confeſſed Reputation, and who of all who were then left alive had had the moſt eminent Charges in the War, and executed them with great Courage and Diſcretion; ſo that few Men could with any reaſonable Pretence refuſe to receive Orders from them, or to ſerve under their Commands. They had great Affection for and Confidence in each other, and had frankly offered by an Expreſs of their own Number, whilſt the King remained in *France*, "that, if They were approved and qualified by his Majeſty, They would "by joint Advice intend the Care of his Majeſty's Service; and as They "would not engage in any abſurd and deſperate Attempt, but uſe all their "Credit and Authority to prevent and diſcountenance the ſame, ſo They "would take the firſt rational Opportunity, which They expected from the "Diviſions and Animoſities which daily grew and appeared in the Army, "to draw their Friends and old Soldiers who were ready to receive their "Commands together, and try the utmoſt that could be done with the "Loſs or Hazard of their Lives:" Some of them having, beſide their Experience in War, very conſiderable Fortunes of their own to loſe, and were Relations to the greateſt Families in *England*. And therefore They made it their humble Suit, "that this ſecret Correſpondence might be car-"ried on and known to none but to the Marquis of *Ormond* and to the "Chancellor; and that if any other Counſels were ſet on Foot in *England* "by the Activity of particular Perſons, who too frequently with great "Zeal and little Animadverſion embarked themſelves in impoſſible Under-"takings, his Majeſty upon Advertiſement thereof would firſt communi-"cate the Motives or Pretences which would be offered to him, to them; "and then They would find Opportunity to confer with ſome ſober Man "of that Fraternity" (as there was no well-affected Perſon in *England*, who at that Time would not willingly receive Advice and Direction from moſt of thoſe Perſons) "and thereupon They would preſent their Opinion "to his Majeſty, and if the Deſign ſhould appear practicable to his Majeſty, "They would chearfully embark themſelves in it, otherwiſe uſe their own "Dexterity to divert it." Theſe Men had been armed with all neceſſary Commiſſions and Inſtructions according to their own Deſires; the King conſented to all They propoſed; and the Ciphers and Correſpondence were committed to the Chancellor, in whoſe Hands, with the Privity only of the Marquis of *Ormond*, all the Intelligence with *England*, of what Kind ſoever, was intruſted.

UNDER this Conduct for ſome Years all Things ſucceeded well, many unſeaſonable Attempts were prevented, and thereby the Lives of many good Men preſerved: And though (upon the curſory Jealouſy of that Time, and the reſtleſs Apprehenſion of *Cromwell*, and the almoſt continual Commitments of all who had eminently ſerved the King and were able to do it again) theſe Perſons who were thus truſted, or the major Part of them,

were ſeldom out of Priſon, or free from the Obligation of good Sureties for their peaceable Behaviour; yet all the Vigilance of *Cromwell* and his moſt diligent Inquiſitors could never diſcover this ſecret Intercourſe between thoſe Confidants and the King, which did always paſs and was maintained by Expreſſes made Choice of by them, and ſupported at their Charge out of ſuch Monies as were privately collected for publick Uſes, of which They, who contributed moſt, knew little more than the Integrity of him who was intruſted, who did not always make ſkilful Contributions.

It fell out unfortunately, that two of theſe principal Perſons fell out, and had a fatal Quarrel, upon a Particular leſs juſtifiable than any Thing that could reſult from or relate to the great Truſt They Both had from the King, which ought to have been of Influence enough to have ſuppreſſed or diverted all Paſſions of that Kind: But the Animoſities grew ſuddenly irreconcilable, and if not divided the Affections of the whole *Knot*, at leaſt interrupted or ſuſpended their conſtant Intercourſe and Confidence in each other, and ſo the diligent Accounts which the King uſed to receive from them. And the Cauſe growing more publick and notorious, though not known in a long Time after to the King, exceedingly leſſened Both their Reputations with the moſt ſober Men; inſomuch as They withdrew all Confidence in their Conduct, and all Inclination to embark in the Buſineſs which was intruſted in ſuch Hands. And which was worſe than all this, one Perſon amongſt them of as unblemiſhed a Reputation as either of them, and of much better Abilities and Faculties of Mind, either affected with this untoward Accident, or broken with frequent Impriſonments and Deſpair of any Reſurrection of the King's Intereſt, about this Time yielded to a foul Temptation; and for large Supplies of Money, which his Fortune ſtood in Need of, engaged to be a Spy to *Cromwell*, with a Latitude which He did not allow to others of that ignominious Tribe, undertaking only to impart enough of any Deſign to prevent the Miſchief thereof, without expoſing any Man to the Loſs of his Life, or ever appearing himſelf to make good and juſtify any of his Diſcoveries. The reſt of his Aſſociates neither ſuſpected their Companion, nor leſſened their Affection or utmoſt Zeal for the King; though They remitted ſome of their Diligence in his Service, by the other unhappy Interruption.

This falling out during his Majeſty's Abode in *Cologne*, He was very long without Notice of the Grounds of that Jealouſy, which had obſtructed his uſual Correſpondence; and the Matter of Infidelity being not in the leaſt Degree ſuſpected, He could not avoid receiving Advice and Propoſitions from other honeſt Men, who were of known Affection and Courage, and who converſed much with the Officers of the Army, and were unſkilfully diſpoſed to believe that all They, who They had Reaſon to believe did hate *Cromwell*, would eaſily be induced to ſerve the King: And many of the Officers in their Behaviour, Diſcourſes and Familiarity, contributed to that Belief; ſome of them, not without the Privity and Allowance of *Cromwell*, or his Secretary *Thurlow*. And upon Overtures of this Kind, and wonderful Confidence of Succeſs, even upon the Preparations which were in Readineſs, of and by his own Party, ſeveral Meſſengers were ſent to the King; and by all of them ſharp and paſſionate Complaints againſt thoſe Perſons, who were ſo much and ſtill in the ſame Confidence with him, as Men who were at Eaſe, and uninclined to venture themſelves upon dangerous or doubtful Enterpriſes. They complained, "that when They "imparted to them or any one of them" (for They knew not of his Majeſty's Reference to them, but had of themſelves reſorted to them as Men of the

greateſt Reputation for their Affections and Experience) "a Deſign which "had been well conſulted and deliberated by thoſe who meant to venture "their own Lives in the Execution of it, They made ſo many Excuſes "and Arguments and Objections againſt it, as if it were wholly unadviſable "and unpracticable; and when They propoſed the meeting and conferring "with ſome of the Officers, who were reſolved to ſerve his Majeſty, and "were willing to adviſe with them, as Men of more Intereſt and who had "managed greater Commands, upon the Places of Rendezvous, and what "Method ſhould be obſerved in the Enterpriſes, making no Scruple them-"ſelves to receive Orders from them, or to do all Things They ſhould re-"quire which might advance his Majeſty's Service, theſe Gentlemen only "wiſhed them to take Heed They were not deſtroyed, and poſitively refu-"ſed to meet or confer with any of the Officers of the Army: And here-"upon" They ſaid "all the King's Party was ſo incenſed againſt them, "that They no more would have Recourſe to them, or make any Con-"junction with them." They informed his Majeſty at large of the Animoſity that was grown between two of the principal Perſons, and the original Cauſe thereof, and therefore deſired "that ſome Perſon might be ſent, "to whom They might repair for Orders, until the King himſelf diſcerned "that all Preparations were in ſuch a Readineſs, that He might reaſonably "venture his Royal Perſon with them."

THOUGH He was not at all ſatisfied with the Grounds of their Expectation and Proceedings, and therefore could not blame the Warineſs and Reſervedneſs of the other, and thought their Apprehenſion of being betrayed (which in the Language of that Time was called *trepanned*) which befel ſome Men every Day, very reaſonable; yet the Confidence of many honeſt Men who were ſure to pay dear for any raſh Undertaking, and their Preſumption in appointing a peremptory Day for a general Rendezvous over the Kingdom, but eſpecially the Diviſion of his Friends, and Sharpneſs againſt thoſe upon whom He principally relied, was the Cauſe of his ſending over the Lord *Rocheſter*, and of his own Concealment in *Zealand*; the Succeſs whereof, and the ill Conſequence of thoſe precipitate Reſolutions, in the Slaughter of many worthy and gallant Gentlemen with all the Circumſtances of Inſolence and Barbarity, are mentioned in their proper Places.

BUT theſe unhappy and fatal Miſcarriages, and the ſad Spectacles which enſued, made not thoſe Impreſſions upon the Affections and Spirits of the King's Friends, as they ought to have done; nor rendered the Warineſs and Diſcretion of thoſe who had diſſuaded the Enterpriſe, and who were always impriſoned upon Suſpicion, how innocent ſoever, the more valued and eſteemed: On the contrary it increaſed the Reproaches againſt the *Knot*, as if their *Lacheté* and Want of Appearance and engaging had been the ſole Cauſe of the Misfortune. And after ſome ſhort Fits of Dejection and Acquieſcence, upon the ſhedding ſo much Blood of their Friends and Confederates, and the notorious Diſcovery of being betrayed by thoſe, who had been truſted by them, of the Army; They began again to reſume Courage, to meet and enter upon new Counſels and Deſigns, imputing the former Want of Succeſs to the Want of Skill and Conduct in the Undertakers, not to the all-ſeeing Vigilance of *Cromwell* and his Inſtruments, or to the formed Strength of his Government not to be ſhaken by weak or ill ſeconded Conſpiracies. Young Men were grown up, who inherited their Fathers Malignity, and were too impatient to revenge their Death, or to be even with their Oppreſſors, and ſo entered into new Com-

binations as unskilful and therefore as unfortunate as the former; and being discovered even before they were formed, *Cromwell* had Occasion given him to make himself more terrible in new Executions, and to exercise greater Tyranny upon the whole Party in Imprisonments, Penalties and Sequestrations; making those, who heartily desired to be quiet, and who abhorred any rash and desperate Insurrection, to pay their full Shares for the Folly of the other, as if all were animated by the same Spirit. And this unjust and unreasonable Rigour increased the Reproaches and Animosities in the King's Friends against each other: The wiser and more sober Part, who had most Experience, and knew how impossible it was to succeed in such Enterprises, and had yet preserved or redeemed enough of their Fortunes to sit still and expect some hopeful Revolution, were unexpressibly offended, and bitterly inveighed against those, who without Reason disturbed their Peace and Quiet, by provoking the State to fresh Persecutions of them who had given them no Offence: And the other stirring and enraged Party, with more Fierceness and publick Disdain protested against and reviled those, who refused to join with them, as Men who had spent all their Stock of Allegiance, and meant to acquiesce with what They had left under the Tyranny and in the Subjection of *Cromwell*. And thus, They who did really wish the same Things, and equally the Overthrow of that Government, which hindered the Restoration of the King, grew into more implacable Jealousies and Virulencies against each other, than against that Power that oppressed them Both, and *poured out their Blood like Water*. And either Party conveyed their Apologies and Accusations to the King: One insisting upon the Impertinency of all such Attempts; and the other insisting that They were ready for a very solid and well grounded Enterprise, were sure to be possessed of good Towns, if, by his Majesty's positive Command, the rest, who professed such Obedience to him, would join with them.

It was at this Time, and upon these Reasons, that the King sent the Marquis of *Ormond* into *England*, to find out and discover whether in Truth there were any sober Preparations and Readiness for Action, and then to head and conduct it; or if it was not ripe, to compose the several Distempers, and unite, as far as was possible, all who wished well, to concur in the same Patience for the present, and in the same Activity when it should be seasonable. And He, upon full Conference with the principal Persons of the most contradictory Judgments, quickly found that They who were accused to be lazy and unactive, were in Truth discreet Men, and as ready vigorously to appear as the other, when the Season should be advisable, which He clearly discerned it was not then; and that the Presumption of the other, upon Persons as well as Places, was in no Degree to be depended upon. And so, after He had done what was possible towards making a good Intelligence between Tempers and Understandings so different, the Marquis had the same good Fortune to retire from thence and bring himself safe to the King; which was the more wonderful Preservation, in that, during the whole Time of his Abode in *London*, He had trusted no Man more, nor conferred with any Man so much, as with that Person of the *select Knot*, who had been corrupted to give all Intelligence to *Cromwell*: And as He had now blasted and diverted some ill laid Designs, so He had discovered the Marquis his Arrival to him, but could not be prevailed with to inform him of his Lodging, which was particularly known to him upon every Change, or to contrive any Way for his Apprehension; on the contrary, as in all his Conferrences with him

He appeared a Man of great Judgment and Perſpicacity, and the moſt ready to engage his Perſon in any Action that might be for his Majeſty's Advantage, ſo He ſeemed beſt to underſtand the Temper of the Time, and the Parts, Faculties and Intereſt of all the King's Party; and left the Marquis abundantly ſatisfied with him, and of the general good Reputation He had with all Men: Which had afterwards an ill Effect, for it kept the King and thoſe who were truſted by him from giving Credit to the firſt Information He received, from a Perſon who could not be deceived, of his Tergiverſation; his late Fidelity to the Marquis of *Ormond* weighing down with them all the Intimations, until the Evidence was ſo pregnant, that there was no Room for any Doubt.

AFTER all theſe Endeavours by the King to diſcountenance and ſuppreſs all unſeaſonable Action amongſt his Party, and to infuſe into them a Spirit of Peace and Quiet till He himſelf could appear in the Head of ſome foreign Forces, which He looked upon as the only reaſonable Encouragement that could animate his Friends to declare for him; the generous Diſtemper and Impatience of their Nature was incorrigible. They thought the Expectation of Miracles from God Almighty was too lazy and ſtupid a Confidence, and that God no leſs required their Endeavours and Activity, than They hoped for his Benediction in their Succeſs. New Hopes were entertained, and Counſels ſuitable entered upon. Mr. *Mordaunt* the younger Son and Brother to the Earls of *Peterborough*, who was too young in the Time of the late War to act any Part in it, had lately undergone, after *Cromwell* himſelf had taken great Pains in the Examination of him, a ſevere Trial before the High Court of Juſtice; where by his own ſingular Addreſs and Behaviour, and his Friends having wrought by Money upon ſome of the Witneſſes to abſent themſelves, He was by one ſingle Voice acquitted; and after a longer Detention in Priſon by the Indignation of *Cromwell*, who well knew his Guilt, and againſt the Rules and Forms of their own Juſtice, He was diſcharged, after moſt of his Aſſociates were publickly and barbarouſly put to ſeveral Kinds of Death. And He no ſooner found himſelf at Liberty, than he engaged in new Intrigues, how He might deſtroy that Government that was ſo near deſtroying him. The State of the Kingdom was indeed altered, and He had Encouragement to hope well, which former Undertakers, and himſelf in his, had been without. *Cromwell* had entered into a War with *Spain*; and the King was received and permitted to live in *Flanders*, with ſome Exhibition from that King for his Support, and Aſſurance of an Army to embark for *England*, (which made a great Noiſe, and raiſed the broken Hearts of his Friends after ſo many Diſtreſſes) which his Majeſty was contented ſhould be generally reputed to be greater and in more Forwardneſs, than there was Cauſe for. He had likewiſe another Advantage much ſuperiour and of more Importance than the other, by the Death of *Cromwell*, which fell out without or beyond Expectation, which ſeemed to put an End to all his Stratagems, and to diſſolve the whole Frame of Government in the three Kingdoms, and to open many Doors to the King to enter upon that which every Body knew to be his own. And though this reaſonable Hope was, ſooner than could be imagined, blaſted and extinguiſhed, by an univerſal Submiſſion to the Declaration that *Cromwell* had made at his Death, "that his Son *Richard* ſhould ſucceed him;" upon which He was declared Protector by the Council, Army, Navy, with the Concurrence of the Forces of the three Kingdoms, and the Addreſſes of all the Counties in *England*, with Vows of their Obedience; inſomuch as He appeared in the Eyes of all Men

as formidably ſettled as his Father had been: Yet Mr. *Mordaunt* proceeded with Alacrity in his Deſign, contrary to the Opinion and Advice of thoſe with whom He was obliged to conſult, who thought the Conjuncture as unfavourable as any that was paſt, and looked upon Mr. *Mordaunt* as a raſh young Man, of a daring Spirit, without any Experience in military Affairs, and upon themſelves as unkindly treated by thoſe about the King, in being expoſed to the Importunity of a Gentleman who was a Stranger to them, and who was not equally qualified with them for the forming any Reſolution, which They could concur in.

But the Intermiſſion of the ſevere Perſecution, which had been formerly practiſed againſt the Royal Party, in this Nonage of *Richard*'s Government, gave more Liberty to Communication; and the Presbyterian Party grew more diſcontented and daring, and the Independant leſs concerned to prevent any Inconvenience or Trouble to the weak Son of *Oliver*, whom They reſolved not to obey. Mr. *Mordaunt*, who had gained much Reputation by his ſteady Carriage in his late Mortification, and by his ſo briſk Carriage ſo ſoon after, found Credit with many Perſons of great Fortune and Intereſt; as Sir *George Booth* and Sir *Thomas Middleton*, the greateſt Men in *Cheſhire* and *North Wales*, who were reputed *Presbyterians*, and had been Both very active againſt the King, and now reſolved to declare for him; Sir *Horatio Townſend*, who was newly become of Age, and the moſt powerful Perſon in *Norfolk*, where there were many gallant Men ready to follow him; and many others the moſt conſiderable Men in moſt of the Counties of *England*: Who all agreed in ſo many ſeveral Counties of *England* to appear upon a Day, in ſuch Bodies as They could draw together; many conſiderable Places being prepared for their Reception or too weak to oppoſe them. And Mr. *Mordaunt* ſecretly tranſported himſelf and waited upon the King at *Bruſſels*, with that Warineſs that He was known to none, but to them with whom He was to conſult. The King received by him a full Information of the Engagement of all thoſe Perſons to do him Service with the utmoſt Hazard, and of the Method They meant to proceed in, and the Probability, moſt like Aſſurance, of their being to be poſſeſſed of *Gloceſter*, *Cheſter*, *Lynn*, *Yarmouth*, all *Kent*, and the moſt conſiderable Places in the *Weſt* where indeed his own Friends were very conſiderable.

Upon the whole Matter the King thought it ſo reaſonable to approve the whole Deſign, that He appointed the Day, with a Promiſe to be himſelf, with his Brother the Duke of *York*, concealed at *Calais* or thereabout, that They might divide themſelves to thoſe Parts which ſhould be thought moſt proper for the Work in Hand. Mr. *Mordaunt* lamented the Warineſs and Want of Confidence in thoſe Perſons upon whom the King depended, and acknowledged them moſt worthy of that Truſt, and of much Reputation in the Nation; and imputed their much Reſervation to the Troubles and Impriſonments which They had been ſeldom free from, and their Obſervation how little Ground there had been for former Enterpriſes, without the leaſt Suſpicion of Want of Affection and Reſolution in any one of them, and leſs of Integrity. But the King was by this Time fully convinced where the Treachery was, without any Blemiſh to any one of the reſt, who needed not to be aſhamed of being deceived by a Man, whom all the Kingdom would have truſted. The ridiculous Dethroning of *Richard* by the Army, and the reaſſembling that Part of the old Parliament which was called the *Rump*, and which was more terrible than any ſingle Perſon could be, becauſe They preſently returned into their old Track, and renew-

ed their former Rigour againſt their old, more than their new Enemies, rather advanced than reſtrained this Combination; too much being known to too many to be ſecure any other way than by purſuing it. So the King and *Duke* according to their former Reſolution went to *Calais* and *Boulogne*, and prepared as well to make a Deſcent into *Kent* with ſuch Numbers of Men, as the Condition They were in would permit. How, many of thoſe Deſigns came to be wonderfully and even miraculouſly diſappointed, and Sir *George Booth* defeated by *Lambert*, are particularly ſet down by thoſe who have taken upon them to mention the Tranſactions of thoſe Times. And from thence the Univerſality of all who were, or were ſuſpected to be, of the King's Party, were according to Cuſtom impriſoned, or otherwiſe cruelly entreated; and thereupon a new Fire kindled amongſt themſelves: They who had done Nothing reproaching them who had brought that Storm upon them; and They who had been engaged more loudly and bitterly curſing the other, as Deſerters of the King, and the Cauſe of the Ruin of his Cauſe through their Want of Courage, or what was worſe, of Affection. And ſo all Mens Mouths were opened wider to accuſe and defame each other, than to defend their own Integrity and their Lives.

The unhappy Conſtitution of the King's Friends at his Return further exemplified.

I HAVE thought myſelf obliged to renew the Memory of all theſe Particulars, that the ſeveral Viciſſitudes and Stages may be known, by which the Jealouſies, Murmurs and Diſaffections, in the Royal Party amongſt themſelves and againſt each other, had mounted to that Height, which the King found them at when He returned; when in Truth very few Men of active Minds, and upon whom He could depend in any ſudden Occaſion that might probably preſs him, can be named, who had any Confidence in each other. All Men were full of bitter Reflections upon the Actions and Behaviour of others, or of Excuſes and Apologies for themſelves for what They thought might be charged upon them. The woful Vice of Drinking, from the Uneaſineſs of their Fortune, or the Neceſſity of frequent Meetings together, for which Taverns were the moſt ſecure Places, had ſpread itſelf very far in that *Claſſis* of Men, as well as upon other Parts of the Nation, in all Counties; and had exceedingly weakened the Parts, and broken the Underſtandings of many, who had formerly competent Judgments, and had been in all Reſpects fit for any Truſt; and had prevented the Growth of Parts in many young Men, who had good Affections, but had been from their Entering into the World ſo corrupted with that Exceſs, and other Licence of the Time, that They only made much Noiſe, and, by their extravagant and ſcandalous Debauches, brought many Calumnies and Diſeſtimation upon that Cauſe which They pretended to advance. They who had ſuffered much in their Fortunes and by frequent Impriſonments and Sequeſtrations and Compoſitions, expected large Recompences and Reparations in Honours which They could not ſupport, or Offices which They could not diſcharge, or Lands and Money which the King had not to give; as all diſpaſſioned Men knew the Conditions which the King was obliged to perform, and that the Act of Indemnity diſcharged all thoſe Forfeitures, which could have been applied to their Benefit: And therefore They who had been without Compariſon the greateſt Sufferers in their Fortunes, and in all Reſpects had merited moſt, never made any inconvenient Suits to the King, but modeſtly left the Memory and Conſideration of all They had done or undergone, to his Majeſty's own gracious Reflections. They were obſerved to be moſt importunate who had deſerved leaſt, and were leaſt capable to perform any notable Service; and none had more Eſteem of themſelves, and believed Preferment to be

Many of them much addicted to Drinking.

Thoſe who had done leaſt the moſt importunate.

more due to them, than a Sort of Men, who had moſt loudly began the King's Health in Taverns, eſpecially if for any Diſorders which had accompanied it They had ſuffered Impriſonment, without any other Pretence of Merit, or running any other Hazard.

THOUGH it was very evident (humanly ſpeaking) that the late Combination entered into, and the brave Attempt and Engagement of Sir *George Booth*, how unſucceſsful ſoever in the Inſtant, had contributed very much to the wonderful Change that had ſince enſued, by the Diſcovery of the general Affections and Diſpoſition of the Kingdom, and their Averſion from any Kind of Government that was not founded upon the old Principles; and the publick or private Engagement of very many Perſons who had never been before ſuſpected, whereof though many of the moſt conſiderable Perſons had been by the Treachery heretofore mentioned committed to ſeveral Priſons, yet many others of equal Intereſt remained ſtill in Liberty, and had a great Influence upon the Counſels both in the Parliament and Army: Yet, I ſay, notwithſtanding this was notorious, a greater Animoſity had been kindled in the Royal Party, and was ſtill purſued and improved amongſt them from that Combination and Engagement, than from all the other Accidents and Occaſions, and gave the King more Trouble and Perplexity. It had introduced a great Number of Perſons, who had formerly no Pretence of Merit from the King, rather might have been the Objects of his Juſtice, to a juſt Title to the greateſt Favours the King could confer; and which, from that Time, They had continually improved by repeated Offices and Services, which being of a later Date might be thought to cloud and eclipſe the Luſtre of thoſe Actions which had before been performed by the more ancient Cavaliers, eſpecially of thoſe who had been obſerved to be remiſs in that Occaſion: And therefore They were the more ſolicitous in undervaluing the Undertaking, and the Perſons of the Undertakers, whom They mentioned under ſuch Characters, and to whom They imputed ſuch Weakneſs and Levities, as They had collected from the ſeveral Parts of their Lives, as might render them with much Diſadvantage; and would by no Means admit, "that any of the Good that "afterwards befel the King, reſulted in any Degree from that raſh Enter- "priſe; but that thereby the King's Friends were ſo weakened, and more "compleatly undone, that They were diſabled to appear in that Conjunc- "ture when the Army was divided, and in which They might otherwiſe "have been conſiderable enough to have given the Law to all Parties."

And undervalue the more eminent Services of others.

MR *Mordaunt*, whom the King had created a Viſcount before his Return into *England*, and had been moſt eminent in the other Contrivances, in a Time when a general Conſternation had ſeized upon the Spirits of thoſe who wiſhed beſt to his Majeſty; for when He reſumed his former Reſolutions, ſo ſoon after his Head was raiſed from the Block, and when the Blood of his Confederates watered ſo many Streets in the City and the Suburbs, the moſt truſted by the King had totally withdrawn their Correſpondence, and deſired that for ſome Time no Account or Information might be expected from them; and therefore it muſt not be denied, that his Vivacity, Courage and Induſtry, revived the Hearts which were ſo near broken, before *Cromwell*'s Death, and afterwards prevailed with many to have more active Spirits, than They had before appeared to have: This Gentleman, I ſay, moſt unjuſtly underwent the heavieſt Weight of all their Cenſures and Reproaches. He was the Butt at which all their Arrows of Envy, Malice and Jealouſy, were aimed and ſhot; He was the Object and Subject of all their ſcurrilous Jeſts, and depraving Diſcourſes and Re-

Particularly of Mr. Mordaunt, who had moſt ſignally ſerved the King.

 lations

lations; and They who agreed in Nothing elſe, were at Unity and of one Mind, in telling ridiculous Stories to the King himſelf of his Vanity and Behaviour, and laying thoſe Aſperſions upon him, as were moſt like to leſſen the King's Opinion of him, and to perſuade him that the Recompences He had already received, were abundantly more than the Services He had performed: Which Kind of Inſinuations from ſeveral Perſons, who ſeemed not to do it by Concert, together with ſome Prejudice the noble Perſon did himſelf by ſome unſeaſonable Importunities, as if He thought He had deſerved very much, did for ſome Time draw a more ungracious Countenance from the King towards him, than his own Nature diſpoſed him to, or than the other's ſingular and uſeful Activity, though liable to ſome Levity or Vanity, did deſerve; and which the ſame Perſons, who procured it, made Uſe of againſt thoſe who were in moſt Truſt about the King, as Arguments of the little Eſteem They had of thoſe who had done the King moſt Service, when a Man of ſo eminent Merit, as Mr *Mordaunt*, was ſo totally neglected; and did all They could to infuſe the ſame Apprehenſions into him. When the Truth is, moſt Men were affected, and more grieved and diſcontented, for any Honour and Preferment which They ſaw conferred upon another Man, than for being diſappointed in their own particular Expectations; and looked upon every Obligation beſtowed upon another Man, how meritorious ſoever, as upon a Reproach to them, and an Upbraiding of their Want of Merit.

This perplexing State of the King's Friends much affects his Spirits.

THIS unhappy Temper and Conſtitution of the Royal Party, with whom He had always intended to have made a firm Conjunction againſt all Accidents and Occurrences which might happen at home or from abroad, did wonderfully diſpleaſe and trouble the King; and, with the other Perplexities which are mentioned before, did ſo break his Mind, and had that Operation upon his Spirits, that finding He could not propoſe any ſuch Method to himſelf, by which He might extricate himſelf out of thoſe many Difficulties and Labyrinths in which He was involved, nor expedite thoſe important Matters which depended upon the Good-Will and Diſpatch of the Parliament, which would proceed by its own Rules and with its accuſtomed Formalities, He grew more diſpoſed to leave all Things to their natural Courſe, and God's Providence; and by Degrees unbent his Mind from the knotty and ungrateful Part of his Buſineſs, grew more remiſs in his Application to it, and indulged to his Youth and Appetite that Licence and Satisfaction that it deſired, and for which He had Opportunity enough, and could not be without Miniſters abundant for any ſuch Negociations; the Time itſelf; and the young People thereof of either Sex having been educated in all the Liberty of Vice without Reprehenſion or Reſtraint. All Relations were confounded by the ſeveral Sects in Religion, which diſcountenanced all Forms of Reverence and Reſpect, as Reliques and Marks of Superſtition. Children aſked not Bleſſing of their Parents; nor did They concern themſelves in the Education of their Children, but were well content that They ſhould take any Courſe to maintain themſelves, that They might be free from that Expence. The young Women converſed without any Circumſpection or Modeſty, and frequently met at Taverns and common Eatinghouſes; and They who were ſtricter and more ſevere in their Comportment, became the Wives of the ſeditious Preachers or of Officers of the Army. The Daughters of noble and illuſtrious Families beſtowed themſelves upon the Divines of the Time, or other low and unequal Matches. Parents had no Manner of Authority over their Children, nor Children any Obedience or Submiſſion to their Parents; but *every one did that which was*

He gives himſelf up to his Pleaſures.

Wickedneſs of all Kind introduced by the late Anarchy.

good in his own Eyes. This unnatural Antipathy had its firſt Riſe from the Beginning of the Rebellion, when the Fathers and Sons engaged themſelves in the contrary Parties, the one chooſing to ſerve the King, and the other the Parliament; which Diviſion and Contradiction of Affections was afterwards improved to mutual Animoſities and direct Malice, by the Help of the Preachers and the ſeveral Factions in Religion, or by the Abſence of all Religion: So that there were never ſuch Examples of Impiety between ſuch Relations in any Age of the World, Chriſtian or Heathen, as that wicked Time from the Beginning of the Rebellion to the King's Return; of which the Families of *Hotham* and *Vane* are ſufficient Inſtances, though other more illuſtrious Houſes may be named, where the ſame accurſed Fruit was too plentifully gathered, and too notorious to the World. The Relation between Maſters and Servants had been long ſince diſſolved by the Parliament, that their Army might be increaſed by the Prentices againſt their Maſters Conſent, and that They might have Intelligence of the ſecret Meetings and Tranſactions in thoſe Houſes and Families which were not devoted to them; from whence iſſued the fouleſt Treacheries and Perfidiouſneſs that were ever practiſed: And the Blood of the Maſter was frequently the Price of the Servant's Villany.

CROMWELL had been moſt ſtrict and ſevere in the forming the Manners of his Army, and in chaſtiſing all Irregularities; inſomuch that ſure there was never any ſuch Body of Men, ſo without Rapine, Swearing, Drinking, or any other Debauchery, but the Wickedneſs of their Hearts: And all Perſons cheriſhed by him were of the ſame Leven, and to common Appearance without the Practice of any of thoſe Vices, which were moſt infamous to the People, and which drew the publick Hatred upon thoſe who were notoriouſly guilty of them. But then He was well pleaſed with the moſt ſcandalous Lives of thoſe who pretended to be for the King, and wiſhed that all his were ſuch, and took all the Pains He could that They might be generally thought to be ſuch; whereas in Truth the greateſt Part of thoſe who were guilty of thoſe Diſorders, were young Men who had never ſeen the King, and had been born and bred in thoſe corrupt Times *when there was no King in Iſrael.* He was equally delighted with the Luxury and Voluptuouſneſs of the *Preſbyterians*, who in Contempt of the Thriſt, Sordidneſs and affected ill Breeding of the *Independents*, thought it became them to live more generouſly, and were not ſtrict in reſtraining or mortifying the unruly and inordinate Appetite of Fleſh and Blood, but indulged it with too much and too open Scandal, from which He reaped no ſmall Advantage; and wiſhed all thoſe who were not his Friends ſhould not only be infected, but given over to the Practice of the moſt odious Vices and Wickedneſs.

IN a Word, the Nation was corrupted from that Integrity, good Nature and Generoſity that had been peculiar to it, and for which it had been ſignal and celebrated throughout the World; in the Room whereof the vileſt Craft and Diſſembling had ſucceeded. The Tenderneſs of the Bowels which is the Quinteſſence of Juſtice and Compaſſion, the very Mention of good Nature, was laughed at and looked upon as the Mark and Character of a Fool; and a Roughneſs of Manners, or Hardheartedneſs and Cruelty was affected. In the Place of Generoſity, a vile and forbid Love of Money was entertained as the trueſt Wiſdom, and any Thing lawful that would contribute towards being rich. There was a total Decay, or rather a final Expiration, of all Friendſhip; and to diſſuade a Man from any Thing He affected, or to reprove him for any Thing He had done

amiſs, or to adviſe him to do any Thing He had no Mind to do, was thought an Impertinence unworthy a wiſe Man, and received with Reproach and Contempt. Theſe Dilapidations and Ruins of the ancient Candour and Diſcipline were not taken enough to Heart, and repaired with that early Care and Severity that they might have been, for they were not then incorrigible; but by the Remiſſineſs of applying Remedies to ſome, and the Unwarineſs in giving a Kind of Countenance to others, too much of that Poiſon inſinuated itſelf into Minds not well fortified againſt ſuch Infection: So that much of the Malignity was tranſplanted inſtead of being extinguiſhed, to the Corruption of many wholſome Bodies, which, being corrupted, ſpread the Diſeaſes more powerfully and more miſchievouſly.

THAT the King might be the more vacant to thoſe Thoughts and Divertiſements which pleaſed him beſt, He appointed the Chancellor and ſome other, to have frequent Conſultations with ſuch Members of the Parliament, who were moſt able and willing to ſerve him; and to concert all the Ways and Means, by which the Tranſactions in the Houſes might be carried with the more Expedition, and attended with the beſt Succeſs. Theſe daily Conferences proved very beneficial to his Majeſty's Service; the Members of both Houſes being very willing to receive Advice and Direction, and to purſue what They were directed; and all Things were done there in good Order, and ſucceeded well. All the Courts of Juſtice in *Weſtminſter-Hall* were preſently filled with grave and learned Judges, who had either deſerted their Practice and Profeſſion during all the rebellious Times, or had given full Evidence of their Affection to the King and the eſtabliſhed Laws in many weighty Inſtances: And They were then quickly ſent in their ſeveral Circuits, to adminiſter Juſtice to the People according to the old Forms of Law, which was univerſally received and ſubmitted to with all poſſible Joy and Satisfaction. All Commiſſions of the Peace were renewed, and the Names of thoſe Perſons inſerted therein, who had been moſt eminent Sufferers for the King, and were known to have entire Affections for his Majeſty and the Laws; though it was not poſſible, but ſome would get and continue in, who were of more doubtful Inclinations, by their not being known to him whoſe Province it was to depute them. Denied it cannot be, that there appeared, ſooner than was thought poſſible, a general Settlement in the civil Juſtice of the Kingdom; that no Man complained without Remedy, and *every Man dwelt again under the Shadow of his own Vine*, without any Complaint of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion.

The old Courſe of Juſtice reſtored.

THE King expoſed himſelf with more Condeſcenſion than was neceſſary to Perſons of all Conditions, heard all that They had a Mind to ſay to him, and gave them ſuch Anſwers as for the preſent ſeemed full of Grace. He was too well pleaſed to hear both the Men and the Women of all Factions and Fancies in Religion diſcourſe in their own Method, and enlarged himſelf in Debate with them; which made every one believe that They were more favoured by him than They had Cauſe: Which Kind of Liberty, though at firſt it was accompanied with Acclamations and Acknowledgment of his being a Prince of rare Parts and Affability, yet it was attended afterwards with ill Conſequences, and gave many Men Opportunity to declare and publiſh, that the King had ſaid many Things to them which He had never ſaid, and made many Conceſſions and Promiſes to them which He had never uttered or thought upon.

THE Chancellor was generally thought to have moſt Credit with his Maſter, and moſt Power in the Counſels, becauſe the King referred all

The Chancellor principally engaged in the publick Transactions.

Matters of what Kind ſoever to him. And whoſoever repaired to him for his Direction in any Buſineſs was ſent to the Chancellor, not only becauſe He had a great Confidence in his Integrity, having been with him ſo many Years, and of whoſe indefatigable Induſtry He and all Men had great Experience; but becauſe He ſaw thoſe Men, whom He was as willing to truſt, and who had at leaſt an equal Share in his Affections, more inclined to Eaſe and Pleaſure, and willing that the Weight of the Work ſhould lie on the Chancellor's Shoulders, with whom They had an entire Friendſhip, and knew well that They ſhould with more Eaſe be conſulted by him in all Matters of Importance. Nor was it poſſible for him, at the firſt Coming, to avoid the being engaged in all the Counſels, of how diſtinct a Nature ſoever, becauſe He had been beſt acquainted with all Tranſactions whilſt the King was abroad; and therefore Communication with him in all Things was thought neceſſary by thoſe, who were to have any Part in them. Beſides that, He continued ſtill Chancellor of the Exchequer by Virtue of the Grant formerly made to him by the laſt King, during whoſe Time He executed that Office, but reſolved to ſurrender it into the King's Hand as ſoon as his Majeſty ſhould reſolve on whom to confer it; He propoſing Nothing to himſelf, but to be left at Liberty to intend only the Diſcharge of his own Office, which He thought himſelf unequal to, and hoped only to improve his Talent that Way by a moſt diligent Application, well knowing the great Abilities of thoſe who had formerly ſate in that Office, and that They found it required their full Time and all their Faculties. And therefore He did moſt heartily deſire to meddle with Nothing but that Province, which though in itſelf and the conſtant Perquiſites of it is not ſufficient to ſupport the Dignity of it, yet was then, upon the King's Return; and, after it had been ſo many Years without a lawful Officer, would unqueſtionably bring in Money enough to be a Foundation to a future Fortune competent to his Ambition, and enough to provoke the Envy of many, who believed They deſerved better than He. And that this was the Temper and Reſolution He brought with him into *England*, and how unwillingly He departed from it, will evidently appear by two or three Inſtances which ſhall be given in their proper Place. However, He could not expect that Freedom, till the Council ſhould be ſettled (into which the King admitted all who had been Counſellors to his Father and had not eminently forfeited that Promotion by their Revolt, and many of thoſe who had been and ſtill were recommended by the General, amongſt whom there were ſome, who would not have been received upon any other Title,) and until thoſe Officers could be ſettled, who might take particular Care of their ſeveral Provinces.

THE King had upon great Deliberation whilſt He was beyond the Seas, after his Return appeared in View, firmly reſolved to reform thoſe Exceſſes which were known to be in the great Offices, eſpecially in thoſe of his Houſhold, whilſt the Places were vacant, and to reform all extravagant Expences there; and firſt himſelf to gratify thoſe who had followed and ſerved him, in ſettling them in ſuch inferiour Offices and Places, as Cuſtom had put in the Diſpoſal of the great Officers when they ſhould become vacant after their Admiſſion. And of this Kind He had made many Promiſes, and given many Warrants under his Sign Manual to Perſons who to his own Knowledge had merited thoſe Obligations. But moſt of thoſe Predeterminations, and many other Reſolutions of that Kind, vaniſhed and expired in the Jollity of the Return, and new Inclinations and Affections ſeemed to be more ſeaſonable. The General, who was the ſole Pillar of

the King's Confidence, had by the Parliament been inveſted (before the King's Return) in all the Offices and Commands which *Cromwell* had enjoyed. He was Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and General of all the Armies and Forces raiſed, or to be raiſed, in the three Kingdoms; and it was not fit that He ſhould be degraded from either upon his Majeſty's Arrival: Therefore all Diligence was uſed in diſpatching Grants of all thoſe Commands to him under the Great Seal of *England*. And that He might be obliged to be always near his Majeſty's Perſon, He was preſently ſworn Gentleman of the Bedchamber; and might chooſe what Office He liked beſt in the Court, whilſt Titles of Honour were preparing by the Attorney, and Particulars of Lands enquired after by the Auditors and Receivers, which in all Reſpects might raiſe him to that Height which would moſt pleaſe him. He made Choice to be Maſter of the Horſe, and was immediately gratified with it; and thereby all thoſe poor Gentlemen, who had Promiſes and Warrants for ſeveral Places depending upon that great Officer, were diſappointed, and offered the King's Sign Manual to no Purpoſe for their Admiſſion. The General in his own Nature was an immoderate Lover of Money, and yet would have gratified ſome of the Pretenders upon his Majeſty's Recommendation, if the vile good Huſwifery of his Wife had not engroſſed that Province, and preferred him who offered moſt Money before all other Conſiderations or Motives. And hereby not only many honeſt Men, who had ſeveral Ways ſerved the King, and ſpent the Fortunes They had been Maſters of, were denied the Recompenſes the King had deſigned to them; but ſuch Men who had been moſt notorious in the Malice againſt the Crown from the Beginning of the Rebellion, or had been employed in all the active Offices to affront and oppreſs his Party, were for Money preferred and admitted into thoſe Offices, and became the King's Servants very much againſt his Will, and with his manifeſt Regret on the Behalf of the honeſt Men who had been ſo unworthily rejected. And this occaſioned the firſt Murmur and Diſcontent, which appeared after the King's Return, amongſt thoſe who were not inclined to it, yet found every Day freſh Occaſions to nouriſh and improve it.

The General confirmed in the Offices aſſigned him by the Parliament.

Alſo ſworn Gentleman of the Bedchamber, and Maſter of the Horſe.

THE ſettling this great Officer in the Stables, made it neceſſary to appoint a Lord Steward of the Houſhold, who was a neceſſary Officer for the Parliament, being by the Statute appointed to ſwear all the Members of the Houſe of Commons; and to this Charge the Marquis of *Ormond* had been long deſigned, and was then ſworn. And They had Both their Tables erected according to the old Models, and all thoſe Exceſſes which the irregular Precedents of former Times had introduced, and which the King had ſo ſolemnly reſolved to reform before it could be ſaid to trench upon the Rights of particular Perſons. But the good Humour the King was in, and the Plenty which generally appeared, how much ſoever without a Fund to ſupport it, and eſpecially the natural Deſire his Majeſty had to ſee every Body pleaſed, baniſhed all Thoughts of ſuch Providence; inſtead whereof He reſolved forthwith to ſettle his Houſe according to former Rules, or rather without any Rule, and to appoint the Officers who impatiently expected their Promotion. He directed his own Table to be more magnificently furniſhed than it had ever been in any Time of his Predeceſſors, which Example was eaſily followed in all Offices.

The Marquis of Ormond *made Lord Steward of the Houſhold.*

THAT He might give a lively Inſtance of his Grace to thoſe who had been of the Party which had been faulty, according to his Declaration from *Breda*, He made of his own free Inclination and Choice the Earl of *Manchester* (who was looked upon as one of the principal Heads of the

The Earl of Manchester Lord Chamberlain.

Preſbyterian Party) Lord Chamberlain of his Houſe; who, continuing ſtill to perform all good Offices to his old Friends, complied very punctually with all the Obligations and Duties which his Place required, never failed being at Chapel and at all the King's Devotions with all imaginable Decency; and, by his extraordinary Civilities and Behaviour towards all Men, did not only appear the fitteſt Perſon the King could have choſen for that Office in that Time, but rendered himſelf ſo acceptable to all Degrees of Men, that none, but ſuch who were implacable towards all who had ever diſſerved the King, were ſorry to ſee him ſo promoted. And it muſt be confeſſed, that as He had expreſſed much Penitence for what He had done amiſs, and was mortally hated and perſecuted by *Cromwell*, even for his Life, and had done many Acts of Merit towards the King; ſo He was of all Men who had ever borne Arms againſt the King, both in the Gentleneſs and Juſtice of his Nature, in the Sweetneſs and Evenneſs of his Converſation, and in his real Principles for Monarchy, the moſt worthy to be received into the Truſt and Confidence in which He was placed. With his, the two other white Staves were diſpoſed to thoſe to whom they were deſigned, when the King was Prince of *Wales*, by his Father: And all other inferiour Officers were made, who were to take Care of the Expenſes of the Houſe, and were a great Part of it.

And thus the King's Houſe quickly appeared in its full Luſtre, the Eating and Drinking very grateful to all Men, and the Charge and Expenſe of it much exceeding the Precedents of the moſt luxurious Times; and all this before there was any Proviſion of ready Money, or any Aſſignation of a future Fund, to diſcharge or ſupport it. All Men were ready to deliver their Goods upon Truſt, the Officers too remiſs in computing the Diſburſements; inſomuch as the Debts contracted by thoſe Exceſſes in leſs than the firſt Year broke all the Meaſures in that Degree, that they could not ſuddenly be retrenched for the future; and the Debt itſelf was not diſcharged in many Years.

The King had in his Purpoſe, long before his Return, to make the Earl of *Southampton* (who was the moſt valued and eſteemed of all the Nobility, and generally thought worthy of any Honour or Office) Lord High Treaſurer of *England*; but He deſired firſt to ſee ſome Revenue ſettled by the Parliament, and that Part of the old, which had been ſold and diſperſed by extravagant Grants and Sales, reduced into the old Channel, and regularly to be received and paid, and the Cuſtoms to be put in ſuch Order (which were not yet granted, and only continued by Orders as illegal as the late Times had been accuſtomed to, and to the Authority whereof He had no Mind to adminiſter) before He was willing to receive the Staff. And ſo the Office of the Treaſury was by Commiſſion executed by ſeveral Lords of the Council, whereof the Chancellor, as well by the Dignity of his Place, as by his ſtill being Chancellor of the Exchequer, was one, and ſo engaged in the putting the Cuſtoms likewiſe into Commiſſioners Hands, and ſettling all the other Branches of the Revenue in ſuch Manner as was thought moſt reaſonable; in all Debates whereof his Majeſty himſelf was ſtill preſent, and approved the Concluſion. But after a Month or two ſpent in this Method, in the Crowd of ſo much Buſineſs of ſeveral Natures, the King found ſo little Expedition that He thought it beſt to determine that Commiſſion, and ſo gave the Staff to the Earl of *Southampton*, and made him Treaſurer. And the Chancellor at the ſame Time ſurrendering his Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer into the King's Hands, his Majeſty upon the humble Deſire of the Earl conferred that Office upon

The Earl of Southampton Lord High Treaſurer.

Sir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, who had married his Niece, and whoſe Parts well enough qualified him for the Diſcharge thereof; though ſome other Qualities of his, as well known, brought no Advantage to his Majeſty by that Promotion. And from this Time the Chancellor would never intermeddle in the Buſineſs of the Exchequer, nor admit any Applications to him in it: However, the Friendſhip was ſo great between the Treaſurer and him, and ſo notorious from an ancient Date, and from a joint Confidence in each other in the Service of the laſt King, that neither of them concluded any Matter of Importance without conſulting with the other. And ſo the Treaſurer, Marquis of *Ormond*, the General, with the two Secretaries of State, were of that ſecret Committee with the Chancellor, which, under the Notion of foreign Affairs, were appointed by the King to conſult all his Affairs before they came to a publick Debate; and in which there could not be a more united Concurrence of Judgments and Affections.

And Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper Chancellor of the Exchequer.

YET it was the Chancellor's Misfortune to be thought to have the greateſt Credit with the King, for the Reaſons mentioned before, and which for ſome Time ſeemed to be without Envy, by Reaſon of his many Years Service of the Crown, and conſtant Fidelity to the ſame, and his long Attendance upon the Perſon of his Majeſty, and the Friendſhip He had with the moſt eminent Perſons who had adhered to that Intereſt. Yet He foreſaw, and told many of his Friends, "that the Credit He was thought "to have with the King, and which He knew was much leſs than it was "thought to be, and his being obliged by the King to conduct many Af-"fairs, which were foreign to thoſe which principally concerned and related "to his Office, would in a ſhort Time raiſe ſuch a Storm of Envy and "Malice againſt him, that He ſhould not be able to ſtand the Shock." All Mens Impatience to get, and Immodeſty in aſking, when the King had Nothing to give, with his Majeſty's Eaſineſs of Acceſs, and that *Imbecillitas Frontis* which kept him from denying, together with reſcuing himſelf from the moſt troubleſome Importunities by ſending Men to the Chancellor, could not but in a ſhort Time make him be looked upon as the Man that obſtructed all their Pretences; in which They were confirmed by his own Carriage towards them, which though They could not deny to be full of Civility, yet He always diſſuaded them from purſuing the Suits They had made to the King, as unfit or unjuſt for his Majeſty to grant, how inclinable ſoever He had ſeemed to them. And ſo, inſtead of promiſing to aſſiſt them, He poſitively denied ſo much as to endeavour it, when the Matter would not bear it; but where He could do Courteſies, no Man proceeded more cheerfully and more unaſked, which very many of all Conditions knew to be true; nor did He ever receive Recompenſe or Reward for any ſuch Offices. Of which Temper of his there will be Occaſion to ſay more hereafter.

The Chancellor foreſees a Storm of Envy ariſing againſt him.

THE firſt Matter of general and publick Importance, and which reſulted not from any Debate in Parliament, was the Diſcovery of a great Affection that the Duke had for the Chancellor's Daughter, who was a Maid of Honour to the King's Siſter the Princeſs Royal of *Orange*, and of a Contract of Marriage between them: With which Nobody was ſo ſurpriſed and confounded as the Chancellor himſelf, who being of a Nature free from any Jealouſy, and very confident of an entire Affection and Obedience from all his Children, and particularly from that Daughter, whom He had always loved dearly, never had in the leaſt Degree ſuſpected any ſuch Thing; though He knew afterwards, that the Duke's Affection and Kindneſs had been much ſpoken of beyond the

A Diſcovery of the Duke of York's Marriage with the Chancellor's Daughter.

Seas, but without the leaſt Suſpicion in any Body that it could ever tend to Marriage. And therefore it was cheriſhed and promoted in the Duke by thoſe, and only by thoſe, who were declared Enemies to the Chancellor, and who hoped from thence, that ſome ſignal Diſgrace and Diſhonour would befall the Chancellor and his Family; in which They were the more reaſonably confirmed by the Manner of the Duke's living towards him, which had never any Thing of Grace in it, but very much of Diſfavour, to which the Lord *Berkley*, and moſt of his other Servants to pleaſe the Lord *Berkley*, had contributed all They could; and the Queen's notorious Prejudice to him had made it Part of his Duty to her Majeſty, which had been a very great Diſcomfort to the Chancellor, in his whole Adminiſtration beyond the Seas. But now, upon this Diſcovery and the Conſequence thereof, He looked upon himſelf as a ruined Perſon, and that the King's Indignation ought to fall upon him as the Contriver of that Indignity to the Crown, which as himſelf from his Soul abhorred, and would have had the Preſumption of his Daughter to be puniſhed with the utmoſt Severity, ſo He believed the whole Kingdom would be inflamed to the Puniſhment of it, and to prevent the Diſhonour which might reſult from it. And the leaſt Calamity that He expected upon himſelf and Family, how innocent ſoever, was an everlaſting Baniſhment out of the Kingdom, and to end his Days in foreign Parts in Poverty and Miſery. All which undoubtedly muſt have come to paſs upon that Occaſion, if the King had either had that Indignation, which had been juſt in him; or if He had withdrawn his Grace and Favour from him, and left him to be ſacrificed by the Envy and Rage of others; though at this Time He was not thought to have many Enemies, nor indeed any who were Friends to any other honeſt Men. But the King's own Knowledge of his Innocence, and thereupon his gracious Condeſcenſion and Interpoſition, diverting any rough Proceeding, and ſo a contrary Effect to what hath been mentioned having been produced from thence; the Chancellor's Greatneſs ſeemed to be thereby confirmed, his Family eſtabliſhed above the Reach of common Envy, and his Fortune to be in a growing and proſperous Condition not like to be ſhaken. Yet after many Years Poſſeſſion of this Proſperity, an unexpected Guſt of Diſpleaſure took again its Riſe from this Original, and overwhelmed him with Variety and Succeſſion of Misfortunes.

THE Chancellor, as ſoon as the King was at *Whitehall*, had ſent for his Daughter, having a Deſign preſently to marry her; to which Purpoſe He had an Overture from a noble Family, on the Behalf of a well-bred hopeful young Gentleman, who was the Heir of it. His Daughter quickly arrived at her Father's Houſe, to his great Joy, having always had a great Affection for her; and She being his eldeſt Child, He had more Acquaintance with her, than with any of his Children; and being now of an Age fit for Marriage, He was well pleaſed that He had an Opportunity to place her in ſuch a Condition, as with God's Bleſſing was like to yield her much Content. She had not been long in *England*, when the Duke informed the King "of the Affection and Engagement that had been long between them; that They had been long contracted, and that She was "with Child:" And therefore with all imaginable Importunity He begged his Majeſty's Leave and Permiſſion upon his Knees "that He might pub-"lickly marry her, in ſuch a Manner as his Majeſty thought neceſſary for "the Conſequence thereof." The King was much troubled with it, and more with his Brother's Paſſion, which was expreſſed in a very wonderful Manner and with many Tears, proteſting "that if his Majeſty ſhould not

The Duke's Declaration of it to the King.

"give his Consent, He would immediately leave the Kingdom, and must "spend his Life in foreign Parts." His Majesty was very much perplexed to resolve what to do: He knew the Chancellor so well, that He concluded that He was not privy to it, nor would ever approve it; and yet that it might draw much Prejudice upon him, by the Jealousy of those who were not well acquainted with his Nature. He presently sent for the Marquis of *Ormond* and the Earl of *Southampton*, who He well knew were his Bosom-Friends, and informed them at large and of all Particulars which had passed from the Duke to him, and commanded them presently to see for the Chancellor to come to his own Chamber at *Whitehall*, where They would meet him upon a Business of great Importance, which the King had commended to them for their joint Advice. They no sooner met, than the Marquis of *Ormond* told the Chancellor, "that He had a Matter to in- "form him of, that He doubted would give him much Trouble;" and therefore advised him to compose himself to hear it: And then told him, "that the Duke of *York* had owned a great Affection for his Daughter to "the King, and that He much doubted that She was with Child by the "Duke, and that the King required the Advice of them and of him what "He was to do."

The King sends two of the Chancellor's Bosom-Friends to open the Matter to him.

THE Manner of the Chancellor's receiving this Advertisement made it evident enough, that He was struck with it to the Heart, and had never had the least Jealousy or Apprehension of it. He broke out into a very immoderate Passion against the Wickedness of his Daughter, and said with all imaginable Earnestness, "that as soon as He came Home, He would "turn her out of his House, as a Strumpet, to shift for herself, and would "never see her again." They told him, "that his Passion was too violent "to administer good Counsel to him, that They thought that the Duke "was married to his Daughter, and that there were other Measures to be "taken, than those which the Disorder He was in had suggested to him." Whereupon He fell into new Commotions, and said, "if that were true, "He was well prepared to advise what was to be done: That He had "much rather his Daughter should be the Duke's Whore, than his Wife: "In the former Case Nobody could blame him for the Resolution He had "taken, for He was not obliged to keep a Whore for the greatest Prince "alive; and the Indignity to himself He would submit to the good "Pleasure of God. But if there were any Reason to suspect the other, He "was ready to give a positive Judgment, in which He hoped their Lord- "ships would concur with him; that the King should immediately cause "the Woman to be sent to the *Tower*, and to be cast into a Dungeon, "under so strict a Guard, that no Person living should be admitted to "come to her; and then that an Act of Parliament should be immediately "passed for the cutting off her Head, to which He would not only give "his Consent, but would very willingly be the first Man that should pro- "pose it:" And whoever knew the Man, will believe that He said all this very heartily.

The Chancellor struck with it to the Heart.

And breaks out into a very immoderate Passion.

IN this Point of Time the King entered the Room, and sate down at the Table; and perceiving by his Countenance the Agony the Chancellor was in, and his swollen Eyes from whence a Flood of Tears were fallen, He asked the other Lords, "what They had done, and whether They had resolved on "any Thing." The Earl of *Southampton* said, "his Majesty must consult with "soberer Men; that He" (pointing to the Chancellor) "was mad, and had "proposed such extravagant Things, that He was no more to be consulted with." Whereupon his Majesty looking upon him with a wonderful Benignity, said,

"Chancellor, I knew this Buſineſs would trouble you; and therefore I ap-
"pointed your two Friends to confer firſt with you upon it, before I
"would ſpeak with you myſelf: But You muſt now lay aſide all Paſſion
"that diſturbs you, and conſider that this Buſineſs will not do itſelf; that
"it will quickly take Air; and therefore it is fit that I firſt reſolve what
"to do, before other Men uncalled preſume to give their Counſel: Tell me
"therefore what You would have me do, and I will follow your Advice."
Then his Majeſty enlarged upon the Paſſion of his Brother, and the Ex-
preſſions He had often uſed, "that He was not capable of having any o-
"ther Wife, and the like." Upon which the Chancellor aroſe, and with a
little Compoſedneſs ſaid, "Sir, I hope I need make no Apology to you for
"myſelf, and of my own in this Matter, upon which I look with ſo much
"Deteſtation, that though I could have wiſhed, that your Brother had not
"thought it fit to have put this Diſgrace upon me, I had much rather ſub-
"mit and bear it with all Humility, than that it ſhould be repaired by ma-
"king her his Wife; the Thought whereof I do ſo much abominate, that
"I had much rather ſee her dead, with all the Infamy that is due to her
"Preſumption." And then He repeated all that He had before ſaid to the
Lords, of ſending her preſently to the *Tower*, and the reſt; and concluded,
"Sir, I do upon all my Oaths which I have taken to you to give you
"faithful Counſels, and from all the ſincere Gratitude I ſtand obliged to
"you for ſo many Obligations, renew this Counſel to you; and do beſeech
"you to purſue it, as the only Expedient that can free you from the E-
"vils that this Buſineſs will otherwiſe bring upon you." And obſerving by
the King's Countenance, that He was not pleaſed with his Advice, He con-
tinued and ſaid, "I am the dulleſt Creature alive, if, having been with
"your Majeſty ſo many Years, I do not know your Infirmities better than
"other Men. You are of too eaſy and gentle a Nature to contend with
"thoſe rough Affronts, which the Iniquity and Licence of the late Times
"is like to put upon you, before it be ſubdued and reformed. The Pre-
"ſumption all Kind of Men have upon your Temper is too notorious to all
"Men, and lamented by all who wiſh you well: And, truſt me, an Ex-
"ample of the higheſt Severity in a Caſe that ſo nearly concerns you, and
"that relates to the Perſon who is neareſt to you, will be ſo ſeaſonable,
"that your Reign, during the remaining Part of your Life, will be the
"eaſier to you, and all Men will take Heed, how They impudently offend
"you."

He had ſcarce done ſpeaking, when the Duke of *York* came in; where-
upon the King ſpake of ſome other Buſineſs, and ſhortly after went out of the
Room with his Brother, whom (as was ſhortly known) He informed of all
that the Chancellor had ſaid, who, as ſoon as He came to his Houſe, ſent
his Wife to command his Daughter to keep her Chamber, and not to ad-
mit any Viſits; whereas before She had always been at Dinner and Supper,
and had much Company reſorting to her: Which was all that He thought
fit to do, upon the firſt Aſſault, and till He had ſlept upon it, (which He
did very unquietly) and reflected upon what was like to be the Effect of
ſo extravagant a Cauſe. And this was quickly known to the Duke, who
was exceedingly offended at it, and complained to the King, "as of an
"Indignity offered to him." And the next Morning the King chid the
Chancellor for proceeding with ſo much Precipitation, and required him
"to take off that Reſtraint, and to leave her to the Liberty She had been
"accuſtomed to." To which He replied, "that her having not diſcharged
"the Duty of a Daughter ought not to deprive him of the Authority of a

"Father; and therefore He muſt humbly beg his Majeſty not to interpoſe "his Commands, againſt his doing any Thing that his own Dignity re- "quired: That He only expected what his Majeſty would do upon the "Advice He had humbly offered to him, and when He ſaw that, He "would himſelf proceed as He was ſure would become him:" Nor did He take off any of the Reſtraint He had impoſed. Yet He diſcovered after, that even in that Time the Duke had found Ways to come to her, and to ſtay whole Nights with her, by the Adminiſtration of thoſe who were not ſuſpected by him, and who had the Excuſe, "that They knew "that They were married."

This Affair produces not thoſe Murmurs and Diſcontents the Chancellor expected.

THIS Subject was quickly the Matter of all Mens Diſcourſe, and did not produce thoſe Murmurs and diſcontented Reflections, which were expected. The Parliament was ſitting, and took not the leaſt Notice of it; nor could it be diſcerned, that many were ſcandalized at it. The Chancellor received the ſame Reſpects from all Men, which He had been accuſtomed to. And the Duke himſelf, in the Houſe of Peers, frequently ſate by him upon the Wool Sack, that He might the more eaſily confer with him upon the Matters which were debated, and receive his Advice how to behave himſelf; which made all Men believe, that there had been a good Underſtanding between them. And yet it is very true, that, in all that Time, the Duke never ſpake one Word to him of that Affair. The King ſpake every Day about it, and told the Chancellor, "that He muſt behave "himſelf wiſely, for that the Thing was remedileſs; and, that his Majeſty "knew that They were married, which would quickly appear to all Men, "who knew that Nothing could be done upon it." In this Time the Chancellor had conferred with his Daughter, without any Thing of Indulgence, and not only diſcovered, that They were unqueſtionably married, but by whom, and who were preſent at it, who would be ready to avow it; which pleaſed him not, though it diverted him from uſing ſome of that Rigour, which He intended. And He ſaw no other Remedy could be applied, but that, which He had propoſed to the King, who thought of Nothing like it.

AT this Time, there was News of the Princeſs Royal's Embarkation in *Holland*, which obliged the King and the Duke of *York* to make a Journey to *Dover* to receive her, who came for no other Reaſon, but to congratulate with the King, her Brother, and to have her Share in the publick Joy. The Morning that They began their Journey, the King and the Duke came to the Chancellor's Houſe; and the King, after He had ſpoken to him of ſome Buſineſs that was to be done in his Abſence, going out of the Room, the Duke ſtayed behind, and whiſpered the Chancellor in the Ear, becauſe there were others at a little Diſtance, "that He knew "that He had heard of the Buſineſs between him and his Daughter, and "of which He confeſſed He ought to have ſpoken with him before; but "that when He returned from *Dover*, He would give him full Satisfac- "tion: In the mean Time" He deſired him "not to be offended with his "Daughter." To which the Chancellor made no other Anſwer, than "that it was a Matter too great for him to ſpeak of.

WHEN the Princeſs Royal came to the Town, there grew to be a great Silence in that Affair. The Duke ſaid Nothing to the Chancellor, nor came nor ſent to his Daughter, as He had conſtantly uſed to do. And it was induſtriouſly publiſhed about the Town, that that Buſineſs was broken off, and that the Duke was reſolved never to think more of it. The Queen had before written a very ſharp Letter to the Duke, full of Indig-

nation, that He ſhould have ſo low Thoughts as to marry ſuch a Woman; to whom He ſhewed the Letter, as not moved by it. And now She ſent the King Word, "that She was on the Way to *England*, to prevent, with her "Authority, ſo great a Stain and Diſhonour to the Crown;" and uſed many Threats and paſſionate Expreſſions upon the Subject. The Chancellor ſate unconcerned in all the Rumours which were ſpread, "that the Queen was "coming with a Purpoſe to complain to the Parliament againſt the Chan- "cellor, and to apply the higheſt Remedies to prevent ſo great a Miſchief."

The Queen Mother greatly incenſed at it.

In the mean Time it was reported abroad, that the Duke had diſcovered ſome Diſloyalty in the Lady, which He had never ſuſpected, but had now ſo full Evidence of it, that He was reſolved never more to ſee her; and that He was not married. And all his Family, whereof the Lord *Berkley* and his Nephew were the chief, who had long hated the Chancellor, ſpake very loudly and ſcandalouſly of it. The King carried himſelf with extraordinary Grace towards the Chancellor, and was with him more, and ſpake upon all Occaſions and before all Perſons more graciouſly of him, than ever. He told him with much Trouble, "that his Brother "was abuſed; and that there was a wicked Conſpiracy ſet on Foot by "Villains, which, in the End, muſt prove of more Diſhonour to the Duke, "than to any Body elſe."

The King carries himſelf with extraordinary Grace towards the Chancellor.

The Queen was now ready to embark, inflamed and haſtened by this Occaſion; and it was fit for the King and the Duke, to wait on her at the Shore. But before his Majeſty's Going, He reſolved of himſelf to do a Grace to the Chancellor, that ſhould publiſh, how far He was from being ſhaken in his Favour towards him, and to do it with ſuch Circumſtances, as gave it great Luſtre. From the Time of his Coming into *England*, He had often offered the Chancellor to make him a Baron, and told him, "that He was aſſured by many of the Lords, "that it was moſt neceſſary for his Service in the Parliament." But He had ſtill refuſed it, and beſought his Majeſty "not to think of it; that it "would increaſe the Envy againſt him, if He ſhould confer that Honour "upon him ſo ſoon; but that hereafter, when his Majeſty's Affairs ſhould "be ſettled, and He, out of the extraordinary Perquiſites of his Office, "ſhould be able to make ſome Addition to his ſmall Fortune, He would, "with that Humility that became him, receive that Honour from him." The King, in few Days after, coming to him, and being alone with him in his Cabinet, at going away gave him a little Billet into his Hand, that contained a Warrant of his own Handwriting to Sir *Stephen Fox*, to pay to the Chancellor the Sum of twenty thouſand Pounds; which was Part of the Money, which the Parliament had preſented to the King at the *Hague*, and for which He had been compelled to take Bills of Exchange again from *Amſterdam* upon *London*; which was only known to the King, the Chancellor, and Sir *Stephen Fox*, who was intruſted to receive it, as He had done all the King's Monies for many Years beyond the Seas. This Bounty flowing immediately from the King, at ſuch a melancholick Conjuncture, and of which Nobody could have Notice, could not but much raiſe the Spirits of the Chancellor. Nor did the King's Goodneſs reſt here, but the Night before He began his Journey towards the Queen, He ſent for the Attorney General, who He knew to be moſt devoted to the Chancellor, and told him, "that He muſt intruſt him in an Affair, that He "muſt not impart to the Chancellor;" and then gave him a Warrant ſigned for the Creation of him a Baron, which He commanded "to be ready "to paſs the Seal, againſt the Hour of his Majeſty's Return, and He

Makes him a Preſent of 20,000 Pounds.

"would then see it sealed himself: But if the Chancellor came first to know it, "He would use great Importunity to stop it." The Attorney said, "it "would be impossible to conceal it from him, because, without his Privity "and Direction, He knew not what Title to give him for his Barony." The King replied with Warmth, "that He should confer with some of his "Friends of the Way; but that He would take it ill of him, if there "were any Delay in it, and if it were not ready for the Seal at the Time "of his Return, which would be in few Days." The Attorney came to the Chancellor and told him, "He would break a Trust to do him a Ser- "vice; and therefore He presumed, that He would not be so unjust to "let him suffer by it:" And then told him all that had passed between the King and him. And the Chancellor confessed, "that the King's obliging "Manner of Proceeding, and the Conjuncture in which this Honour was "given," though He had before refused it with Obstinacy, "made it now "very grateful to him:" And so without Hesitation He told him what Title He would assume. And all was ready against the King's Return, and signed by him, and sealed the same Night. *And creates him a Baron.*

THE Queen had expressed her Indignation to the King and Duke, with her natural Passion, from the Time of their Meeting; and the Duke had asked her Pardon, "for having placed his Affection so unequally, of which "He was sure there was now an End; that He was not married, and had "now such Evidence of her Unworthiness, that He should no more think "of her." And it was now avowedly said, that Sir *Charles Berkley*, who was Captain of his Guard, and in much more Credit and Favour with the Duke than his Uncle, (though a young Man of a dissolute Life, and prone to all Wickedness in the Judgment of all sober Men) had informed the Duke; "that He was bound in Conscience, to preserve him from taking "to Wife a Woman so wholly unworthy of him; that He himself had "lain with her; and that for his Sake He would be content to marry her, "though He knew well the Familiarity the Duke had with her." This Evidence, with so solemn Oaths presented by a Person so much loved and trusted by him, made a wonderful Impression in the Duke; and now confirmed by the Commands of his Mother, as He had been before prevailed upon by his Sister, He resolved to deny that He was married, and never to see the Woman again, who had been so false to him. And the Queen being satisfied with this Resolution, They came all to *London*, with a full Hope that They should prevail to the utter Overthrow of the Chancellor; the King having, without any Reply or Debate, heard all They said of the other Affair, and his Mother's Bitterness against him. But when, the very next Morning after their Arrival at *London*, They saw the Chancellor (who had not seen the King) appear in the Parliament in the Robes of a Peer; They thought it to no Purpose to prosecute their Design against him, whom his Majesty was resolved to protect from any unjust Persecution. But the other Resolution was pursued with Noise and much Defamation.

Sir Charles Berkley *traduces the Dutchess of* York's *Reputation.*

Upon which the Duke resolves to deny his Marriage.

THE next Day after the Queen's Arrival, all the Privy Council in a Body waited upon the Queen, to congratulate her Return into *England*; and the Chancellor was obliged to go in the Head of them, and was received with the same Countenance that the rest were, which was very cheerful, and with many gracious Expressions. And from this Time He put not himself in her Majesty's Presence, nor appeared at all concerned at the scandalous Discourses against his Daughter. The Earl of *St. Albans* and all who were near the Queen in any Trust, and the Lord *Berkley* and his Faction about the Duke, lived in Defiance of the Chancellor; and so impru-

imprudently that They did him no Harm, but underwent the Reproach of moſt ſober Men. The King continued his Grace towards him without the leaſt Diminution, and not only to him, but to many others who were truſted by him; which made it evident, that He believed Nothing of what Sir *Charles Berkley* avowed, and looked on him as a Fellow of great Wickedneſs: Which Opinion the King was long known to have of him, before his coming into *England*, and after.

The Dutcheſs delivered of a Son.

In the mean Time, the Seaſon of his Daughter's Delivery was at Hand. And it was the King's Chance, to be at his Houſe with the Committee of Council, when She fell in Labour: Of which being advertiſed by her Father, the King directed him "to ſend for the Lady Marchioneſs of *Or-*"*mond*, the Counteſs of *Sunderland*, and other Ladies of known Honour "and Fidelity to the Crown, to be preſent with her:" Who all came, and were preſent till She was delivered of a Son. The Biſhop of *Winchester*, in the Interval of her greateſt Pangs, and ſometimes when they were upon her, was preſent, and aſked her ſuch Queſtions as were thought fit for the Occaſion; "whoſe the Child was of which She was in Labour," whom She averred, with all Proteſtations, to be the Duke's; "whether She "had ever known any other Man," which She renounced with all Vehemence, ſaying, "that She was confident the Duke did not think She had;" and being aſked, "whether She were married to the Duke," She anſwered, "She was, and that there were Witneſſes enough, who in due Time, "She was confident, would avow it." In a Word, her Behaviour was ſuch as abundantly ſatisfied the Ladies who were preſent, of her Innocence from the Reproach; and They were not reſerved in the Declaration of it, even before the Perſons who were leaſt pleaſed with their Teſtimony. And the Lady Marchioneſs of *Ormond* took an Opportunity to declare it fully to the Duke himſelf, and perceived in him ſuch a Kind of Tenderneſs, that perſuaded her that He did not believe any Thing amiſs. And the King enough publiſhed his Opinion and Judgment of the Scandal.

The Chancellor's own Carriage, that is, his doing Nothing, nor ſaying any Thing from whence They might take Advantage, exceedingly vexed them. Yet They undertook to know, and informed the Duke confidently, "that the Chancellor had a great Party in the Parliament; and that "He was reſolved within few Days to complain there, and to produce the "Witneſſes, who were preſent at the Marriage, to be examined, that their "Teſtimony might remain there; which would be a great Affront to "him;" with many other Particulars, which might inceníe his Highneſs. Whereupon the Duke, who had been obſerved never to have ſpoken to him in the Houſe of Peers, or any where elſe, ſince the Time of his going to meet his Siſter, finding the Chancellor one Day in the Privy Lodgings, whiſpered him in the Ear, "that He would be glad to confer with "him in his Lodging," whither He was then going. The other immediately followed; and being come thither, the Duke ſent all his Servants out of Diſtance; and then told him with much Warmth, "what He had "been informed of his Purpoſe to complain to the Parliament againſt him, "which He did not value or care for: However, if He ſhould proſecute "any ſuch Courſe, it ſhould be the worſe for him;" implying ſome Threats, "what He would do, before He would bear ſuch an Affront;" adding then, "that for his Daughter, She had behaved herſelf ſo foully (of "which He had ſuch Evidence as was as convincing as his own Eyes, and "of which He could make no Doubt) that Nobody could blame him for "his Behaviour towards her;" concluding with ſome other Threats, "that

"He ſhould repent it, if He purſued his Intention of appealing to the "Parliament."

As ſoon as the Duke diſcontinued his Diſcourſe, the Chancellor told him, "that He hoped He would diſcover the Untruth of other Reports "which had been made to him by the Falſehood of this, which had been "raiſed without the leaſt Ground or Shadow of Truth. That though He "did not pretend to much Wiſdom, yet no Man took him to be ſuch a "Fool, as He muſt be, if He intended to do ſuch an Act as He was in- "formed. That if his Highneſs had done any Thing towards or againſt "him which He ought not to have done, there was One who is as much "above him, as his Highneſs was above him, and who could both cenſure "and puniſh it. For his own Part, He knew too well whoſe Son He "was, and whoſe Brother He is, to behave himſelf towards him with leſs "Duty and Submiſſion than was due to him, and ſhould be always paid "by him." He ſaid, "He was not concerned to vindicate his Daughter "from any the moſt improbable Scandals and Aſperſions: She had diſob- "liged and deceived him too much, for him to be over-confident, that She "might not deceive any other Man: And therefore He would leave that "likewiſe to God Almighty, upon whoſe Bleſſing He would always de- "pend, whilſt himſelf remained innocent, and no longer." The Duke replied not, nor from that Time mentioned the Chancellor with any Diſpleaſure; and related to the King, and ſome other Perſons, the Diſcourſe that had paſſed, very exactly.

THERE did not after all this appear, in the Diſcourſes of Men, any of that Humour and Indignation which was expected. On the contrary, Men of the greateſt Name and Reputation ſpake of the Foulneſs of the Proceeding with great Freedom, and with all the Deteſtation imaginable againſt Sir *Charles Berkley*, whoſe Teſtimony Nobody believed; not without ſome Cenſure of the Chancellor, for not enough appearing and proſecuting the Indignity: But He was not to be moved by any Inſtances, which He never afterwards repented. The Queen's implacable Diſpleaſure continued in the full Height, doing all She could to keep the Duke firm to his Reſolution, and to give all Countenance to the Calumny. As before the Diſcovery of this Engagement of the Duke's Affection, the Duke of *Gloceſter* had died of the Smallpox, to the extraordinary Grief of the King and the whole Kingdom; ſo, at this Time, it pleaſed God to viſit the Princeſs Royal with the ſame Diſeaſe, and of which She died within few Days; having in her laſt Agonies expreſſed a Diſlike of the Proceedings in that Affair, to which She had contributed too much. The Duke himſelf grew melancholick and diſpirited, and cared not for Company, nor thoſe Divertiſements in which He formerly delighted: Which was obſerved by every Body, and which in the End wrought ſo far upon the Conſcience of the lewd Informer, that He, Sir *Charles Berkley*, came to the Duke, and clearly declared to him; "that the general Diſcourſe of Men, of "what Inconvenience and Miſchief, if not abſolute Ruin, ſuch a Marriage "would be to his Royal Highneſs, had prevailed with him to uſe all the "Power He had to diſſuade him from it; and when He found He could "not prevail with him, He had formed that Accuſation, which He pre- "ſumed could not but produce the Effect He wiſhed; which He now con- "feſſed to be falſe, and without the leaſt Ground; and that He was very "confident of her Virtue:" And therefore beſought his Highneſs "to par- "don a Fault, that was committed out of pure Devotion to him; and "that He would not ſuffer him to be ruined by the Power of thoſe,

The Duke grows melancholick.

Sir Charles Berkley *confeſſes the Falſehood of his Charge againſt the Dutcheſs.*

"whom He had ſo unworthily provoked; and of which He had ſo much "Shame, that He had not Confidence to look upon them." The Duke found himſelf ſo much relieved in that Part that moſt afflicted him, that He embraced him, and made a ſolemn Promiſe, "that He ſhould not ſuf- "fer in the leaſt Degree in his own Affection, for what had proceeded ſo "abſolutely from his Good-Will to him; and that He would take ſo much "Care of him, that in the compounding that Affair He ſhould be ſo "comprehended, that He ſhould receive no Diſadvantage."

The Duke greatly pleaſed with this Confeſſion.

And now the Duke appeared with another Countenance, writ to her whom He had injured "that He would ſpeedily viſit her," and gave her Charge "to have a Care of his Son." He gave the King a full Account of all, without concealing his Joy; and took moſt Pleaſure in conferring with them, who had ſeemed leaſt of his Mind when He had been moſt tranſported, and who had always argued againſt the Probability of the Teſtimony which had wrought upon him. The Queen was not pleaſed with this Change, though the Duke did not yet own to her, that He had altered his Reſolution. She was always very angry at the King's Coldneſs, who had been ſo far from that Averſion which She expected, that He found Excuſes for the Duke, and endeavoured to divert her Paſſions; and now preſſed the Diſcovery of the Truth by Sir *Charles Berkley*'s Confeſſion, as a Thing that pleaſed him. They about her and who had moſt inflamed and provoked her to the ſharpeſt Reſentment, appeared more calm in their Diſcourſes, and either kept Silence, or ſpake to another Tune than They had done formerly, and wiſhed that the Buſineſs was well compoſed; all which mightily increaſed the Queen's Paſſion. And having come to know, that the Duke had made a Viſit at the Place She moſt abhorred, She brake into great Paſſion, and publickly declared, "that "whenever that Woman ſhould be brought into *Whitehall* by one Door, "her Majeſty would go out of it by another Door, and never come into "it again." And for ſeveral Days her Majeſty would not ſuffer the Duke to be in her Preſence; at leaſt, if He came with the King, She forbore to ſpeak to him, or to take any Notice of him. Nor could They, who had uſed to have moſt Credit with her, ſpeak to her with any Acceptation; though They were all weary of the Diſtances They had kept, and diſcerned well enough where the Matter muſt end. And many deſired to find ſome Expedient, how the Work might be facilitated, by ſome Application and Addreſs from the Chancellor to the Queen: But He abſolutely refuſed to make the leaſt Advance towards it, or to contribute to her Indignation by putting himſelf into her Majeſty's Preſence. He declared, "that the "Queen had great Reaſon for the Paſſion She expreſſed for the In- "dignity that had been done to her, and which He would never endeavour "to excuſe; and that as far as his low Quality was capable of receiving "an Injury from ſo great a Prince, He had himſelf to complain of a "Tranſgreſſion, that exceeded the Limits of all Juſtice, divine and human."

The Queen highly offended at this Change in the Duke.

The Queen had made this Journey out of *France* into *England* much ſooner than She intended, and only, upon this Occaſion, to prevent a Miſchief She had great Reaſon to deprecate. And ſo, upon her Arrival, She had declared, "that She would ſtay a very ſhort Time, being obliged to "return into *France* for her Health, and to uſe the Waters of *Bourbon*, "which had already done her much Good, that the enſuing Seaſon would "with God's Bleſſing make perfect." And the Time was now come, that Orders were ſent for the Ships to attend her Embarcation at *Portſmouth*; and the Day was appointed, for the beginning her Journey from *Whitehall*:

So that the Duke's Affair, which He now took to Heart, was (as every Body thought) to be left in the State it was, at leaſt under the Renunciation and Interdiction of a Mother. When on a ſudden, of which Nobody then knew the Reaſon, her Majeſty's Countenance and Diſcourſe was changed; She treated the Duke with her uſual Kindneſs, and confeſſed to him, "that the Buſineſs that had offended her ſo much She perceived was "proceeded ſo far, that no Remedy could be applied to it; and therefore "that She would trouble herſelf no farther in it, but pray to God to bleſs "him, and that He might be happy:" So that the Duke had now Nothing to wiſh, but that the Queen would be reconciled to his Wife, who remained ſtill at her Father's, where the King had viſited her often; to which the Queen was not averſe, and ſpake graciouſly of the Chancellor, and ſaid "She would be good Friends with him." But Both theſe required ſome Formalities; and They who had behaved themſelves the moſt diſobligingly, expected to be comprehended in any Atonement that ſhould be made. And it was exceedingly laboured, that the Chancellor would make the firſt Approach, by viſiting the Earl of *St. Albans*; which He abſolutely refuſed to do: And very well acquainted with the Arts of that Court, whereof Diſſimulation was the Soul, did not believe that thoſe Changes, for which He ſaw no reaſonable Motive, could be real; until Abbot *Mountague* (who had ſo far complied with the Faction of that Court, as not to converſe with an Enemy) viſited him with all Openneſs, and told him, "that this Change in the Queen had proceeded from a Letter She had "newly received from the Cardinal, in which He had plainly told her, "*that She would not receive a good Welcome in* France, *if She left her Sons* "*in her Diſpleaſure, and profeſſed an Animoſity againſt thoſe Miniſters,* "*who were moſt truſted by the King. He extolled the Services done by the* "*Chancellor, and adviſed her to comply with what could not be avoided, and* "*to be perfectly reconciled to her Children, and to thoſe who were nearly re-*"*lated to them or were intruſted by them:* And that He did this in ſo "powerful a Style, and with ſuch powerful Reaſons, that her Majeſty's "Paſſions were totally ſubdued. And this" He ſaid "was the Reaſon of "the ſudden Change, that every Body had obſerved; and therefore that "He ought to believe the Sincerity of it, and to perform that Part which "might be expected from him, in Compliance with the Queen's Inclinations "to have a good Intelligence with him."

Her Majeſty ſuddenly alters her Behaviour.

The Cauſe of this Change in the Queen.

THE Chancellor had never looked upon the Abbot as his Enemy, and gave Credit to all He ſaid, though He did little underſtand from what Fountain that Good-Will of the Cardinal had proceeded, who had never been propitious to him. He made all thoſe Profeſſions of Duty to the Queen that became him, and "how happy He ſhould think himſelf in "her Protection, which He had Need of, and did with all Humility im-"plore; and that He would gladly caſt himſelf at her Majeſty's Feet, "when She would vouchſafe to admit it." But for the adjuſting this, there was to be more Formality; for it was neceſſary that the Earl of *St. Albans* (between whom and the Chancellor there had never been any Friendſhip) ſhould have ſome Part in this Compoſition, and do many good Offices towards it, which were to precede the final Concluſion. The Duke had brought Sir *Charles Berkley* to the Dutcheſs, at whoſe Feet He had caſt himſelf, with all the Acknowledgment and Penitence He could expreſs; and She, according to the Command of the Duke, accepted his Submiſſion, and promiſed to forget the Offence. He came likewiſe to the Chancellor with thoſe Profeſſions which He could eaſily make; and the

other was obliged to receive him civilly. And then his Uncle, the Lord *Berkley*, waited upon the Dutcheſs; and afterwards viſited her Father, like a Man (which He could not avoid) who had done very much towards the bringing ſo difficult a Matter to ſo good an End, and expected Thanks from all; having that Talent in ſome Perfection, that after He had croſſed and puzzled any Buſineſs as much as was in his Power, He would be thought the only Man, who had untied all Knots, and made the Way ſmooth, and removed all Obſtructions.

The King and Duke greatly pleaſed with this Change in the Queen.

THE Satisfaction the King and the Duke had in this Diſpoſition of the Queen, was viſible to all Men. And They Both thought the Chancellor too reſerved in contributing his Part towards, or in meeting, the Queen's Favour, which He could not but diſcern was approaching towards him; and that He did not entertain any Diſcourſes, which had been by many entered upon to him upon that Subject, with that Cheerfulneſs and Serenity of Mind, that might juſtly be expected. And of this the Duke made an Obſervation, and a Kind of Complaint, to the King, who thereupon came one Day to the Chancellor's Houſe; and being alone with him, his Majeſty told him many Particulars which had paſſed between him and the Queen, and the good Humour her Majeſty was in: "That the next Day "the Earl of *St. Albans* would viſit him, and offer him his Service in ac- "companying him to the Queen, which He conjured him to receive with "all Civility, and Expreſſions of the Joy He took in it; in which" He told him, "He was obſerved to be too ſullen, and that when all other "Mens Minds appeared to be cheerful, his alone appeared to be more cloudy "than it had been, when that Affair ſeemed moſt deſperate; which was "the more taken Notice of, becauſe it was not natural to him."

THE Chancellor anſwered, "that He did not know, that He had fail- "ed in any Thing, that in good Manners or Decency could be required "from him: But He confeſſed, that lately his Thoughts were more per- "plexed, and troubleſome to himſelf, than they had ever been before; "and therefore it was no Wonder, if his Looks were not the ſame they had "uſed to be. That though He had been ſurpriſed to Amazement, upon "the firſt Notice of that Buſineſs; yet He had been ſhortly able to recol- "lect himſelf, and, upon the Teſtimony of his own Conſcience, to com- "poſe his Mind and Spirits, and without any Reluctancy to abandon any "Thought of his Daughter, and to leave her to that Miſery She had de- "ſerved and brought upon herſelf. Nor did the Viciſſitudes which occur- "red after in that Tranſaction, or the Diſpleaſure and Menaces of the "Duke, make any other Impreſſion upon him, than to know how unable "He was to enter into any Conteſt in that Matter (which in all Reſpects "was too difficult and ſuperiour to his Underſtanding and Faculties,) and "to leave it entirely to the Direction and Diſpoſal of God Almighty: And "in this Acquieſcence He had enjoyed a Repoſe with much Tranquillity of "Mind, being prepared to undergo any Misfortune that might befall him "from thence. But that now He was awakened by other Thoughts and "Reflections, which He could leſs range and govern. He ſaw thoſe Diffi- "culties removed, which He had thought inſuperable; that his own Con- "dition muſt be thought exalted above what He thought poſſible; and "that He was far leſs able to bear the Envy that was unavoidable, than "the Indignation and Contempt, that alone had threatened him. That his "Daughter was now received in the Royal Family, the Wife of the King's "only Brother and the Heir Apparent of the Crown, whilſt his Majeſty "himſelf remained unmarried. The great Truſt his Majeſty repoſed in

"him, infinitely above and contrary to his Deſire, was in itſelf liable to "Envy; and how inſupportable that Envy muſt be, upon this new Rela- "tion, He could not but foreſee; together with the Jealouſies, which arti- "ficial Men would be able to inſinuate into his Majeſty, even when They "ſeemed to have all poſſible Confidence in the Integrity of the Chancellor, "and when They extolled him moſt; and that how firm and conſtant ſoever "his Majeſty's Grace and Favour was to him at preſent (of which He had "lately given ſuch lively Teſtimony,) and how reſolved ſoever He was to "continue it, his Majeſty himſelf could not know how far ſome Jealou- "ſies, cunningly ſuggeſted by ſome Men, might by Degrees be entertain- "ed by him. And therefore that, upon all the Revolvings He had with "himſelf, He could not think of any Thing, that could contribute equal- "ly to his Majeſty's Service and his Quiet, and to the Happineſs and Secu- "rity of himſelf, as for him to retire from the active Station He was in, "to an abſolute Solitude and viſible Inactivity in all Matters relating to the "State: And which He thought could not be ſo well, under any Retire- "ment into the Country or any Part of the Kingdom, as by his leaving "the Kingdom, and fixing himſelf in ſome Place beyond the Seas remote "from any Court." And having ſaid all this, or Words to the ſame Ef- fect, He fell on his Knees; and with all poſſible Earneſtneſs deſired the King, "that He would conſent to his Retirement as a Thing moſt neceſ- "ſary for his Service, and give his Paſs to go and reſide in any ſuch Place, "beyond the Seas, as his Majeſty would make Choice of."

THE King heard him patiently, yet with Evidence enough that He was not pleaſed with what He ſaid; and when He kneeled, took him up with ſome Paſſion; "He did not expect this from him, and that He had "ſo little Kindneſs for him, as to leave him in a Time, when He could not "but know that He was very neceſſary for his Service. That He had Rea- "ſon to be very well aſſured, that it could never be in any Man's Power, "to leſſen his Kindneſs towards him, or Confidence in him; and if any "ſhould preſume to attempt it, They would find Cauſe to repent their "Preſumption." He ſaid, "there were many Reaſons, why He could ne- "ver have deſigned or adviſed his Brother to this Marriage; yet ſince it "was paſt and all Things ſo well reconciled, He would not deny that "He was glad of it, and promiſed himſelf much Benefit from it." He told him, "his Daughter was a Woman of a great Wit and excellent Parts, "and would have a great Power with his Brother; and that He knew "that She had an entire Obedience for him, her Father, who He knew "would always give her good Counſel, by which" He ſaid "He was con- "fident, that naughty People which had too much Credit with his Brother, "and which had ſo often miſled him, would be no more able to corrupt "him; but that She would prevent all ill and unreaſonable Attempts: "And therefore He again confeſſed that He was glad of it;" and ſo concluded with many gracious Expreſſions, and conjured the Chancellor "never more to think of thoſe unreaſonable Things, but to attend and "proſecute his Buſineſs with his uſual Alacrity, ſince his Kindneſs could "never fail him."

THE next Morning, which was of the laſt Day that the Queen was to ſtay, the Earl of *St. Albans* viſited the Chancellor with all thoſe Compli- ments, Profeſſions and Proteſtations, which were natural, and which He did really believe every Body elſe thought to be very ſincere; for He had that Kindneſs for himſelf, that He thought every Body did believe him. He expreſſed "a wonderful Joy, that the Queen would now leave the

"Court united, and all the King's Affairs in a very hopeful Condition, in "which the Queen confeſſed that the Chancellor's Counſels had been very "proſperous, and that She was reſolved to part with great and a ſincere "Kindneſs towards him; and that He had Authority from her to aſſure "him ſo much, which She would do herſelf when She ſaw him:" And ſo offered "to go with him to her Majeſty, at ſuch an Hour in the After-"noon as She ſhould appoint." The other made ſuch Returns to all the Particulars as were fit, and "that He would be ready to attend the Queen, "at the Time She ſhould pleaſe to aſſign:" And in the Afternoon the Earl of *St. Albans* came again to him; and They went together to *White-hall*, where They found the Queen in her Bedchamber, where many Ladies were preſent, who came then to take their Leave of her Majeſty, before She begun her Journey.

The Queen reconciled to the Dutcheſs of York.

THE Duke of *York* had before preſented his Wife to his Mother, who received her without the leaſt Shew of Regret, or rather with the ſame Grace as if She had liked it from the Beginning, and made her ſit down by her. When the Chancellor came in, the Queen roſe from her Chair, and received him with a Countenance very ſerene. The Ladies, and others who were near, withdrawing, her Majeſty told him, "that He could not "wonder, much leſs take it ill, that She had been much offended with "the Duke, and had no Inclination to give her Conſent to his Marriage; "and if She had, in the Paſſion that could not be condemned in her, "ſpake any Thing of him that He had taken ill, He ought to impute it "to the Provocation She had received, though not from him. She was now "informed by the King, and well aſſured, that He had no Hand in con-"triving that Friendſhip, but was offended with that Paſſion that really was "worthy of him. That She could not but confeſs, that his Fidelity to "the King her Huſband was very eminent, and that He had ſerved the "King her Son with equal Fidelity and extraordinary Succeſs. And "therefore as She had received his Daughter as her Daughter, and hearti-"ly forgave the Duke and her, and was reſolved ever after to live with

And to the Chancellor.

"all the Affection of a Mother towards them; ſo She reſolved to make a "Friendſhip with him, and hereafter to expect all the Offices from him, "which her Kindneſs ſhould deſerve." And when the Chancellor had made all thoſe Acknowledgments which He ought to do, and commended her Wiſdom and Indignation in a Buſineſs, "in which She could not ſhew "too much Anger and Averſion, and had too much forgotten her own "Honour and Dignity if She had been leſs offended," and magnified her Mercy and Generoſity "in departing ſo ſoon from her neceſſary Severity, "and pardoning a Crime in itſelf ſo unpardonable;" He made thoſe Profeſſions of Duty to her which were due to her, and "that He ſhould "always depend upon her Protection as his moſt gracious Miſtreſs, and "pay all Obedience to her Commands." The Queen appeared well pleaſed, and ſaid "She ſhould remain very confident of his Affection," and ſo diſcourſed of ſome Particulars; and then opening a Paper that She had in her Hand, She recommended the Diſpatch of ſome Things to him, which immediately related to her own Service and Intereſt, and then ſome Perſons, who had either ſome Suits to the King, or ſome Controverſies depending in Chancery. And the Evening drawing on, and very many Ladies and others waiting without to kiſs her Majeſty's Hand, He thought it Time to take his Leave; and after having repeated ſome ſhort Profeſſions of his Duty, He kiſſed her Majeſty's Hand: And from that Time there did never appear any Want of Kindneſs in the Queen towards him, whilſt

He ſtood in no Need of it, nor until it might have done him Good.

THUS an Intrigue, that without Doubt had been entered into and induſtriouſly contrived by thoſe, who deſigned to affront and bring Diſhonour upon the Chancellor and his Family, was, by God's good Pleaſure, turned to their Shame and Reproach, and to the Increaſe of the Chancellor's Greatneſs and Proſperity. And ſo We return to the Time from whence this Digreſſion led us, and ſhall take a particular View of all thoſe Accidents, which had an Influence upon the Quiet of the Kingdom, or which were the Cauſe of all the Chancellor's Misfortunes; which, though the Effect of them did not appear in many Years, were diſcerned by himſelf as coming and unavoidable, and foretold by him to his two Boſom-Friends, the Marquis of *Ormond* and the Earl of *Southampton*, who conſtantly adhered to him with all the Integrity of true Friendſhip.

The Chancellor not elated with this Marriage of his Daughter.

THE Greatneſs and Power of the Chancellor, by this Marriage of his Daughter with all the Circumſtances which had accompanied and attended it, ſeemed to all Men to have eſtabliſhed his Fortune, and that of his Family: I ſay, to all Men but to himſelf, who was not in the leaſt Degree exalted with it. He knew well upon how ſlippery Ground He ſtood, and how naturally averſe the Nation was from approving an exorbitant Power in any Subject. He ſaw that the King grew every Day more inclined to his Pleaſures, which involved him in Expenſe, and Company that did not deſire that He ſhould intend his Buſineſs or be converſant with ſober Men. He knew well, that the Servants who were about the Duke were as much his Enemies as ever, and intended their own Profit only, by what Means ſoever, without conſidering his Honour; that They formed his Houſhold, Officers and Equipage, by the Model of *France*, and againſt all the Rules and Precedents of *England* for a Brother of the Crown; and every Day put into his Head, "that if He were not ſupplied for all "thoſe Expenſes, it was the Chancellor's Fault, who could effect it if He "would." Nor was He able to prevent thoſe Infuſions, nor the Effects of them, becauſe they were ſo artificially adminiſtered, as if their End was to raiſe a Confidence in him of the Chancellor, not to weaken it; though He knew well, that their Deſign was to create by Degrees in him a Jealouſy of his Power and Credit with the King, as if it eclipſed his. But this was only in their own dark Purpoſes, which had been all blaſted, if they had been apparent; for the Duke did not only profeſs a very great Affection for the Chancellor, but gave all the Demonſtration of it that was poſſible, and deſired Nothing more, than that it ſhould be manifeſt to all Men, that He had an entire Truſt from the King in all his Affairs, and that He would employ all his Intereſt to ſupport that Truſt: Whilſt the Chancellor himſelf declined all the Occaſions, which were offered for the Advancement of his Fortune, and deſired wholly to be left to the Diſcharge of his Office, and that all other Officers might diligently look to their own Provinces, and be accountable for them; and deteſted Nothing more than that Title and Appellation, which He ſaw He ſhould not alway be able to avoid, of principal Miniſter or Favourite, and which was never caſt on him by any Deſignation of the King, (who abhorred to be thought to be governed by any ſingle Perſon) but by his preferring his Pleaſures before his Buſineſs, and ſo ſending all Men to the Chancellor to receive Advice. And hereby the Secretaries of State, not finding a preſent Acceſs to him when the Occaſions preſſed, reſorted to the Chancellor, with whom his Majeſty ſpent moſt Time, to be reſolved by him; which Method exceedingly grieved him, and to which He endeavoured to apply a Remedy, by

putting all Things in their proper Channel, and by prevailing with the King, when He ſhould be a little ſatiated with the Divertiſements He affected, to be vacant to ſo much of his Buſineſs, as could not be managed and conducted by any Body elſe.

Some Inſtances of his Diſintereſtedneſs.

AND here it may be ſeaſonable to inſert at large ſome Inſtances, which I promiſed before, and by which it will be manifeſt; how far the Chancellor was from an immoderate Appetite to be rich, and to raiſe his Fortune, which He propoſed only to do by the Perquiſites of his Office which were conſiderable at the firſt, and by ſuch Bounty of the King as might hereafter, without Noiſe or Scandal, be conferred on him in proper Seaſons and Occurrences; and that He was as far from affecting ſuch an unlimited Power as He was believed afterwards to be poſſeſſed of (and of which no Footſteps could ever be diſcovered in any of his Actions, or in any one Particular that was the Effect of ſuch Power), or from deſiring any other Extent of Power, than was agreeable to the great Office He held, and which had been enjoyed by moſt of thoſe, who had been his Predeceſſors in that Truſt.

He refuſed a conſiderable Offer of Crown Lands.

THE King had not been many Weeks in *England*, when the Marquis of *Ormond* came to him with his uſual Friendſhip, and aſked him, "whether it would not be now Time to think of making a Fortune, that "He might be able to leave to his Wife and Children, if He ſhould "die." And when He found that He was leſs ſenſible of what He propoſed than He expected, and that He only anſwered, "that He knew not "which Way to go about it;" the Marquis told him, "that He thought "He could commend a proper Suit for him to make to the King; and "if his Modeſty would not permit him to move the King for himſelf, He "would undertake to move it for him, and was confident that the King "would willingly grant it:" And thereupon ſhewed him a Paper, which contained the King's juſt Title to ten thouſand Acres of Land in the *Great Level of the Fens*, which would be of a good yearly Value; or They, who were unjuſtly poſſeſſed of it, would be glad to purchaſe the King's Title with a very conſiderable Sum of Money. And, in the End, He frankly told him, "that He made this Overture to him with the King's "Approbation, who had been moved in it, and thought at the firſt Sight, "out of his own Goodneſs, that it might be fit for him, and wiſhed the "Marquis to propoſe it to him."

WHEN the Chancellor had extolled the King's Generoſity, that He could, in ſo great Neceſſities of his own, think of diſpenſing ſo great a Bounty upon a poor Servant, who was already recompenſed beyond what He could be ever able to deſerve; He ſaid, "that He knew very well the King's "Title to that Land, of which He was in Poſſeſſion before the Rebellion "began, which the old and new *Adventurers* now claimed by a new Con-"tract, confirmed by an Ordinance of Parliament, which could not deprive "the Crown of its Right; which all the *Adventurers* (who for the greateſt "Part were worthy Men) well knew, and would for their own Sakes not "diſpute, ſince it would inevitably produce a new Inundation, which all "their Unity and Conſent in maintaining the Banks would and could with "Difficulty enough but prevent. That He would adviſe his Majeſty to "give all the Countenance He could, to the carrying on and perfecting "that great Work, which was of great Benefit as well as Honour to the "Publick, at the Charge of private Gentlemen, who had paid dear for the "Land They had recovered; but that He would never adviſe him, to begin "his Reign with the Alienation of ſuch a Parcel of Land from the Crown

"to any one particular Subject, who could never bear the Envy of it. "That his Majesty ought to reserve that Revenue to himself, which was "great, though less than it was generally reputed to be; at least, till the "Value thereof should be clearly understood (and the detaining it in his "own Hands for some Time, would be the best Expedient towards the "finishing all the Banks, when the Season should be fit, which else would "be neglected by the Discord among the *Adventurers*) and the King "knew what He gave. He must remember, that He had two Brothers" (for the Duke of *Gloucester* was yet alive) "who were without any Revenue, "and towards whom his Bounty was to be first extended; and that this "Land would be a good Ingredient towards an Appanage for them Both. "And that till They were reasonably provided for, no private Man in his Wits "would be the Object of any extraordinary Bounty from the King, which "would unavoidably make him the Object of an universal Envy and Ha- "tred. That, for his own Part, He held by the King's Favour the greatest "Office of the Kingdom in Place; and though it was not near the Value "it was esteemed to be, and that many other Offices were more profitable, "yet it was enough for him, and would be a good Foundation to improve "his Fortune: So that," He said, "He had made a Resolution to himself, "which He thought He should not alter, not to *make Haste to be rich*. That it "was the principal Part or Obligation of his Office, to dissuade the King from "making any Grants of such a Nature (except where the Necessity or Con- "venience was very notorious) and even to stop those which should be made "of that Kind, and not to suffer them to pass the Seal, till He had again "waited upon the King, and informed him of the evil Consequence of "those Grants; which Discharge of his Duty could not but raise him many "Enemies, who should not have that Advantage, to say that He obstructed "the King's Bounty towards other Men, when He made it very profuse to- "wards himself. And therefore, that He would never receive any Crown "Land from the King's Gift, and did not wish to have other Honour or "any Advantage, but what his Office brought him, till seven Years should "pass; in which all the Distractions of the Kingdom might be composed, "and the Necessities thereof so provided for, that the King might be able, "without hurting himself, to exercise some Liberality towards his Servants "who had served him well." How He seemed to part from this Resolution in some Particulars afterwards, and why He did so, may be collected out of what hath been truly set down before.

WHEN the Marquis of *Ormond* had given the King a large Account of the Conference between him and the Chancellor, and "that He absolutely "refused to receive that Grant;" his Majesty said, "He was a Fool for his "Labour, and that He would be much better in being envied than in "being pitied." And though the Inheritance of those Lands was after- wards given to the Duke, yet there were such Estates granted for Years to many particular Persons, most whereof had never merited by any Ser- vice, that Half the Value thereof never came to his Highness.

He declined being made Knight of the Garter.

As soon as the King and Duke returned from *Portsmouth*, where They had seen the Queen embarked for *France*, the King had appointed a Chapter, for the electing some Knights of the *Garter* into the Places va- cant. Upon which the Duke desired him "to nominate the Chancellor," which his Majesty said "He would willingly do, but He knew not whether "it would be grateful to him; for He had refused so many Things, that "He knew not what He would take;" and therefore wished him "to take "a Boat to *Worcester-House*, and propose it to him, and He would not go to

"the Chapter till his Highneſs returned." The Duke told the Chancellor what had paſſed between the King and him, and "that He was come only "to know his Mind, and could not imagine but that ſuch an Honour "would pleaſe him." The Chancellor, after a Million of humble Acknowledgments of the Duke's Grace and of the King's Condeſcenſion, ſaid, "that the Honour was indeed too great by much for him to ſuſtain; "that there were very many worthy Men, who well remembered him of their own Condition, when He firſt entered into his Father's Service, and "believed that He was advanced too much before them." He beſought his Highneſs, "that his Favours and Protection might not expoſe him to "Envy that would break him to Pieces." He aſked "what Knights the "King meant to make;" the Duke named them, all Perſons very eminent: The Chancellor ſaid, "no Man could except againſt the King's Choice; "many would juſtly, if He were added to the Number." He deſired his Highneſs "to put the King in Mind of the Earl of *Lindſey*, Lord High "Chamberlain of *England*" (with whom He was known to have no Friendſhip, on the contrary, that there had been Diſguſts between them in the laſt King's Time); "that his Father had loſt his Life with the *Garter* "about his Neck, when this Gentleman his Son, endeavouring to relieve him, "was taken Priſoner; that He had ſerved the King to the End of the War "with Courage and Fidelity, being an excellent Officer: For all which, the "King his Father had admitted him a Gentleman of his Bedchamber, which "Office He was now without: And not to have the *Garter* now upon his "Majeſty's Return, would in all Mens Eyes look like a Degradation, and "an Inſtance of his Majeſty's Diſeſteem; eſpecially if the Chancellor ſhould "ſupply the Place, who was not thought his Friend: And, upon the whole Matter, entreated the Duke "to reſerve his Favour towards him for ſome "other Occaſion, and excuſe him to the King for the declining this Ho-"nour, which He could not ſupport." The Duke replied with an offended Countenance, "that He ſaw He would not accept any Honour from "the King, that proceeded by his Mediation;" and ſo left him in apparent Diſpleaſure. However, at that Chapter the Earl of *Lindſey* was created Knight of the *Garter*, with the reſt; and coming afterwards to hear by what Chance it was, He ever lived with great Civility towards the Chancellor to his Death.

And when the Chancellor afterwards complained to his Majeſty "of "his Want of Care of him, in his ſo eaſily gratifying his Brother in a "Particular that would be of ſo much Prejudice to him," and ſo enlarged upon the Subject, and put his Majeſty in Mind of *Solomon's* Interrogation, "*who can ſtand againſt Envy?*" the King ſaid no more, than "that He "did really believe when He ſent his Brother, that He would refuſe it;" and added, "I tell you, Chancellor, that You are too ſtrict and apprehen-"ſive in thoſe Things, and truſt me, it is better to be envied than pitied." The Duke did not diſſemble his Reſentment, and told his Wife, "that "He took it very ill; that He deſired that the World might take Notice "of his Friendſhip to her Father, and that, after former Unkindneſs, He "was heartily reconciled to him; but that her Father cared not to have "that believed, nor would have it believed that his Intereſt in the King "was not enough, to have no Need of good Offices from the Duke:" Which Diſcourſe He uſed likewiſe to the Marquis of *Ormond* and others, who He thought would inform the Chancellor of it. And the Dutcheſs was much troubled at it, and took it unkindly of her Father, who thought himſelf obliged to wait upon his Royal Highneſs, and to vindicate himſelf

from that Folly He was charged with; in which He proteſted to him, "that He ſo abſolutely and entirely depended upon his Protection, that He "would never receive any Favour from the King, but by his Mediation and "Interpoſition:" To which the Duke anſwered, "that He ſhould ſee "whether He would have that Deference to him ſhortly."

AND it was not long before the Day for the Coronation was appointed, when the King had appointed to make ſome Barons, and to raiſe ſome who were Barons to higher Degrees of Honour; moſt of whom were Men not very grateful, becauſe They had been faulty, though They had afterwards redeemed what was paſt, by having performed very ſignal Services to his Majeſty, and were able to do him more: Upon which the King had reſolved to confer thoſe Honours upon them, and in Truth had promiſed it to them, or to ſome of their Friends, before He came from beyond the Seas. At this Time the Duke came to the Chancellor, and ſaid, "He "ſhould now diſcover whether He would be as good as his Word;" and ſo gave him a Paper, which was a Warrant under the King's Sign Manual to the Attorney General, to prepare a Grant, by which the Chancellor ſhould be created an Earl. To which, upon the Reading, He began to make Objections; when the Duke ſaid, "my Lord, I have thought fit to give you "this Earneſt of my Friendſhip, You may reject it if You think fit," and departed. And the Chancellor, upon Recollection, and Conference with his two Friends, the Treaſurer and the Marquis of *Ormond*, found He could not prudently refuſe it. And ſo, the Day or two before the Coronation, He was with the others created an Earl by the King in the *Banqueting-Houſe*; and, in the very Minute of his Creation, had an Earneſt of the Envy that would enſue, in the Murmurs of ſome, who were ancienter Barons, at the Precedence given to him before them, of which He was totally ignorant, it being reſolved by the King upon the Place, and the View of the Precedents of all Times, when any Officers of State were created with others. Yet one of the Lords concerned ſwore in the Ears of two or three of his Friends, at the ſame Time, "that He would be revenged for "that Affront;" which related not to the Chancellor's Precedence, for the other was no Baron, but for the Precedence given to another, whom He thought his Inferiour, and imputed the Partiality to his Power, who had not the leaſt Hand in it, nor knew it before it was determined. Yet the other was as good as his Word, and took the very firſt Opportunity that was offered for his Revenge.

He refuſed to be made an Earl.

But at length unwillingly conſented.

I will add one Inſtance more, ſufficient, if the other were away, to convince all Men, how far He was from being tranſported with that Ambition, of which He was accuſed, and for which He was condemned. After the firm Conjunction in the Royal Family was notorious, and all the neighbour Princes had ſent their ſplendid Embaſſies of Congratulation to the King, and deſired to renew all Treaties with this Crown, and the Parliament proceeded, how ſlowly ſoever, with great Duty and Reverence towards the King; the Marquis of *Ormond* (whom the King had by this Time made Duke of *Ormond*) came one Day to him, and being in private, ſaid, "He came to ſpeak to him of himſelf, and to let him know not only his own "Opinion, but the Opinion of his beſt Friends, with whom He had often "conferred upon the Argument: And that They all wondered, that He ſo "much affected the Poſt He was in, as to continue in the Office of Chancellor, "which took up moſt of his Time, eſpecially all the Mornings, in Buſineſs "that many other Men could diſcharge as well as He. Whereas He ought "to leave that to ſuch a Man as He thought fit for it, and to betake him-"ſelf

He was ſtrongly urged to reſign his Office of Chancellor.

"ſelf to that Province, which Nobody knew ſo well how to diſcharge. That "the Credit He had with the King was known to all Men, and that He did "in Truth remit that Province to him, which He would not own, and could "not diſcharge by the Multiplicity of the Buſineſs of his Office, which "was not of that Moment. That the King every Day took leſs Care of "his Affairs, and affected thoſe Pleaſures moſt which made him averſe "from the other. That He ſpent moſt of his Time with confident young "Men, who abhorred all Diſcourſe that was ſerious, and, in the Liberty "They aſſumed in Drollery and Raillery, preſerved no Reverence towards "God or Man, but laughed at all ſober Men, and even at Religion itſelf; "and that the Cuſtom of this Licenſe, that did yet only make the King "merry for the preſent, by Degrees would grow acceptable to him; "and that theſe Men would by Degrees have the Preſumption (which yet "They had not, nor would He in Truth then ſuffer it) to enter into his Bu-"ſineſs, and by adminiſtering to thoſe Exceſſes, to which his Nature and "Conſtitution moſt inclined him, would not only powerfully foment thoſe "Inclinations, but intermeddle and obſtruct his moſt weighty Counſels. "That, for the Prevention of all this Miſchief, and the preſerving the ex-"cellent Nature and Underſtanding of the King from being corrupted by "ſuch lewd Inſtruments, who had only a ſcurrilous Kind of Wit to pro-"cure Laughter, but had no Senſe of Religion, or Reverence for the Laws; "there was no Remedy in View, but his giving up his Office, and be-"taking himſelf wholly to wait upon the Perſon of the King, and to be "with him in thoſe Seaſons, when that looſe People would either abſtain from "coming, or, if They were preſent, would not have the Confidence to ſay "or do thoſe Things which They had been accuſtomed to do before the "King. By this Means, He would find frequent Opportunities to inform "the King of the true State of his Affairs, and the Danger He incurred, by "not throughly underſtanding them, and by being thought to be negligent "in the Duties of Religion and ſettling the Diſtractions in the Church; at "leaſt, He would do ſome Good in all theſe Particulars, or keep the Li-"cenſe from ſpreading farther, which in Time it would do, to the rob-"bing him of the Hearts of his People. That the King, from the long "Knowledge of his Fidelity, and the Eſteem He had of his Virtue, received "any Advertiſements and Animadverſions, and even ſuffered Reprehenſions, "from him, better than from any other Man; therefore He would be able "to do much Good, and to deſerve more than ever He had done from "the whole Kingdom. And He did verily believe, that this would be ac-"ceptable to the King himſelf, who knew He could not enough attend "to the many Things, which, being left undone, muſt much diſorder the "whole Machine of his Government, or, being ill done, would in Time "diſſolve it; and that his Majeſty would aſſign ſuch a liberal Allowance "for this Service, that He ſhould find himſelf well rewarded, and a great "Gainer by accepting it and putting off his Office."

And to aſſume the Character of Prime Miniſter.

Which would be more beneficial to him.

"He concluded, "That was the Deſire and Advice of all his Friends; "and that the Duke was ſo far of the ſame Judgment, that He reſolved to "be very inſtant with him upon it, and only wiſhed, that He ſhould firſt "break the Matter to him, that He might not be ſurpriſed when his "Royal Highneſs entered upon the Diſcourſe." And He added, "that "this Province muſt inevitably at laſt be committed to ſome one Man, who "probably would be without that Affection to the King's Perſon, that Expe-"rience in Affairs, and that Knowledge of the Laws and Conſtitution of the "Kingdom, as all Men knew to be in the Chancellor."

WHEN the Marquis had ended, with the Warmth of Friendſhip which was ſuperiour to any Temptation, and in which no Man ever excelled him, nor delivered what He had a Mind to ſay more clearly, or with a greater Weight of Words; the Chancellor ſaid, "that He did not much wonder "that many of his Friends, who had not the Opportunity to know him "enough, and who might propoſe to themſelves ſome Benefit from his un- "limited Greatneſs, might in Truth out of their Partiality to him, and "by their not knowing the King's Nature, believe, that his Warineſs and "Integrity, and his Knowledge of the Conſtitution of the Government and "the Nature of the People, would conduct the King's Counſels in ſuch a "Way, as would lead beſt to his Power and Greatneſs, and to the Good "and Happineſs of the Nation, which would be the only ſecure Support of "his Power and Authority. But that He, who knew both the King and "him ſo well, that no Man living knew either of them ſo well, ſhould be "of that Opinion He had expreſſed, was Matter of Admiration and Sur- "priſal to him." He appealed to him, "how often He had heard him "ſay to the King in *France*, *Germany*, and *Flanders*, when They two took "all the Pains They could to fix the King's Mind to a lively Senſe of his "Condition; *That He muſt not think now to recover his three Kingdoms by* "*the dead Title of his Deſcent and Right, which had been ſo notoriouſly baf-* "*fled and diſhonoured, but by the Reputation of his Virtue, Courage, Piety,* "*and Induſtry; that all theſe Virtues muſt center in himſelf, for that his* "*Fate depended upon his Perſon; and that the* Engliſh *Nation would ſooner* "*ſubmit to the Government of* Cromwell, *than to any other Subject who* "*ſhould be thought to govern the King. That* England *would not bear a Fa-* "*vourite, nor any one Man, who ſhould out of his Ambition engroſs to* "*himſelf the Diſpoſal of the publick Affairs.*"

HE ſaid, "He was more now of the ſame Mind, and was confident that "no honeſt Man, of a competent Underſtanding, would undertake that "Province; and that for his own Part, if a Gallows were erected, and if "He had only the Choice to be hanged or to execute that Office, He "would rather ſubmit to the firſt than the laſt. In the one, He ſhould "end his Life with the Reputation of an honeſt Man; in the other, He "ſhould die with Diſgrace and Infamy, let his Innocence be what it would." *But this He abſolutely refuſed.*

He put the Marquis in Mind, "how far the King was from obſerving the "Rules He had preſcribed to himſelf before He came from beyond the "Seas, and was ſo totally unbent from his Buſineſs and addicted to Plea- "ſures, that the People generally began to take Notice of it; that there "was little Care taken to regulate Expenſes, even when He was abſolutely "without Supply; that He would on a ſudden be overwhelmed with ſuch "Debts, as would diſquiet him, and diſhonour his Counſels;" of which the Lord Treaſurer was ſo ſenſible, that He was already weary of his Staff, before it had been in his Hands three Months. "That the Confidence the "King had in him, beſides the Aſſurance He had of his Integrity and In- "duſtry, proceeded more from his Averſion to be troubled with the Intri- "cacies of his Affairs, than from any Violence of Affection, which was "not ſo fixed in his Nature as to be like to tranſport him to any one Per- "ſon: And that as He could not, in ſo ſhort a Time, be acquainted with "many Men, whom in his Judgment He could prefer before the Chancellor "for the Managery of his Buſineſs, who had been ſo long acquainted with "it; ſo He would, in a ſhort Time, be acquainted with many, who would "by finding Fault with all that was done be thought much wiſer Men; it

"being one of his Majeſty's greateſt Infirmities, that He was apt to think too "well of Men at the firſt or ſecond Sight."

He ſaid, "whilſt He kept the Office He had (which could better bear "the Envy of the Bulk of the Affairs, than any other Qualification could) "and that it ſupported him in the Execution of it, the King felt not the "Burden of it; becauſe little of the Profit of it proceeded out of his "own Purſe, and, if He were dead to morrow, the Place ſtill muſt be "conferred upon another. Whereas, if He gave over that Adminiſtration, "and had Nothing to rely upon for the Support of himſelf and Family, "but an extraordinary Penſion out of the Exchequer, under no other Ti- "tle or Pretence but of being Firſt Miniſter (a Title ſo newly tranſlated out "of *French* into *Engliſh*, that it was not enough underſtood to be liked, "and every Man would deteſt it for the Burden it was attended with); "the King himſelf, who was not by Nature immoderately inclined to give, "would be quickly weary of ſo chargeable an Officer, and be very willing "to be freed from the Reproach of being governed by any (the very Suſpi- "cion whereof He doth exceedingly abhor) at the Price and Charge of the "Man, who had been raiſed by him to that inconvenient Height above other "Men. That whilſt He had that Seal, He could have Admiſſion to his "Majeſty as often as He deſired, becauſe it was more Eaſe to receive an "Account of his Buſineſs from him, than to be preſent at the whole De- "bate of it; and He well knew, the Chancellor had too much Buſineſs to "deſire Audiences from his Majeſty without neceſſary Reaſon. But if the "Office were in another Hand, and He ſhould haunt his Preſence with the "ſame Importunity as a Spy upon his Pleaſures, and a Diſturber of the Jollities "of his Meetings; his Majeſty would quickly be nauſeated with his Com- "pany, which for the preſent He liked in ſome Seaſons; and They, who "for the preſent had ſubmitted to ſome Conſtraint by the Gravity of his "Countenance, would quickly diſcover that their Talents were more ac- "ceptable, and by Degrees make him appear grievous to his Majeſty, and "ſoon after ridiculous. That all his Hope was, that the King would "ſhortly find ſome Lady fit to be his Wife, which all honeſt Men ought "to perſuade him to, and that being married, He made no Doubt, He "would decline many of thoſe Delights to which He was yet expoſed, "and which expoſed him too much; and till that Time He could not think "that his beſt Servants could enjoy any pleaſant Lives. That He pre- "ſumed the Parliament would, after They had raiſed Money enough to "diſband the Armies, and to pay off the Seamen" (towards Both which ſomewhat was every Day done, and Both which amounted to an incredi- ble and inſupportable Charge) "ſettle ſuch a Revenue upon the Crown, as "the King might conform his Expenſe to; and that it ſhould not be in "any Body's Power, to make that Revenue be eſteemed by him to be "greater, than in Truth it would be. That when theſe two Things "ſhould be brought to paſs, He did hope, that the King would take Plea- "ſure in making himſelf Maſter of every Part of his Buſineſs, and not "charge any one Man with a greater Share of it than He can diſcharge, or "than will agree with his own Dignity and Honour. In the mean Time," He beſought the Marquis, "that He would convert the Duke of *York* and all "other Perſons from that Opinion, which could not but appear erroneous "to himſelf by the Reaſons He had heard; and that if He could be brought "to conſent to what had been propoſed to him (and which rather than He "would do, He would ſuffer a thouſand Deaths), as it would inevitably "prove his own Ruin and Deſtruction, ſo it would bring an irreparable

"Damage to the King." And therefore He conjured him "to invite the "King by his own Example, and by aſſuming his own Share of the Work," which for ſome Time He had declined ſince the Return into *England*; "and by being himſelf conſtantly with his Majeſty, to whom He was ac- "ceptable at all Hours, He would obſtruct the Operation of that ill Com- "pany, which neither knew how to behave themſelves, nor could reaſon- "ably propoſe ſo much Benefit to themſelves, as by the Propagation of "their Follies and Villanies, and by Degrees induce his Majeſty more pro- "portionably to mingle his Buſineſs with his Pleaſures, which He could not "yet totally abandon."

THE Marquis could not deny, but that many of the Reaſons alleged by the Chancellor were of that Weight as ought to prevail with him; and therefore forbore ever after to preſs him upon the ſame Particular. And the Duke of *York* ſhortly undertook a Conference with him upon the ſame Argument, upon which the other durſt not enlarge with the ſame Freedom as He had done to the Marquis; both becauſe his Eyes could not bear the Proſpect of ſo many Things at once, as likewiſe that He knew He communicated with ſome Perſons, who, whatever They pretended, had Nothing like good Affection for him: So that He rather pacified his Royal Highneſs upon that Subject, and diverted him from urging it, than ſatisfied him with his Grounds. And others who wiſhed well to him, and better to the Publick, acquieſced with his peremptory Reſolution, without believing that He reſolved well either for his own Particular, or the King's Affairs; and did always think that He might have prevented his own Fate, if He had at that Time ſubmitted to the Judgment of his beſt Friends; though himſelf remained ſo poſitive to the contrary, that He often ſaid, "that He "would not have redeemed himſelf by that Expedient, and that He could "never have borne that Fate with that Tranquillity of Mind, which God "enabled him to do, if He had paſſed to it through that Province."

WHILST the general Affairs of *England*, by the long Debates in Parliament, remained thus unſettled, the King was no leſs troubled and perplexed how to compoſe his two other Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*; from Both which there were ſeveral Perſons of the beſt Condition of either Kingdom ſent, with the Tender and Preſentation of their Allegiance to his Majeſty, and expected his immediate Direction to free them from the Diſtractions they were in; and by taking the Government upon himſelf into his own Hands, to be freed from thoſe extraordinary Commiſſions, under which they had been Both governed with a Rod of Iron by the late Powers; the ſhifting of which from one Faction to another had adminiſtered no Kind of Variety to them, but they had remained ſtill under the ſame full Extent of Tyranny.

Commiſſioners ſent to the King from Scotland *and* Ireland.

THE whole Frame of the ancient Government of *Scotland* had been ſo entirely confounded by *Cromwell*, and new modelled by the Laws and Cuſtoms of *England*, that is, thoſe Laws and Cuſtoms which the Commonwealth had eſtabliſhed; that He had hardly left Footſteps by which the old might be traced out again. The Power of the Nobility was ſo totally ſuppreſſed and extinguiſhed, that their Perſons found no more Reſpect or Diſtinction from the common People, than the Acceptation They found from *Cromwell*, and the Credit He gave them by ſome particular Truſt, drew to them. Their beloved Preſbytery was become a Term of Reproach, and ridiculous; the Pride and Activity of their Preachers ſubdued, and reduced to the loweſt Contempt; and the Standard of their Religion remitted to the ſole Order and Direction of their Commander in chief. All criminal Caſes (except where the General thought it more expedient to proceed by martial

The State of Scotland *at that Time.*

Law) were tried and puniſhed before Judges ſent from *England*, and by the Laws of *England*; and Matters of civil Intereſt before itinerant Judges, who went twice a Year in Circuits through the Kingdom, and determined all Matters of Right by the Rules and Cuſtoms which were obſerved in *England*. They had Liberty to ſend a particular Number that was aſſigned to them to ſit in the Parliament of *England*, and to vote there with all Liberty; which They had done. And in Recompenſe thereof, all ſuch Monies were levied in *Scotland*, as were given by the Parliament of *England*, by which ſuch Contributions were raiſed, as were proportionable to the Expenſe, which the Army and Garriſons which ſubdued them put the Kingdom of *England* to. Nor was there any other Authority to raiſe Money in *Scotland*, but what was derived from the Parliament or General of *England*.

And all this prodigious Mutation and Transformation had been ſubmitted to with the ſame Reſignation and Obedience, as if the ſame had been tranſmitted by an uninterrupted Succeſſion from King *Fergus:* And it might well be a Queſtion, whether the Generality of the Nation was not better contented with it, than to return into the old Road of Subjection. But the King would not build according to *Cromwell's* Models, and had many Reaſons to continue *Scotland* within its own Limits and Bounds, and ſole Dependance upon himſelf, rather than unite it to *England* with ſo many Hazards and Dangers as would inevitably have accompanied it, under any Government leſs tyrannical than that of *Cromwell*. And the reſettling that Kingdom was to be done with much leſs Difficulty, than the other of *Ireland*, by Reaſon that all who appeared concerned in it or for it, as a Committee for that Kingdom, were united between themſelves, and did or did pretend to deſire the ſame Things. They all appeared under the Protection and Recommendation of the General; and their Dependance was the more upon him, becauſe He ſtill commanded thoſe Garriſons and Forces in *Scotland*, which kept them to their Obedience. And He was the more willing to give them a Teſtimony of their Affection to the King, and that without their Help He could not have been able to have marched into *England* againſt *Lambert*, that They might ſpeak the more confidently, "that They gave him that Aſſiſtance, becauſe They were well aſ-"ſured that his Intention was to ſerve the King:" Whereas They did indeed give him only what They could not keep from him, nor did They know any of his Intentions, or himſelf at that Time intend any Thing for the King. But it is very true, They were all either Men who had merited beſt from the King, or had ſuffered moſt for him, or at leaſt had acted leaſt againſt him, and (which They looked upon as the moſt valuable Qualification) They were all, or pretended to be, the moſt implacable Enemies to the Marquis of *Argyle*, which was the *Shibboleth* by which the Affections of that whole Nation were beſt diſtinguiſhed.

Some Account of the Scotch Commiſſioners.

Of the Earl of Selkirk.

The Chief of the Commiſſioners was the Lord *Selkirk*, a younger Son of the Marquis of *Douglaſs*, who had been known to the King in *France*, where He had been bred a *Roman Catholick*, which was the Religion of his Family, but had returned into *Scotland* after it had been ſubdued by *Cromwell*; and being a very handſome young Man, was eaſily converted from the Religion of his Father, in which He had been bred, to that of his elder Brother the Earl of *Angus*, that He might marry the Daughter and Heir of *James* Duke *Hamilton*, who from the Battle of *Worceſter*, where her Uncle Duke *William* was killed, had inherited the Title of Dutcheſs, with the fair Seat of *Hamilton*, and all the Lands which belonged to her Fa-

ther. And her Husband now, according to the Custom of *Scotland*, assumed the same Title with her, and appeared in the Head of the Commissioners under the Style of Duke *Hamilton*, with the Merit of having never differved the King, and with the Advantage of whatsoever his Wife could claim by the Death of her Father, which deserved to wipe out the Memory of whatever had been done amiss in his Life.

THE Earl of *Glencarne* was another of the Commissioners, a Man very well born and bred, and of very good Parts. As He had rendered himself very acceptable to the King, during his being in *Scotland*, by his very good Behaviour towards him, so even after that fatal Blow at *Worcester* He did not dissemble his Affection to his Majesty; but withdrawing himself into the *Highlands*, during the Time that *Cromwell* remained in *Scotland*, He sent over an Express to assure the King of his Fidelity, and that He would take the first Opportunity to serve him. And when upon his Desire *Middleton* was designed to command there, He first retired into the *Highlands*, and drew a Body of Men together to receive him. He was a Man of Honour, and good Principles as well with Reference to the Church as to the State, which few others, even of those which now appeared most devoted to the King, avowed to be; for the Presbytery was yet their Idol. From the Time that He had received a Protection and Safeguard from General *Monk*, after there was little Hope of doing Good by Force, He lived quietly at his House, and was more favoured by the General than any of those who spoke most loudly against the King, and was most trusted by him when He was at *Berwick* upon his March into *England*; and was now presented by him to the King, as a Man worthy of his Trust in an eminent Post of that Kingdom. *Of the Earl of Glencarne.*

WITH these there were others of less Name, but of good Affections and Abilities, who came together from *Scotland* as Commissioners; but They found others in *London* as well qualified to do their Country Service, and whose Names were wisely inserted in their Commission by those who assumed the Authority to send the other. The Earl of *Lautherdale*, who had been very eminent in contriving and carrying on the King's Service, when his Majesty was crowned in *Scotland*, and thereby had wrought himself into a very particular Esteem with the King, had marched with him into *England*, and behaved himself well at *Worcester*, where He was taken Prisoner; had, besides that Merit, the suffering an Imprisonment from that very Time with some Circumstances of extreme Rigour, being a Man against whom *Cromwell* had always professed a more than ordinary Animosity. And though the Scene of his Imprisonment had been altered according to the Alteration of the Governments which succeeded, yet He never found himself in complete Liberty till the King was proclaimed by the Parliament, and then He thought it not necessary to repair into *Scotland* for Authority or Recommendation; but sending his Advice thither to his Friends, He made Haste to transport himself with the Parliament Commissioners to the *Hague*, where He was very well received by the King, and left Nothing undone on his Part that might cultivate those old Inclinations, being a Man of as much Address and Insinuation, in which that Nation excels, as was then amongst them. He applied himself to those who were most trusted by the King with a marvellous Importunity, and especially to the Chancellor, with whom, as often as They had ever been together, He had had a perpetual War. He now magnified his Constancy with loud Elogiums, as well to his Face as behind his Back, remembered *Of the Earl of Lautherdale.*

"many ſharp Expreſſions formerly uſed by the Chancellor, which He con-
"feſſed had then made him mad, though upon Recollection afterwards
"He had found them to be very reaſonable." He was very polite in all his Diſcourſes, called himſelf and his Nation "a thouſand Traitors and Re-
"bels," and in his Diſcourſes frequently ſaid, "when I was a Traitor," or "when I was in Rebellion," and ſeemed not equally delighted with any Argument, as when He ſcornfully ſpake of the *Covenant*, upon which He brake a hundred Jeſts. In Sum, all his Diſcourſes were ſuch as pleaſed all the Company, who commonly believed all He ſaid, and concurred with him. He renewed his old Acquaintance and Familiarity with *Middleton* by all the Proteſtations of Friendſhip, aſſured him "of the unanimous De-
"ſire of *Scotland* to be under his Command," and declared to the King, "that He could not ſend any Man into *Scotland*, who would be able to do "him ſo much Service in the Place of Commiſſioner as *Middleton*, and "that it was in his Majeſty's Power to unite that whole Kingdom to his "Service as one Man." All which pleaſed the King well: So that, by the Time that the Commiſſioners appeared at *London*, upon ſome old Promiſe in *Scotland*, or new Inclination upon his long Sufferings, which He magnified enough, the King gave him the Signet, and declared him to be Secretary of State of that Kingdom; and at the ſame Time declared that *Middleton* ſhould be his Commiſſioner; the Earl of *Glencarne* his Chancellor; the Earl of *Rothes*, who was likewiſe one of the Commiſſioners, and his Perſon very agreeable to the King, Preſident of the Council; and conferred all other inferiour Offices upon Men moſt notable for their Affection to the old Government of Church and State.

Many of the great Offices of that Kingdom diſpoſed of.

And the firſt Propoſition that the Commiſſioners made after their Meeting together, and before They entered upon Debate of the Publick, was, "that his Majeſty would add to the Council of *Scotland*, which ſhould re-
"ſide near his Perſon, the Chancellor and Treaſurer of *England*, the Ge-
"neral, the Marquis of *Ormond*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, who ſhould be "always preſent when any Thing ſhould be debated and reſolved concerning "that Kingdom:" Which Deſire, ſo different from any that had been in Times paſt, perſuaded the King that their Intentions were very ſincere. Whatever Appearance there was of Unity amongſt them, for there was Nothing like Contradiction, there was a general Diſlike by them all of the Power *Lautherdale* had with the King, who They knew preſſed many Things without Communication with them, as He had prevailed that the Earl of *Crawford Lindſey* ſhould continue in the Office He formerly had of being High Treaſurer of that Kingdom, though He was known to be a Man incorrigible in his Zeal for the Preſbytery, and all the Madneſſes of Kirk, and not firm to other Principles upon which the Authority of the Crown muſt be eſtabliſhed; ſo that They could not ſo much as conſult in his Preſence of many Particulars of the higheſt Moment and Importance to the publick Settlement. Yet his having behaved himſelf well towards the King, whilſt He was in that Kingdom, and his having undergone great Perſecution under *Cromwell*, and profeſſing now all Obedience to his Majeſty, prevailed that He ſhould not be diſplaced upon his Majeſty's firſt Entrance upon his Government, but that a new Occaſion ſhould be attended to, which was in View, and when the King reſolved, without communicating his Purpoſe to *Lautherdale*, to confer that Office upon *Middleton*, when He ſhould have proceeded the firſt Stage in his Commiſſion; and of this his Reſolution He was graciouſly pleaſed to inform him.

Of the Earl of Crawford Lindſey.

The

THE Marquis of *Argyle* (without mentioning of whom there can hardly be any Mention of *Scotland*) though He was not of this Fraternity, yet thought He could tell as fair a Story for himſelf as any of the reſt, and contribute as much to the King's abſolute Power in *Scotland*. And therefore He had no ſooner unqueſtionable Notice of the King's being in *London*, but He made Haſte thither with as much Confidence as the reſt. But the Commiſſioners who were before him wrought ſo far with the King, that in the very Minute of his Arrival He was arreſted by a Warrant under the King's Hand, and carried to the *Tower*, upon a Charge of High Treaſon. *The Marquis of Argyle ſent to the Tower.*

HE was a Man like *Drances* in *Virgil*,

Largus Opum, et Linguâ melior, ſed frigida Bello
Dextera, Conſiliis habitus non futilis Auctor,
Seditione potens. *His Character.*

Without Doubt He was a Perſon of extraordinary Cunning, well bred; and though by the Ill-Placing of his Eyes, He did not appear with any great Advantage at firſt Sight, yet He reconciled even thoſe who had Averſion to him very ſtrangely by a little Converſation: Inſomuch as after ſo many repeated Indignities (to ſay no worſe) which He had put upon the late King, and when He had continued the ſame Affronts to the preſent King, by hindering the *Scots* from inviting him, and as long as was poſſible kept him from being received by them; when there was no Remedy, and that He was actually landed, no Man paid him ſo much Reverence and outward Reſpect, and gave ſo good an Example to all others, with what Veneration their King ought to be treated, as the Marquis of *Argyle* did, and in a very ſhort Time made himſelf agreeable and acceptable to him. His Wit was pregnant, and his Humour gay and pleaſant, except when He liked not the Company or the Argument. And though He never conſented to any one Thing of Moment, which the King aſked of him, and even in thoſe Seaſons in which He was uſed with moſt Rudeneſs by the Clergy, and with ſome Barbarity by his Son the Lord *Lorne*, whom He had made Captain of his Majeſty's Guard, to guard him from his Friends and from all who He deſired ſhould have Acceſs to him; the Marquis ſtill had that Addreſs, that He perſuaded him all was for the beſt. When the other Faction prevailed, in which there were likewiſe crafty Managers, and that his Counſels were commonly rejected, He carried himſelf ſo, that They who hated him moſt were willing to compound with him, and that his Majeſty ſhould not withdraw his Countenance from him. But He continued in all his Charges, and had a very great Party in that Parliament that was moſt devoted to ſerve the King; ſo that his Majeſty was often put to deſire his Help to compaſs what He deſired. He did heartily oppoſe the King's marching with his Army into *England*, the ill Succeſs whereof made many Men believe afterwards, that He had more Reaſons for the Counſels He gave, than They had who were of another Opinion. And the King was ſo far from thinking him his Enemy, that when it was privately propoſed to him by thoſe He truſted moſt, that He might be ſecured from doing Hurt when the King was marched into *England*, ſince He was ſo much againſt it; his Majeſty would by no Means conſent to it, but parted with him very graciouſly, as with One He expected good Service from. All which the Commiſſioners well remembered, and were very unwilling that He ſhould be again admitted into his Preſence, to make his own Excuſes for any Thing He could be charged with. And his Behaviour afterwards, and the good

Correſpondence He had kept with *Cromwell*, but eſpecially ſome confident Averments of ſome particular Words or Actions which related to the Murder of his Father, prevailed with his Majeſty not to ſpeak with him, which He laboured by many Addreſſes, in Petitions to the King and Letters to ſome of thoſe who were truſted by him, which were often preſented by his Wife and his Son, and in which He only deſired "to ſpeak with the King "or with ſome of thoſe Lords," pretending "that He ſhould inform and "communicate ſomewhat that would highly concern his Majeſty's Service." But the King not vouchſafing to admit him to his Preſence, the *Engliſh* Lords had no Mind to have any Conference with a Man who had ſo dark a Character, or to meddle in an Affair that muſt be examined and judged by the Laws of *Scotland:* And ſo it was reſolved, that the Marquis of *Argyle* ſhould be ſent by Sea into *Scotland*, to be tried before the Parliament there when the Commiſſioner ſhould arrive, who was diſpatched thither with the reſt of the Lords, as ſoon as the Seals and other Badges of their ſeveral Offices could be prepared. And what afterwards became of the Marquis is known to all Men; as it grew quickly to appear, that what Bitterneſs ſoever the Earl of *Lautherdale* had expreſſed towards him in his general Diſcourſes, He had in Truth a great Mind to have preſerved him, and ſo kept ſuch a Pillar of Preſbytery againſt a good Occaſion, which was not then ſuſpected by the reſt of the Commiſſioners.

Sent into Scotland to be tried.

THE Lords of the *Engliſh* Council, who were appointed to ſit with the *Scots*, met with them to conſult upon the Inſtructions which were to be given to the King's Commiſſioner, who was now created Earl of *Middleton*. The *Scots* ſeemed all reſolute and impatient to vindicate their Country from the Infamy of delivering up the laſt King (for all Things relating to the former Rebellion had been put in Oblivion by his late Majeſty's *Act of Indemnity* at his laſt being in *Scotland*) and ſtrictly to examine who of that Nation had contributed to his Murder, of which They were confident *Argyle* would be found very guilty. *Middleton* was very earneſt, "that He "might, for the Humiliation of the Preachers, and to prevent any unruly "Proceeding of theirs in their Aſſembly, begin with reſcinding the *Act of the* "*Covenant*, and all other Acts which had invaded the King's Power Eccleſiaſtical, and then proceed to the erecting of Biſhops in that Kingdom, ac"cording to the ancient Inſtitution:" And with him *Glencarne*, *Rothes*, and all the reſt (*Lautherdale* only excepted) concurred; and averred, "that it "would be very eaſily brought to paſs, becauſe the tyrannical Proceedings "of the Aſſemblies and their ſeveral Preſbyteries had ſo far incenſed Perſons "of all Degrees, that not only the Nobility, Gentry, and common People "would be glad to be freed from them, but that the moſt learned and beſt "Part of the Miniſters deſired the ſame, and to be ſubject again to the Bi"ſhops; and that there would be enough found of the *Scots* Clergy, very "worthy and very willing to ſupply thoſe Charges."

The Earl of Middleton *propoſes the Reeſtabliſhment of Epiſcopacy in* Scotland.

In which all the Commiſſioners concur except Lautherdale.

LAUTHERDALE, with a Paſſion ſuperiour to the reſt, inveighed againſt the *Covenant*, called "it a wicked, traiterous Combination of Rebels againſt their "lawful Sovereign, and expreſsly againſt the Laws of their own Country; pro"teſted his own hearty Repentance for the Part He had acted in the Promotion "thereof, and that He was confident that God, who was Witneſs of his Re"pentance, had forgiven him that foul Sin: That no Man there had a "greater Reverence for the Government by Biſhops than He himſelf had; "and that He was moſt confident, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* could "never be happy in itſelf, nor ever be reduced to a perfect Submiſſion and "Obedience to the King, till the Epiſcopal Government was again eſta-

"bliſhed there. The Scruple that only remained with him, and which "made him differ with his Brethren, was, of the Manner how it ſhould be "attempted, and of the Time when it ſhould be endeavoured to be brought "to paſs." And then with his uſual Warmth when He thought it neceſſary to be warm (for at other Times He could be as calm as any Man, though not ſo naturally) He deſired "that the Commiſſioner might have no "Inſtruction for the preſent to make any Approach towards either; on the "contrary, that He might be reſtrained from it by his Majeſty's ſpecial Di- *Who artfully*
"rection: For though his own Prudence, upon the Obſervation He ſhould *attempts to get it delayed.*
"quickly make when He came thither, would reſtrain him from doing any "Thing which might be inconvenient to his Majeſty's Service; yet without "that He would hardly be able to reſtrain others, who for Want of Under-"ſtanding, or out of Ill-Will to particular Men, might be too forward to "ſet ſuch a Deſign on Foot."

HE deſired "that in the firſt Seſſion of Parliament no farther Attempt "might be made, than in Purſuance of what had been firſt mentioned, the "vindicating their Country from all Things which related to the Murder "of the late King, which would comprehend the Delivery up of his Perſon, "the aſſerting the King's Royal Power, by which all future Attempts towards "Rebellion would be prevented, and the Trial of the Marquis of *Argyle*; "all which would take up more Time than Parliaments in that Kingdom, "till the late ill Times, had uſed to continue together. That after the Ex-"piration of the firſt Seſſion, in which a good Judgment might be made of "the Temper of that Kingdom, and the Commiſſioner's Prudence might "have an Influence upon many leading Men to change their preſent Tem-"per, ſuch farther Advance might be made for the Reformation of the "Kirk as his Majeſty ſhould judge beſt; and then He made no Doubt, but "all would by Degrees be compaſſed in that Particular which could be de-"ſired, and which was the more reſolutely to be deſired, becauſe He ſtill "confeſſed that the King could not be ſecure nor the Kingdom happy, till "the Epiſcopal Government could be reſtored. But He undertook to know "ſo well the Nature of that People" (though He had not been in that Kingdom ſince his Majeſty left it) "that if it were undertaken preſently, "or without due Circumſtances in preparing more Men than could in a "ſhort Time be done, it would not only miſcarry, but with it his Majeſty "be diſappointed of many of the other Particulars, which He would otherwiſe "be ſure to obtain."

HE named many of the Nobility and leading Men, who He ſaid "were ſtill ſo infatuated with the *Covenant*, that They would with equal "Patience hear of the Rejection of the four Evangeliſts, who yet, by Con-"verſation and other Information and Application, might in Time be "wrought upon." He frequently appealed to the King's own Memory, and Obſervation when He was in that Kingdom, "how ſuperſtitious They, "who were moſt devoted to do him Service, and were at his Diſpoſal in all "Things, were towards the *Covenant:* That all They did for him, which "was all that He deſired them to do, was looked upon as the Effects of thoſe "Obligations which the *Covenant* had laid upon them." He appealed to the General ("who" He ſaid "knew *Scotland* better than any one Man of "that Nation could pretend to do) whether He thought this a proper Sea-"ſon to attempt ſo great a Change in that Kingdom, before other more "preſſing Acts were compaſſed; and whether He did not know, that the "very preſſing the Obligations in the *Covenant* lately in *England* had not "contributed very much to the Reſtoration of the King, which the *London*

"niſters confidently urged at preſent as an Argument for his Indulgence "towards them. And," He ſaid, "though He well knew, that his Ma- "jeſty was fully reſolved to maintain the Government of the Church of "*England* in its full Luſtre, which He thanked God for, being in his "Judgment the beſt Government Eccleſiaſtical in the World; yet He could "not but obſerve, that the King's Prudence had yet forborne to make any "new Biſhops, and had upon the Matter ſuſpended the *Engliſh Liturgy* "by not enjoining it, out of Indulgence to Diſſenters, and to allow them "Time to conſider and to be well informed and inſtructed in thoſe Forms, "which had been for ſo many Years rejected or diſcontinued, that the Peo- "ple in general and many Miniſters had never ſeen or heard it uſed: So "that the *Presbyterians* here remained ſtill in Hope of his Majeſty's Favour "and Condeſcenſion, that They ſhould be permitted to continue their own "Forms, or no Forms, in their Devotions and publick Worſhip of God. "In Conſideration of all which, He thought it very incongruous, and ſome- "what againſt his Majeſty's Dignity, ſuddenly and with Precipitation to be- "gin and attempt ſuch an Alteration in *Scotland*, againſt a Government "that had more Antiquity there, and was more generally ſubmitted to "and accepted, than it had been in *England*, before He himſelf had de- "clared his own Judgment againſt it in this Kingdom; which He preſumed "He would ſhortly do, and which would be the beſt Introduction to the "the ſame in *Scotland*, where all the King's Actions and Determinations "would be looked upon with the higheſt Veneration."

He concluded, "that if the other more vigorous Courſe ſhould be re- "ſolved upon, the Marquis of *Argyle* would be very glad of it; for though "He was generally odious to all Degrees of Men, yet He was not ſo much "hated as the *Covenant* was beloved and worſhipped: And that when They "ſhould diſcern that They muſt be deprived of that, They would rather de- "ſire to preſerve Both. And therefore," He ſaid, "his Advice ſtill was, "that He ſhould be firſt out of the Way, who was looked upon as the Up- "holder of the *Covenant* and the chief Pillar of the Kirk, before any viſible "Attempt ſhould be made againſt the other, which would aſſuredly be "done by Degrees.

Many Particulars in this Diſcourſe confidently urged, and with more Advantage of Elocution than the Fatneſs of his Tongue, that ever filled his Mouth, uſually was attended with, ſeemed reaſonable to many, and worthy to be anſwered; and his frequent Appeals to the King, in which there were always ſome ridiculous Inſtances of the Uſe made of the *Covenant*, with Reference to the Power of the Preachers in the domeſtick Affairs of other Men, and the like, (which though it made it the more odious, was ſtill Argument of the Reverence that was generally paid to it, all which Inſtances were well remembered by theKing, who commonly added others of the ſame Standard from his own Memory) made his Majeſty in Suſpenſe, or rather inclined that Nothing ſhould be attempted that concerned the Kirk till the next Seſſion of Parliament, when *Lautherdale* himſelf confeſſed it might be ſecurely effected. To this the General ſeemed to incline, not a little moved by what had been ſaid of *Argyle* to whom He was no Friend, but much more by the Diſadvantage which might ariſe, by a precipitate Proceeding in *Scotland*, to the Preſbyterian Party here, and eſpecially to the Preachers, to whom He wiſhed well for his Wife's Sake, or rather for his own Peace with his Wife, who was deeply engaged to that People for their ſeaſonable Determination of ſome nice Caſes of Conſcience, whereby

His Diſcourſe makes ſome Impreſſion on the King.

whereby He had been induced to repair a Treſpaſs He had committed, by marrying her; which was an Obligation never to be forgotten.

MIDDLETON, and moſt of the *Scots* Lords, were highly offended by the Preſumption of *Lautherdale*, in undertaking to know the Spirit and Diſpoſition of a Kingdom which He had not ſeen in ten Years; and eaſily diſcerned that his affected Raillery and Railing againſt the *Covenant*, and his magnifying Epiſcopal Government, were but Varniſh to cover the Rottenneſs of his Intentions, till He might more ſecurely and efficaciouſly manifeſt his Affection to the one, and his Malignity to the other. They contradicted poſitively all that He had ſaid of the Temper and Affections of *Scotland*, and named many of thoſe Lords, who had been mentioned by him as the moſt zealous Aſſerters of the *Covenant*, "who" They undertook "ſhould upon the firſt Opportunity declare their Abomination of it to the "World; whereof They knew there were ſome who had written againſt it, "and were reſolved to publiſh it as ſoon as They might do it with Safety." They adviſed his Majeſty, "that He would not chooſe to do his Buſineſs by "Halves, when He might with more Security do it all together, and the "dividing it would make Both the more difficult. However," They beſought him, "to put no ſuch Reſtraint, as had been ſo much preſſed, "upon his Commiſſioner, that though He ſhould find the Parliament moſt "inclined to do that now, which every Body confeſſed neceſſary to be "done at ſome Time, He ſhould not accept their Good-Will, but hinder "them from purſuing it, as very ungrateful to the King; which," They ſaid, "would be a greater Countenance to and Confirmation of the *Cove-* "*nant* than it had ever yet received, and a greater Wound to Epiſcopacy." And that indeed was conſented to by all. And thereupon the King reſolved to put Nothing like Reſtraint upon his Commiſſioner from effecting that He wiſhed might be done to morrow if it could be, but to leave it entirely to his Prudence to judge of the Conjuncture, with Caution "not "to permit it to be attempted, if He ſaw it would be attended with any ill "Conſequence or Hazard to his Service." And ſo the Commiſſioner, with the other Officers for *Scotland*, were diſmiſſed to their full Content; and therewith the King was at preſent eaſed, by having ſeparated one very important Affair from the Crowd of the reſt, which remained to perplex him.

Middleton and the other Lords diſcover Lautherdale's Deſign.

And prevent it.

THAT in *Ireland* was much more intricate, and the Intricacy in many Reſpects ſo involved, that Nobody had a Mind to meddle with it. The Chancellor had made it his humble Suit to the King, "that no Part of it "might ever be referred to him;" and the Duke of *Ormond* (who was moſt concerned in his own Intereſt that all Mens Intereſts in that Kingdom might be adjuſted, that He might enjoy his, which was the greateſt of all the reſt) could not ſee any Light in ſo much Darkneſs, that might lead him to any Beginning. The King's Intereſt had been ſo totally extinguiſhed in that Kingdom for many Years paſt, that there was no Perſon of any Conſideration there, who pretended to wiſh that it were revived. At *Cromwell's* Death, and at the Depoſition of *Richard*, his younger Son *Harry* was inveſted in the full Authority, by being Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The two Preſidents of the two Provinces, were the Lord *Broghill* in that of *Munſter*, and Sir *Charles Coote* in that of *Conaught*; Both equally depending upon the Lieutenant: And They more depended upon him and courted his Protection, by their not loving one another, and being of ſeveral Complexions and Conſtitutions, and Both of a long Averſion to the King by Multiplications of Guilt. When *Richard* was thrown out, the ſupreme Power of the Militia was veſted in *Ludlow*, and all the civil Juriſdiction in Perſons

The State of Ireland at that Time.

who had been Judges of the King, and poſſeſſed ample Fortunes, which They could no longer hold than their Authority ſhould be maintained. But the two Preſidents remained in their ſeveral Provinces with their full Power, either becauſe They had not deſerved to be ſuſpected, or becauſe They could not eaſily be removed, being ſtill ſubject to the Commiſſioners at *Dublin*. The next Change of Government removed *Ludlow* and the reſt of that deſperate Crew, and committed the Government to others of more moderate Principles, yet far enough from wiſhing well to the King. In thoſe Revolutions Sir *Charles Coote* took an Opportunity to ſend an Expreſs to the King, who was then at *Bruſſels*, with the Tender of his Obedience, with great Cautions as to the Time of appearing; only deſired "to have ſuch Commiſſions in his Hands as might be applied "to his Majeſty's Service in a proper Conjuncture," which were ſent to him, and never made Uſe of by him. He expreſſed great Jealouſy of *Broghill*, and an Unwillingneſs that He ſhould know of his Engagement. And the Alterations ſucceeded ſo faſt one upon another, that They Both choſe rather to depend upon General *Monk* than upon the King, imagining, as They ſaid afterwards, "that He intended Nothing but the King's Reſto-"ration, and beſt knew how to effect it." And by ſome private Letter, for there was no Order ſent, to *Coote* and ſome other Officers there, "that "They would adhere to his Army for the Service of the Parliament againſt "*Lambert*," *Coote* found Aſſiſtance to ſeize upon the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and the Perſons of thoſe who were in Authority, who were impriſoned by them, and the Government ſettled in that Manner as They thought moſt agreeable to the Preſbyterian Humour, until the General was declared Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who then ſent Commiſſions to the ſame Perſons, who as ſoon as the King was proclaimed, ſent their Commiſſioners to the King, who were called Commiſſioners from the State, and brought a Preſent of Money to the King from the ſame, with all Profeſſions of Duty which could be expected from the beſt Subjects.

Commiſſioners from the different Parties in Ireland.

THESE were the Lord *Broghill*, Sir *Audly Mervin*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality, much the greater Number whereof had been always notorious for the Diſſervice They had done the King; but upon the Advantage of having been diſcountenanced, and ſuffered long Impriſonment and other Damages, under *Cromwell*, They called themſelves the King's Party, and brought Expectations with them to be looked upon and treated as ſuch. Amongſt them was a Brother, and other Friends, made Choice of and more immediately truſted by Sir *Charles Coote*, who remained in the Caſtle of *Dublin*, and preſided in that Council that ſupplied the Government, and was thought to have the beſt Intereſt in the Army as well as in his own Province. "And theſe Men" He ſaid "had been privy "to the Service He meant to have done the King, and expected the Per-"formance of ſeveral Promiſes He had then made them by Virtue of ſome "Authority had been ſent to him to aſſure thoſe, who ſhould join with "him to do his Majeſty Service." All theſe Commiſſioners from the State had Inſtructions, to which They were to conform in deſiring Nothing from the King, but "the ſettling his own Authority amongſt them, the order-"ing the Army, the reviving the Execution of the Laws, and ſettling the "Courts of Juſtice" (all which had been diſſolved in the late Uſurpation), "and "ſuch other Particulars as purely related to the Publick." And their publick Addreſſes were to this and no other Purpoſe. But then to their private Friends, and ſuch as They deſired to make their Friends, moſt of them had many Pretences of Merit, and many Expedients by which the King might

1. *Commiſſioners from the State.*

reward them, and out of which They would be able liberally to gratify their Patrons. And by this Means all who ſerved the King were furniſhed with Suits enough to make their Fortunes, in which They preſently engaged themſelves with very troubleſome Importunity to the King himſelf, and to all others who They thought had Credit or Power to advance their Deſires. Nor was there any other Art ſo much uſed by the Commiſſioners in their ſecret Conferences, as to deprave one another, and to diſcover the ill Actions They had been guilty of, and how little They deſerved to be truſted, or had Intereſt to accompliſh. The Lord *Broghill* was the Man of the beſt Parts, and had moſt Friends by his great Alliance to promiſe for him. And He appeared very generous, and to be without the leaſt Pretence to any Advantage for himſelf, and to be ſo wholly devoted to the King's Intereſt and to the eſtabliſhing of the Government of the Church, that He quickly got himſelf believed. And having free Acceſs to the King, by mingling Apologies for what He had done with Promiſes of what He would do, and utterly renouncing all thoſe Principles as to the Church or State (as He might with a good Conſcience do) which made Men unfit for Truſt, He made himſelf ſo acceptable to his Majeſty, that He heard him willingly, becauſe He made all Things eaſy to be done and compaſſed; and gave ſuch Aſſurances to the Bedchamber Men, to help them to good Fortunes in *Ireland*, which They had Reaſon to deſpair of in *England*, that He wanted not their Teſtimony upon all Occaſions, nor their Defence and Vindication, when any Thing was reflected upon to his Diſadvantage or Reproach.

2. *Deputies from the Biſhops and Clergy.*

2. THERE were many other Deputies of ſeveral Claſſes in *Ireland*, who thought their Pretences to be as well grounded, as theirs who came from the State. There were yet ſome Biſhops alive of that Kingdom, and other grave Divines, all ſtript of their Dignities and Eſtates, which had been diſpoſed of by the uſurping Power to their Creatures. And all They (ſome whereof had ſpent Time in Baniſhment near the King, and others more miſerably in their own Country and in *England*, under the Charity of thoſe who for the moſt Part lived by the Charity of others) expected, as They well might, to be reſtored to what in Right belonged to them; and beſought his Majeſty "to uſe all poſſible Expedition to eſtabliſh the Go-"vernment of that Church as it had always been, by ſupplying the empty "Sees with new Prelates in the Place of thoſe who were dead, that all "the Schiſms and wild Factions in Religion, which were ſpread over that "whole Kingdom, might be extirpated and rooted out." All which Deſires were grateful to the King, and according to his Royal Intentions, and were not oppoſed by the Commiſſioners from the State, who all pretended to be Wellwiſhers to the old Government of the Church, and the more by the Experience They had of the Diſtractions which were introduced by that which had ſucceeded it, and by the Confuſion They were now in without any. Only Sir *John Clotworthy* (who, by the Exerciſe of very ordinary Faculties in ſeveral Employments, whilſt the Parliament retained the ſupreme Power in their Hands, had exceedingly improved himſelf in Underſtanding and Ability of Negotiation) diſſembled not his old Animoſity againſt the Biſhops, the Croſs, and the Surplice, and wiſhed that all might be aboliſhed; though He knew well that his Vote would ſignify Nothing towards it. And that Spirit of his had been ſo long known, that it was now imputed to Sincerity and Plaindealing, and that He would not diſſemble (which many others were known to do, who had the ſame Malignity with him); and was the leſs ill thought of, becauſe in all other Reſpects

ſpects He was of a generous and a jovial Nature, and complied in all Deſigns which might advance the King's Intereſt or Service.

3. A Committee deputed by the Adventurers.

3. THERE appeared likewiſe a Committee deputed by the *Adventurers* to ſolicit their Right, which was the more numerous by the Company of many Aldermen and Citizens of the beſt Quality, and many honeſt Gentlemen of the Country; who all deſired "that their Right might not be diſ-"turbed, which had been ſettled by an Act of Parliament ratified by the "laſt King before the Troubles; and that if it ſhould be thought juſt, that "any of the Lands of which They ſtood poſſeſſed ſhould be taken from them, "upon what Title ſoever, They might firſt be put into the Poſſeſſion of other "Lands of equal Value, before They ſhould be diſpoſſeſſed of what They had "already." All that They made Claim to ſeemed to be confirmed by an Act of Parliament. The Caſe was this: When the Rebellion firſt brake out in *Ireland*, the Parliament then ſitting, and there being ſo much Money to be raiſed and already raiſed for the Payment of and diſbanding two Armies, and for the compoſing or compounding the Rebellion of *Scotland*, where the King was at that Time; it had been propounded, "that the War of *Ireland* might "be carried on at the Charges of particular Men, and ſo all Impoſition "upon the People might be prevented, if an Act of Parliament were paſſed "for the Satisfaction of all thoſe who would advance Monies for the War, "out of the Lands which ſhould become forfeited."

An Account of thoſe Adventurers.

AND this Propoſition being embraced, an Act was prepared to that Purpoſe; in which it was provided, "that the forfeited Lands in *Leinſter*, "*Munſter*, *Conaught*, and *Ulſter*, ſhould be valued at ſuch ſeveral Rates "by the Acre, and how many Acres in either ſhould be aſſigned for the "Satisfaction of one hundred Pounds, and ſo proportionally for greater "Sums. That for all Monies which ſhould be ſubſcribed within ſo many Days "(beyond which Time there ſhould be no more Subſcriptions) for that Service, "one Moiety thereof ſhould be paid to the Treaſurer appointed, within "few Days, for the preſent Preparations; and the other Moiety be paid "within ſix Months, upon the Penalty of loſing all Benefit from the firſt "Payment. That when God ſhould ſo bleſs their Armies (which They "doubted not of) that the Rebels ſhould be ſo near reduced, that They "ſhould be without any Army or viſible Power to ſupport their Rebellion; "there ſhould a Commiſſion iſſue out, under the Great Seal of *England*, "to ſuch Perſons as ſhould be nominated by the Parliament, who ſhould "take the beſt Way They could in their Diſcretion think fit, to be in-"formed, whether the Rebels were totally ſubdued and ſo the Rebellion "at an End. And upon their Declaration, that the Work was fully done "and the War finiſhed, other Commiſſions ſhould likewiſe iſſue out, in "the ſame Manner, for the convicting and attainting all thoſe who were "guilty of the Treaſon and Rebellion by which their Eſtates were become "forfeited; and then other Commiſſions, for the Diſtribution of the forfeited "Lands to the ſeveral *Adventurers*, according to the Sums of Money ad-"vanced by them. The King was to be reſtrained from making any Peace "with the *Iriſh* Rebels, or Ceſſation, or from granting Pardon to any "of them; but ſuch Peace, Ceſſation, or Pardon ſhould be looked upon "as void and null."

THIS Act the King had conſented to and confirmed in the Year 1641, and in the Agony of many Troubles which that Rebellion had brought upon him, thinking it the only Means to put a ſpeedy End to that accurſed Rebellion, the Suppreſſion whereof would free him from many Difficulties. And upon the Security of this Act, very many Perſons of all

Qualities and Affections ſubſcribed and brought in the firſt Moiety of their Money, and were very properly ſtyled *Adventurers*. Great Sums of Money were daily brought in, and Preparations and Proviſions and new Levies of Men were made for *Ireland*. But the Rebellion in *England* being ſhortly after fomented by the Parliament, They applied very much of that Money brought in by the *Adventurers*, and many of the Troops which had been raiſed for that Service, immediately againſt the King: Which being notoriouſly known, and his Majeſty complaining of it, many honeſt Gentlemen who had ſubſcribed and paid one Moiety, refuſed to pay in the other Moiety at the Time, and ſo were liable to loſe the Benefit of their Adventure; which They preferred before ſuffering their Money to be applied to the carrying on the Rebellion againſt the King, which They abhorred. And by this Means *Ireland* was unſupplied; and the Rebellion ſpread and proſpered with little Oppoſition for ſome Time. And the Parliament, though the Time for ſubſcribing was expired, enlarged it by Ordinances of their own to a longer Day, and eaſily prevailed with many of their own Party, principally Officers and Citizens, to ſubſcribe and bring in their Money; to which it was no ſmall Encouragement, that ſo many had loſt the Benefit of their whole Adventure by not paying in the ſecond Payment, which would make the Conditions of the new *Adventurers* the leſs hazardous.

WHEN the Succeſs of the Parliament had totally ſubdued the King's Arms, and himſelf was ſo inhumanly murdered, neither the Forces in *Ireland* under the King's Authority, or the *Iriſh*, who had too late promiſed to ſubmit to it, could make any long Reſiſtance; ſo that *Cromwell* quickly diſperſed them by his own Expedition thither: And by licenſing as many as deſired it to tranſport as many from thence, for the Service of the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, as They would contract for, quickly made a Diſappearance of any Army in that Kingdom to oppoſe his Conqueſts. And after the Defeat of the King at *Worceſter*, He ſeemed to all Men to be in as quiet a Poſſeſſion of *Ireland* as of *England*, and to be as much without Enemies in the one as the other Kingdom; as in a ſhort Time He had reduced *Scotland* to the ſame Exigent.

SHORTLY after that Time, when *Cromwell* was inveſted with the Office of Protector, all thoſe Commiſſions were iſſued out, and all the Formality was uſed that was preſcribed by that Act for the *Adventurers*. Not only all the *Iriſh* Nation (very few excepted) were found guilty of the Rebellion, and ſo to have forfeited all their Eſtates; but the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Inchiquin*, and all the *Engliſh Catholicks*, and whoſoever had ſerved the King, were declared to be under the ſame Guilt; and the Lands ſeized upon for the Benefit of the State. There were very vaſt Arrears of Pay due to the Army, a great Part of which (now the War was ended) muſt be diſbanded; for the doing whereof no Money was to be expected out of *England*, but They muſt be ſatisfied out of the Forfeitures of the other Kingdoms. The whole Kingdom was admeaſured; the Accounts of the Money paid by the *Adventurers* within the Time limited, and what was due to the Army for their Pay, were ſtated; and ſuch Proportions of Acres in the ſeveral Provinces were aſſigned to the *Adventurers* and Officers and Soldiers, as were agreeable to the Act of Parliament, by Admeaſurement. Where an Officer of Name had been likewiſe an *Adventurer*, his Adventure and his Pay amounted to the more. And ſometimes the whole Company and Regiment contracted for Money with their Captains or Colonels, and aſſigned their Intereſt in Land to them; and Poſſeſſion was accordingly

delivered without any Reſpect to any Titles by Law to former Settlements, or Deſcents of any Perſons ſoever, Wives or Children; except in ſome very few Caſes, where the Wives had been great Heirs and could not be charged with any Crime, ſuch Proportions were aſſigned as were rather agreeable to their own Conveniences, than to Juſtice and the Right of the Claimers.

And that every Body might with the more Security enjoy that which was aſſigned to him, They had found a Way to have the Conſent of many to their own Undoing. They found the utter Extirpation of the Nation (which They had intended) to be in itſelf very difficult, and to carry in it ſomewhat of Horrour, that made ſome Impreſſion upon the Stone-Hardneſs of their own Hearts. After ſo many Thouſands deſtroyed by the Plague which raged over the Kingdom, by Fire, Sword, and Famine; and after ſo many Thouſands tranſported into foreign Parts; there remained ſtill ſuch a numerous People, that They knew not how to diſpoſe of: And though They were declared to be all forfeited, and ſo to have no Title to any Thing, yet They muſt remain ſomewhere. They therefore found this Expedient, which they called an *Act of Grace*. There was a large Tract of Land, even to the Half of the Province of *Conaught*, that was ſeparated from the reſt by a long and a large River, and which by the Plague and many Maſſacres remained almoſt deſolate. Into this Space and Circuit of Land They required all the *Iriſh* to retire by ſuch a Day, under the Penalty of Death; and all who ſhould after that Time be found in any other Part of the Kingdom, Man, Woman, or Child, ſhould be killed by any Body who ſaw or met them. The Land within this Circuit, the moſt barren in the Kingdom, was out of the Grace and Mercy of the Conquerors aſſigned to thoſe of the Nation who were encloſed, in ſuch Proportions as might with great Induſtry preſerve their Lives. And to thoſe Perſons, from whom They had taken great Quantities of Land in other Provinces, They aſſigned the greater Proportions within this Precinct; ſo that it fell to ſome Mens Lot, eſpecially when They were accommodated with Houſes, to have a competent Livelihood, though never to the fifth Part of what had been taken from them in a much better Province. And that They might not be exalted with this merciful Donative, it was a Condition that accompanied this their Accommodation, that They ſhould all give Releaſes of their former Rights and Titles to the Land that was taken from them, in Conſideration of what was now aſſigned to them; and ſo They ſhould for ever bar themſelves and their Heirs from ever laying Claim to their old Inheritance. What ſhould They do? They could not be permitted to go out of this Precinct to ſhift for themſelves elſewhere; and without this Aſſignation They muſt ſtarve here, as many did die every Day of Famine. In this deplorable Condition, and under this Conſternation, They found themſelves obliged to accept or ſubmit to the hardeſt Conditions of their Conquerors, and ſo ſigned ſuch Conveyances and Releaſes as were prepared for them, that They might enjoy thoſe Lands which belonged to other Men.

And by this Means the Plantation (as They called it) of *Conaught* was finiſhed, and all the *Iriſh* Nation encloſed within that Circuit; the reſt of *Ireland* being left to the *Engliſh*; ſome to the old Lords and juſt Proprietors, who being all *Proteſtants* (for no *Roman Catholick* was admitted) had either never offended them, or had ſerved them, or had made Compoſition for their Delinquencies by the Benefit of ſome Articles; and ſome to the *Adventurers* and Soldiers. And a good and great Part (as I remember, the whole Province of *Tiperary*) *Cromwell* had reſerved to himſelf, as a Demeſne (as He called it) for the State, and in which no *Adventurer* or Soldier ſhould

demand his Lot to be aſſigned, and no Doubt intended both the State and it for the making great his own Family. It cannot be imagined in how eaſy a Method, and with what peaceable Formality, this whole great Kingdom was taken from the juſt Lords and Proprietors, and divided and given amongſt thoſe, who had no other Right to it but that They had Power to keep it; no Men having ſo great Shares as They who had been Inſtruments to murder the King, and were not like willingly to part with it to his Succeſſor. Where any great Sums of Money for Arms, Ammunition, or any Merchandiſe, had been ſo long due that they were looked upon as deſperate, the Creditors ſubſcribed all thoſe Sums as lent upon Adventure, and had their Satisfaction aſſigned to them as *Adventurers*. *Ireland* was the great Capital, out of which all Debts were paid, all Services rewarded, and all Acts of Bounty performed. And which is more wonderful, all this was done and ſettled, within little more than two Years, to that Degree of Perfection, that there were many Buildings raiſed for Beauty as well as Uſe, orderly and regular Plantations of Trees, and Fences and Encloſures raiſed throughout the Kingdom, Purchaſes made by one from the other at very valuable Rates, and Jointures made upon Marriages, and all other Conveyances and Settlements executed, as in a Kingdom at Peace within itſelf, and where no Doubt could be made of the Validity of Titles. And yet in all this Quiet, there were very few Perſons pleaſed or contented.

AND theſe Deputies for the *Adventurers*, and for thoſe who called themſelves *Adventurers*, came not only to aſk the King's Conſent and Approbation of what had been done (which They thought in Juſtice He could not deny, becauſe all had been done upon the Warrant of a legal Act of Parliament) but to complain "that Juſtice had not been equally done in the "Diſtributions; that this Man had received much leſs than was his Due, and "others as much more than was their Due; that one had had great Quantities "of Bogs and waſte Land aſſigned to him as tenantable, and another as "much allowed as Bogs and Waſte, which in Truth were very tenantable "Lands." And upon the whole Matter, They all deſired "a Review might "be made, that Juſtice might be done to all;" every Man expecting an Addition to what He had already, not ſuſpecting that any Thing would be taken from him to be reſtored to the true Owner.

AND this Agitation raiſed another Party of *Adventurers*, who thought They had at leaſt as good a Right as any of the other; and that was, They, or the Heirs and Executors of them, who upon the firſt making of the Act of Parliament, had ſubſcribed ſeveral good Sums of Money, and paid in their firſt Moieties; but the Rebellion coming on, and the Monies already paid in being notoriouſly and viſibly employed contrary to the Act, and againſt the Perſon of the King himſelf, They had out of Conſcience forborne to pay the ſecond Moiety, leſt it might alſo be ſo employed; whereby, according to the Rigour of the Law, They loſt the Benefit of the firſt Payment. And They had hitherto ſuſtained that Loſs, with many other, without having ever applied themſelves for Relief. "But now "when it had pleaſed God to reſtore the King, and ſo many who had not "deſerved very well deſired Help from the King upon the Equity of that "Act of Parliament, where the Letter of the Law would do them no "Good, They preſumed to think, that by the Equity of the Law They "ought to be ſatisfied for the Money They did really pay; and that They "ſhould not undergo any Damage for not paying the other Moiety, which "out of Conſcience and for his Majeſty's Service They had forborne to do." No Man will doubt but that the King was very well inclined to gratify this

Another Claſs of Adventurers appears.

Claſſis of *Adventurers*, when He ſhould find it in his Power. But it is Time to return to the Committee and Deputies of the other Parties in that diſtracted Kingdom.

4. A Committee from the Army.

4. THERE was a Committee ſent from the Army that was in preſent Pay in *Ireland* "for the Arrears due to them," which was for above a Year's Pay; moſt of thoſe who had received Satisfaction in Land for what was then due to them, as well Officers as Soldiers, being then diſbanded, that They might attend their Plantations and Huſbandry, but in Truth becauſe They were for the moſt Part of the Preſbyterian Faction, and ſo ſuſpected by *Cromwell* not to be enough inclined to him. The Army now on Foot, and to whom ſo great Arrears were due, conſiſted for the greateſt Part of *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Levellers*, who had correſponded with and been directed by the General, when He marched from *Scotland* againſt *Lambert:* And therefore He had adviſed the King to declare, "that He "would pay all Arrears due to the Army in *Ireland*, and ratify the Satisfac- "tion that had been given to *Adventurers*, Officers and Soldiers there;" which his Majeſty had accordingly ſignified by his Declaration from *Breda*. And whoever conſiders the Temper and Conſtitution of that Army then on Foot in that Kingdom, and the Body of *Preſbyterians* that had been diſbanded, and remained ſtill there in their Habitations, together with the Body of *Adventurers*, all *Presbyterians* or *Anabaptiſts*; and at the ſame Time remembers the Diſpoſition and general Affection of the Army in *England*, ſevered from their Obedience to the General and the good Affection of ſome few ſuperiour Officers; will not wonder that the King endeavoured if it had been poſſible rather to pleaſe all, than by any unſeaſonable Diſcovery of a Reſolution, how juſt ſoever, to make any Party deſperate; there being none ſo inconſiderable, as not to have been able to do much Miſchief.

5. A Committee from the Officers who had ſerved the King.

5. THE Satisfaction that the Officers and Soldiers had received in Land, and the Demand of the preſent Army, had cauſed another Committee to be ſent and employed by thoſe reformed Officers, who had ſerved the King under the Command of the Marquis of *Ormond*, from the Beginning of the Rebellion to the End thereof, with Courage and Fidelity; and had ſince ſhifted beyond the Seas, and ſome of them in his Majeſty's Service, or ſuffered patiently in that Kingdom under the Inſolence of their Oppreſſors; who, becauſe They had always fought againſt the *Iriſh*, were by Articles, upon their laying down their Arms when They could no longer hold them in their Hands, permitted to remain in their own Houſes, or ſuch as They could get within that Kingdom. Theſe Gentlemen thought it a very incongruous Thing, "that They who had conſtantly fought againſt the King's "Father and himſelf, ſhould receive their Pay and Reward by his Majeſty's "Care, Bounty and Aſſignation; and that They who had as conſtantly "fought for Both, ſhould be left to undergo all Want and Miſery now his "Majeſty was reſtored to his own." And They believed their Suit to be the more reaſonable, at leaſt the eaſier to be granted, by having brought an Expedient with them to facilitate their Satisfaction. There had been ſome old Order or Ordinance that was looked upon as a Law, whereby it was provided, that all Houſes within Cities or Corporate Towns, which were forfeited, ſhould be reſerved to be ſpecially diſpoſed of by the State, or in ſuch a Manner as it ſhould direct, to the End that all Care might be taken what Manner of Men ſhould be the Inhabitants of ſuch important Places: And therefore ſuch Houſes had not been nor were to be promiſcuouſly aſſigned to *Adventurers*, Officers, or Soldiers, and ſo remained hitherto

undiſpoſed of. And theſe reformed Officers of the King made it their Suit, that thoſe Houſes might be aſſigned to them in Proportions, according to what might appear to be due to their ſeveral Conditions and Degrees in Command. And to this Petition, which might ſeem equitable in itſelf, the Commiſſioners from the State gave their full Approbation and Conſent, being ready to take all the Opportunities to ingratiate themſelves towards thoſe whom They had oppreſſed as long as They were able, and to be reputed to love the King's Party.

6. LASTLY, there was a Commmittee for or rather the whole Body of the *Iriſh Catholicks*, who, with leſs Modeſty than was ſuitable to their Condition, demanded in Juſtice to be reſtored to all the Lands that had been taken from them; alleging "that They were all at leaſt as innocent as "any of them were, to whom their Lands had been aſſigned." They urged "their early Submiſſion to the King, and the Peace They had firſt made "with the Marquis of *Ormond*, by which an Act of Indemnity had been "granted for what Offences ſoever had been committed, except ſuch in "which none of them were concerned." They urged "the Peace They "had made with the Marquis of *Ormond* upon this King's firſt coming to the "Crown, wherein a Grant of Indemnity was again renewed to them;" and confidently, though very unſkilfully, preſſed "that the Benefit of all thoſe "Articles which were contained in that Peace, might ſtill be granted and "obſerved to them, ſince They had done Nothing to infringe or forfeit "them, but had been oppreſſed and broken as all his Majeſty's other "Forces had been." They urged "the Service They had done to the "King beyond the Seas, having been always ready to obey his Commands, "and ſtayed in or left *France* or *Spain* as his Majeſty had commanded them, "and were for the laſt two Years received and liſted as his own Troops, "and in his own actual Service, under the Duke of *York*." They preſſed "the intolerable Tyranny They had ſuffered under, now almoſt twenty "Years; the Maſſacres and Servitude They had undergone, ſuch Devaſta-"tion and laying waſte their Country, ſuch bloody Cruelty and Executions "inflicted on them, as had never been known nor could be paralleled "amongſt Chriſtians: That their Nation almoſt was become deſolated, and "their Sufferings of all Kind had been to ſuch an Extent, that They "hoped had ſatiated their moſt implacable Enemies." And therefore They humbly beſought his Majeſty, "that in this general Joy for his Majeſty's "bleſſed Reſtoration, and in which Nobody could rejoice more than They, "when all his Majeſty's Subjects of his two other Kingdoms (whereof many "were not more innocent than themſelves) had *their Mouths filled with* "*Laughter*, and had all their Hearts could deſire, the poor *Iriſh* alone "might not be condemned to perpetual Weeping and Miſery by his Majeſty's "own immediate Act." Amongſt theſe, with the ſame Confidence, They who had been tranſplanted into *Conaught* appeared, related the Circumſtances of the Perſecution They had undergone, and "how impoſſible it "had been for them to refuſe their Submiſſion to that They had no Power "to reſiſt; and therefore that it would be againſt all Conſcience to allege "their own Conſent, and their Releaſes and other Grants, which had They "not conſented to in that Point of Time, They, their Wives and Children, "could not have lived four and twenty Hours." All theſe Particulars were great Motives to Compaſſion, and diſpoſed his Majeſty's Heart to wiſh that any Expedient might be found, which might conſiſt with Juſtice and neceſſary Policy, that though it might not make them very happy, yet might preſerve them from Miſery, until He ſhould hereafter find ſome

6. *A Committee for the* Roman Catholicks.

Opportunity to repair their Condition according to their ſeveral Degrees and Merit.

The King greatly perplexed with theſe contradictory Addreſſes.

THESE ſeveral Addreſſes being preſented to his Majeſty together, before any Thing was yet ſettled in *England*, and every Party of them finding ſome Friends, who filled the King's Ears with ſpecious Diſcourſes on their Behalf for whom They ſpake, and with bitter Invectives againſt all the reſt; He was almoſt confounded how to begin, and in what Method to put the Examination of all their Pretences, that He might be able to take ſuch a View of them, as to be able to apply ſome Remedy, that might keep the Diſeaſe from increaſing and growing worſe, until He could find ſome Cure. He had no Mind the Parliament ſhould interpoſe and meddle in it, which would have been grateful to no Party; and by good Fortune They were ſo full of Buſineſs that They thought concerned them nearer, that They had no Mind to examine or take Cognizance of this of *Ireland*, which They well knew properly depended upon the King's own Royal Pleaſure and Commands. But theſe Addreſſes were all of ſo contradictory a Nature, ſo inconſiſtent with each other, and ſo impoſſible to be reconciled, that if all *Ireland* could be ſold at its full Value (that is, if Kingdoms could be valued at a juſt Rate) and find a fit Chapman or Purchaſer to diſburſe the Sum, it could not yield Half enough to ſatisfy Half their Demands; and yet the King was not in a Condition poſitively to deny any one Party that which They deſired.

THE Commiſſioners from the State, in Reſpect of their Quality, Parts and Intereſt, and in Regard of their Miſſion and Authority, ſeemed the moſt proper Perſons to be treated with, and the moſt like to be prevailed upon not to inſiſt upon any Thing that was moſt profoundly unreaſonable. They had all their own juſt Fears, if the King ſhould be ſevere; and there would have been a general Concurrence in all the reſt, that He ſhould have taken a full Vengeance upon them: But then They who had moſt Cauſe to fear, thought They might raiſe their Hopes higheſt from that Power that ſent them, and which had yet Intereſt enough to do Good and Hurt; and They thought themſelves ſecure in the King's Declaration from *Breda* and his Offer of Indemnity, which comprehended them. Then They were all deſirous to merit from the King; and their not loving one another, diſpoſed them the more to do any Thing that might be grateful to his Majeſty. But They were all united and agreed in one unhappy Extreme, that made all their other Devotion leſs applicable to the publick Peace, that is, their implacable Malice to the *Iriſh*: Inſomuch as They concurred in their Deſire, that They might gain Nothing by the King's Return, but be kept with the ſame Rigour, and under the ſame Incapacity to do Hurt, which They were till then. For which Inſtance They were not totally without Reaſon, from their barbarous Behaviour in the firſt Beginning of the Rebellion, which could not be denied, and from their having been compelled to ſubmit to and undergo the moſt barbarous Servitude, that could not be forgotten. And though Eradication was too foul a Word to be uttered in the Ears of a Chriſtian Prince, yet it was little leſs or better that They propoſed in other Words, and hoped to obtain: Whereas the King thought that miſerable People to be as worthy of his Favour, as moſt of the other Parties; and that his Honour, Juſtice and Policy, as far as they were unreſtrained by Laws and Contracts, obliged him more to preſerve them, at leaſt as much as He could. And yet it can hardly be believed, how few Men, in all other Points very reaſonable, and who were far from Cruelty in their Nature, cheriſhed that Inclination in the King;

but thought it in him, and more in his Brother, to proceed from other Reaſons than They publiſhed: Whilſt others, who pretended to be only moved by Chriſtian Charity and Compaſſion, were more cruel towards them, and made them more miſerable, by extorting great Engagements from them for their Protection and Interceſſion, which being performed would leave them in as forlorn a Condition as They were found.

IN this Intricacy and Perplexity, the King thought it neceſſary to begin with ſettling his own Authority in one Perſon over that Kingdom, who ſhould make Haſte thither, and eſtabliſh ſuch a Council there, and all Courts of Juſtice, and other civil Officers, as might beſt contribute towards bringing the reſt in Order. And to this Purpoſe He made Choice of ſeveral Perſons of the Robe, who had been known by or recommended to the Marquis of *Ormond*, but of more by the Advice and Promotion of *Daniel O Neile* of his Bedchamber, who preferred a Friend of his and an *Iriſhman* to the Office of Attorney General, a Place in that Conjuncture of vaſt Importance to the Settlement, and many other to be Judges. And all this Liſt was made and ſettled without the leaſt Communication with the Chancellor, who might have been preſumed to be eaſily informed of that Rank of Men. But to find a Perſon fit to ſend thither in the ſupreme Authority, was long deliberated by the King, and with Difficulty to be reſolved. The General continued Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, which He had no Mind to quit, for He had a great Eſtate there, having for ſome Time been General of that Army, and received for the Arrears of his Pay, and by *Cromwell's* Bounty, and by ſome Purchaſes He made of the Soldiers, an Eſtate of at leaſt four thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, which He thought He could beſt preſerve in the ſupreme Government; though He was willing to have it believed in the City and the Army, that He retained it only for the Good of the *Adventurers*, and that the Soldiers might be juſtly dealt with for their Arrears. Whatſoever his Reaſon was, as Profit was the higheſt Reaſon always with him, whoever was to be Deputy muſt be ſubordinate to him, which no Man of the greateſt Quality would be, though He was to have his Commiſſion from the King, and the ſame Juriſdiction in the Abſence of the Lieutenant. There were ſome few fit for the Employment, who were not willing to undertake it; and many who were willing to undertake it, but were not fit.

The General continues Lord Lieutenant.

UPON the View of thoſe of all Sorts, the King moſt inclined to the Lord *Roberts*, who was a Man of more than ordinary Parts, well verſed in the Knowledge of the Laws, and eſteemed of Integrity not to be corrupted by Money. But then He was a ſullen moroſe Man, intolerably proud, and had ſome Humours as inconvenient as ſmall Vices, which made him hard to live with, and which were afterwards more diſcovered than at that Time foreſeen. He had been in the Beginning of the Rebellion a leading Man in their Councils, and a great Officer in their Army, wherein He expreſſed no Want of Courage. But after the Defeat of the Earl of *Eſſex* his Army in *Cornwall*, which was imputed to his Poſitiveneſs and Undertaking for his County, the Friendſhip between him and that Earl was broken. And from that Time He did not only quit his Command in the Army, but declined their Councils, and remained for the moſt Part in the Country; where He cenſured their Proceedings, and had his Converſation moſt with thoſe who were known to wiſh well to the King, and who gave him a great Teſtimony, as if He would be glad to ſerve his Majeſty upon the firſt Opportunity. The Truth is, the Wickedneſs of the ſucceeding Time was ſo much ſuperiour and overſhadowed all that had been done before, that

They who had only been in Rebellion with the Earl of *Eſſex*, looked upon themſelves as innocent, and juſtified their own Allegiance, by loading the Memory of *Cromwell* with all the Reproaches and Maledictions imaginable. The greateſt Exception that the King had to the Lord *Roberts*, who was already of the Privy Council by the Recommendation and Inſtance of the General, was, that He was generally eſteemed a *Presbyterian*, which would make him unfit for that Truſt for many Reaſons; beſides that He would not cheerfully act the King's Part in reſtoring and advancing the Government of the Church, which the King was reſolved to ſettle with all the Advantages which He could contribute towards it. Nor did the Lord *Roberts* profeſs to be an Enemy to Epiſcopacy.

BEFORE the King would make any publick Declaration of his Purpoſe, He ſent the Lord Treaſurer and the Chancellor, who were moſt acquainted with him, to confer freely with him, and to let him know the good Eſteem his Majeſty had of him, and of his Abilities to ſerve him. "That the "Government of *Ireland* would require a very ſteady and a prudent Man: "That the General did not intend to go into that Kingdom, and yet would "remain Lieutenant thereof, from which Office his Majeſty knew not how "nor thought it ſeaſonable to remove him, and therefore that the Place muſt "be ſupplied by a Deputy; for which Office the King thought him the "moſt fit, if it were not for one Objection, which He had given them "Leave to inform him of particularly, there being but one Perſon more "privy to his Majeſty's Purpoſe, who was the Marquis of *Ormond*; and "that He might conclude, that the King was deſirous to receive Satisfaction "to his Objection, by the Way He took to communicate it to him." And then They told him "that He had the Reputation of being a *Presbyterian*, "and that his Majeſty would take his own Word, whether He was or "was not one."

HE anſwered without any Kind of Ceremony, to which He was not devoted, or ſo much as acknowledging the King's Favour in his Enquiry, "That no *Presbyterian* thought him to be a *Presbyterian*, or that He "loved their Party. He knew them too well. That there could be no "Reaſon to ſuſpect him to be ſuch, but that which might rather induce "Men to believe him to be a good *Proteſtant*, that He went conſtantly to "Church as well in the Afternoons as Forenoons on the *Sundays*, and on "thoſe Days forbore to uſe thoſe Exerciſes and Recreations, which He uſed "to do all the Week beſide." He deſired them "to aſſure the King, that "He was ſo far from a *Presbyterian*, that He believed Epiſcopacy to be the "beſt Government the Church could be ſubject to." They aſked him then, "whether He would be willing to receive that Government of De-"puty of *Ireland*, if the King were willing to confer it upon him." There He let himſelf to fall to an Acknowledgment of the King's Goodneſs, "that "He thought him worthy of ſo great an Honour:" But He could not conceal the Diſdain He had of the General's Perſon, nor how unwilling He was to receive Orders from him, or to be an Officer under his Command. They told him, "that there would be a Neceſſity of a good Correſpondence "between them, both whilſt They ſtayed together in *England*, and when "He ſhould be in *Ireland*; but beyond that there would be no Obligation "upon him, for that He was to receive his Commiſſion immediately from "the King, containing as ample Powers as were in the Lieutenant's own "Commiſſion: That He was not the Lieutenant's Deputy, but the King's; "only that his Commiſſion ceaſed when the Lieutenant ſhould be upon the "Place, which He was never like to be." Upon the whole Matter,

though it appeared that the Superiority was a great Mortification to him, He ſaid, "that He referred himſelf wholly to the King to be diſpoſed of "as He thought beſt for his Service, and that He would behave himſelf "with all poſſible Fidelity to him."

UPON this Report made to the King, ſhortly after his Majeſty in Council declared, "that He had made the Lord *Roberts* Deputy of *Ireland*," and then charged him, "that He would prepare as ſoon as was poſſible for "his Journey thither, when thoſe Officers, who were deſigned by him for "the civil Juſtice of the Kingdom, ſhould be ready to attend upon him; "and in the mean Time that He would ſend the Commiſſioners, and all "others who ſolicited any Thing that had Reference to *Ireland*, to wait upon "him, to the End, that He being well informed of the Nature and "Conſiſtency of the ſeveral Pretences, and of the general State of the "Kingdom, might be the better able to adviſe his Majeſty upon the whole "Matter, and to preſcribe, for the entering upon it by Parts, ſuch a Me-"thod, that his Majeſty might with leſs Perplexity give his own Determi-"nation in thoſe Particulars, which muſt chiefly depend upon himſelf and his "Direction." Thus the King gave himſelf a little Eaſe, by referring the Groſs to the Lord Deputy, in whoſe Hands we ſhall for the preſent leave it, that We may take a View of the other Particulars that more immediately related to *England*; though We ſhall be ſhortly called back again to *Ireland*, which enjoyed little Repoſe in the Hands in which it was put.

Lord Roberts *made Deputy of* Ireland.

THE Parliament ſpent moſt of the Time upon the *Act of Indemnity*, in which private Paſſions and Animoſities prevailed very far; one Man contending to preſerve this Man, who though amongſt the fouleſt Offenders, had done him ſome Courteſy in the Time of his Power; and another with as much Paſſion and Bitterneſs endeavouring to have another condemned, who could not be diſtinguiſhed from the whole Herd by any infamous Guilt, and who had diſobliged him, or refuſed to oblige him, when it was in his Power to have done it. The King had poſitively excepted none from Pardon, becauſe He was to refer the Whole to them; but had clearly enough expreſſed, that He preſumed that They would not ſuffer any of thoſe who had ſate as Judges upon his Father, and condemned him to be murdered, to remain alive. And the guilty Perſons themſelves made ſo little Doubt of it, that They made what Shift They could to make their Eſcape into the Parts beyond the Seas, and many of them had tranſported themſelves; whilſt others lay concealed for other Opportunities; and ſome were apprehended when They endeavoured to fly, and ſo were impriſoned.

Tranſactions in Parliament concerning the Act of Indemnity.

THE Parliament publiſhed a Proclamation, "that all who did not ren-"der themſelves by a Day named, ſhould be judged as guilty, and at-"tainted of Treaſon;" which many conſented to, conceiving it to amount to no more than a common Proceſs at Law to bring Men to Juſtice. But it was no ſooner out, than all They who had concealed themſelves in Order to be tranſported, rendered themſelves to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and were by him committed to the *Tower*. And the Houſe conceived itſelf engaged to ſave thoſe Mens Lives, who had put themſelves into their Power upon that Preſumption. The Houſe of Peers inſiſted upon it in many Conferences, that the Proclamation could bear no ſuch Interpretation; but as it condemned all who by flying declined the Juſtice of the Kingdom, ſo it admitted as many as would appear to plead their own Innocence, which if They could prove They would be ſafe. But the guilty, and with them the Houſe of Commons, declared, "that They could not "but underſtand, that They who rendered themſelves ſhould be in a better

"Condition than They who fled beyond the Seas, which They were not in "any Degree, if They were put upon their Trial; for to be tried and to be "condemned was the ſame Thing, ſince the Guilt of all was equally no- "torious and manifeſt." And this Kind of Reaſoning prevailed upon the Judgments and Underſtandings of many, who had all Manner of Deteſtation for the Perſons of the Men. In the End, the Houſe of Peers after long Conteſts was obliged to conſent, "that all the Perſons who were fled, and "thoſe who had not rendered themſelves, ſhould be brought to a Trial and "attainted according to Law, together with thoſe who were or ſhould be "taken;" whereby They would forfeit all their Eſtates to the King: "But "for thoſe who had rendered themſelves upon the Faith of the Parliament," as They called it, "They ſhould remain in ſuch Priſons as his Majeſty thought "fit during their Lives, and neither of them be put to Death without "Conſent of Parliament."

But then as by this Means too many of thoſe impious Perſons remained alive, and ſome others who were as bad as any, were upon ſome Teſtimony of the General, and by other Interpoſitions of Friends upon the Allegation of Merit and Services, preſerved, with the King's Conſent too eaſily obtained, ſo much as from Attainder; ſo to make ſome Kind of Amends for this unhappy Lenity, They reſolved to except a Multitude of thoſe They were moſt angry with from Pardon as to their Eſtates, and to fine others in great Sums of Money; when worſe Men, at leaſt as bad, of either *Claſſis* were exempted, as included, by the Power of their Friends who were preſent in the Debate. And this Contradiction and Faction brought ſuch a Spirit into the Houſe, as diſturbed all other Counſels; whilſt Men, who wiſhed well enough to the Matter propoſed, oppoſed the paſſing it, to croſs other Men who had refuſed to agree with them in the pardoning or not pardoning of Perſons: Which Diſſention divided the Houſe into great Animoſities. And without Doubt, the King's Credit and Authority was at that Time ſo great in the Houſe of Commons, that He could have taken full Vengeance upon many of thoſe with whom He had Reaſon to be offended, by cauſing them to be exempted from Pardon, or expoſed to ſome Damage of Eſtate. And there wanted not many, who uſed all the Credit They had, to inflame the King to that Retaliation and Revenge.

And it was then and more afterwards imputed to the Chancellor, that there were no more Exceptions in the *Act of Indemnity*, and that He laboured for Expedition of paſſing it, and for excluding any extraordinary Exceptions; which Reproach He neither then or ever after was ſolicitous to throw off. But his Authority and Credit, though He at that Time was generally eſteemed, could not have prevailed in that Particular (wherein there were few Men without ſome Temptation to Anger and Indignation, and none more than He, who had undergone Injuries and Indignities from many Men then alive) but that it was very evident to the King himſelf, and to all diſpaſſioned Men, that no Perſon was ſo much concerned, though all were enough, that there ſhould be no longer Delay in paſſing the *Act of Indemnity*, as the King himſelf was; there being no Progreſs made in any other Buſineſs, by the Diſorder and ill Humour that grew out of that. There was no Attempt to be made towards diſbanding the Army, until the *Act of Indemnity* ſhould be firſt paſſed; nor could They begin to pay off the Navy, till They were ready to pay off the Arrears of the Army. This was the *Remora* in all the Counſels; whilſt there wanted not thoſe, who infuſed Jealouſies into the Minds of the Soldiers, and into the City, "that the King had no Pur- "poſe ever to conſent to the *Act of Indemnity*," which was looked upon as

The King concerned at the Delays in paſſing it.

the only univerſal Security for the Peace of the Nation: And till that was done, no Man could ſay that He dwelt at Home, nor the King think himſelf in any good Poſture of Security. And therefore no Man was more impatient, and more inſtant in Council and Parliament, to remove all Cauſes which obſtructed that Work, than the Chancellor. And He put the King in Mind, "how much He had oppoſed ſome Clauſes and Expreſſions "which were in the Declaration and Letters from *Breda*," which notwithſtanding were inſerted, as moſt agreeable to the General's Advice; and that He then ſaid to his Majeſty, in the Preſence of thoſe who were conſulted with, "that it would come to his Turn to inſiſt upon the Performance "of thoſe Conceſſions, which He was againſt the making of, when many "others would oppoſe them, which may-be at that preſent would adviſe "much larger:" Which his Majeſty acknowledged to be true, and confeſſed upon many Occaſions. And the Chancellor did in Truth conceive, that the King's taking Advantage of the good Inclinations of the Houſe to him, to diſpoſe them to fall upon many Perſons, who were Men of another *Claſſis* to thoſe He deſired might be excepted (and of which Proſpect there could be no End, every Man having Cauſe to fear his own Security by what He ſaw his Neighbour ſuffer who was as innocent) was directly contrary to the Senſe and Integrity of his Declaration, and therefore to be avoided; and that all Things were to be done by him that might facilitate and advance the diſbanding, that ſo the Peace of the Kingdom might again depend upon the civil Juſtice and Magiſtrates thereof. And all Men who underſtood in how tickliſh a Condition it then ſtood, concurred in that Advice.

He interpoſes with the Parliament.

AND this was the Reaſon that the King uſed his Authority, and They who were truſted by him their Credit and Intereſt, for the ſuppreſſing thoſe Animoſities, which had irreconciled many Perſons between themſelves who were of publick Affections, by the Nomination of particular Perſons whoſe Eſtates ſhould be made liable to Penalties, the impoſing of which muſt again depend upon the Parliament; which, beſides the Conſumption of Time which was very precious, would renew and continue the ſame Spirit of Diviſion, which already had done too much Miſchief, and would inevitably have done much more. But by this Temper and Compoſition the *Act of Indemnity* was finiſhed, paſſed the Houſe of Peers, and received the Royal Aſſent, to the wonderful Joy of the People. And preſent Orders were given for the diſbanding the Army and Payment of the Navy, as faſt as Money came in, for which ſeveral Acts of Parliament were formerly paſſed. And by the former Delays, the intolerable Burden both of Army and Navy lay upon the Kingdom near ſix Months after the King's Return, and amounted not to ſo little as one hundred thouſand Pounds by the Month; which raiſed a vaſt Debt that was called the King's, who had inceſſantly deſired to have it prevented from the firſt Hour of his Arrival.

And gets it paſſed.

AFTER the *Bill of Indemnity* was paſſed, with ſome other as important Acts for the publick Peace, (as the preſerving thoſe Proceedings, which had been in Courts of Juſtice for near twenty Years, from being ravelled into again as void or invalid, becauſe they had been before Judges not legally qualified, which would have brought an intolerable Burden upon the Subject; and ſome other Acts) the Parliament was willing to adjourn for ſome Time; that their Members, who were appointed to attend the diſbanding the Army in ſeveral Places, and the Payment of the Navy, might be abſent with leſs Inconvenience: And the King was as willing to have ſome Eaſe. And ſo it was adjourned for a Month or ſix Weeks; in which Time, and

The Parliament adjourned.

even in the Middle of the diſbanding, there happened a very ſtrange Accident, that was Evidence enough of the Temper or Diſtemper of the Time.

THE Trial of thoſe infamous Perſons who were in Priſon for the Murder of the King (and who were appointed by the *Act of Indemnity* to be proceeded againſt with Rigour, and who could not be tried till that Vote was paſſed) was no ſooner over; and the Perſons executed with ſome of the ſame Crew, who being in *Holland* and *Flanders* were, by the Permiſſion and Connivance of the Magiſtrates, taken by the King's Miniſters there, and brought into *England*, and put to Death with their Companions; but the People of that *Claſſis* who were called *Fanaticks*, diſcovered a wonderful Malignity in their Diſcourſes, and Vows of Revenge for their innocent Friends. They cauſed the Speeches They had made at their Deaths to be printed, in which there was Nothing of Repentance or Sorrow for their Wickedneſs, but a Juſtification of what They had done for the Cauſe of God; and had ſeveral Meetings to conſult of the beſt Way to attempt their Revenge, and of bringing themſelves into the ſame Poſture of Authority and Power, which They formerly had. The diſbanding the Army ſeemed a good Expedient to contribute to their Ends: And They doubted not, but as faſt as They diſbanded They would repair to them, which They could not ſo well do till then, becauſe of the many new Officers who had been lately put over them; and to that Purpoſe They had their Agents in ſeveral Regiments to appoint Rendezvouſes. They had Conference of aſſaſſinating the General, "who" They ſaid "had betrayed them, and was the only "Perſon who kept the Army together."

Venner raiſes an Inſurrection of the Fanaticks in London.

MATTERS being in this State, and ſome of their Companions every Day taken and impriſoned upon Diſcovery of their Purpoſes, the King being gone to *Portſmouth*, and the Parliament adjourned, They appointed a Rendezvous in ſeveral Places of *London* at twelve of the Clock in the Night; the ſame being aſſigned to their Friends in the Country. They had not Patience to make Uſe of the Silence of the Night, till They could draw their ſeveral Bodies together. But their ſeveral Rendezvouſes no ſooner met, than They fell into Noiſe and Exclamation, "that all Men ſhould take "Arms to aſſiſt the LORD JESUS CHRIST;" and when the Watch came towards them, They reſolutely defended themſelves, and killed many of thoſe who came to aſſault them: So that the Alarum was in a ſhort Time ſpread over the City, and from thence was carried to *Whitehall*, where the Duke of *York* was and the General, with a Regiment of Guards and ſome Horſe, which were quickly drawn together.

SIR *Richard Browne* was then Lord Mayor of *London*, a very ſtout and vigilant Magiſtrate, who was equally feared and hated by all the ſeditious Party, for his extraordinary Zeal and Reſolution in the King's Service. Nor was there any Man in *England*, who did raze out the Memory of what He had formerly done amiſs, with a more ſignal Acknowledgment, or a more frank and generous Engagement againſt all Manner of Factions, which oppoſed or obſtructed his Majeſty's Service; which made him terrible and odious to all, and to none more than to the *Presbyterians*, who had formerly ſeduced him. Upon the Alarum, which of itſelf had ſcattered many of the Conſpirators as They were going to or were upon the Places to which They were aſſigned, He was quickly upon his Horſe, accompanied with as many Soldiers, Officers and Friends as He could ſpeedily draw together; and with thoſe marched towards that Place where the moſt Noiſe was made, and in his Way met many who ran from the Fury of thoſe, "who" They ſaid "were in Arms," and reported "their Numbers to be very

"great, and that They killed all who oppoſed them." And true it was They had killed ſome, and charged a Body of the Trainbands with ſo much Courage, that it retired with Diſorder. Yet when the Mayor came, He found the Number ſo ſmall, not above thirty Men, that He commanded them to lay down their Arms; which when They refuſed to do, He charged them briſkly. And They defended themſelves with that Courage and Deſpair, that They killed and wounded many of his Men; and very few of them yielded or would receive Quarter, till They were overborne with Numbers or fainted with Wounds, and ſo were taken and laid Hands on.

THEIR Captain, who was to command the whole Party in *London*, and had for his Device in his Enſign theſe Words, THE LORD GOD AND GIDEON, was a Wine-Cooper of a competent Eſtate, a very ſtrong Man, who defended himſelf with his Sword, and killed ſome of thoſe who aſſaulted him, till He fell with his Wounds, as ſome other about him did; all whom He had perſuaded, that They ſhould be able to do as much upon their Enemies, as *Jonathan* and his Armour Bearer did upon the *Philiſtines*, or any others in the Old Teſtament had upon thoſe whom the Lord delivered into their Hands. Nor could it be found upon all his Examinations, that there was any other formed Deſign, than what muſt probably attend the Declaration of the Army, of which He was aſſured. He and the other hurt Men were committed to the Gaol, and to the ſpecial Charge of the Surgeons, that They might be preſerved for a Trial.

THE next Morning the Council met early, and having received an Account of all that had paſſed, They could not but conclude, that this ſo extravagant an Attempt could not be founded upon the Raſhneſs of one Man, who had been always looked upon as a Man of Senſe and Reaſon. And thereupon They thought it neceſſary to ſuſpend the diſbanding the General's Regiment of Foot, which had the Guard of *Whitehall*, and was by the Order of Parliament to have been diſbanded the next Day; and writ to the King "to approve of what They had done, and to appoint it to be "continued till farther Order," which his Majeſty conſented to. And this was the true Ground and Occaſion of the continuing and increaſing the Guard for his Majeſty's Perſon, which no Man at that Time thought to be more than was neceſſary. Order was given for the ſpeedy Trial of *Venner* and his Accomplices; many whereof with himſelf would have died of their Wounds, if their Trial had been deferred for many Days: But the Surgeons Skill preſerved them till then, where They made no other Defence for themſelves than what is before mentioned; nor did then, or at their Deaths (there being ten or a dozen executed) make the leaſt Show of Sorrow for what They had attempted.

For which He and ſeveral of his Aſſociates are executed.

THERE is no Occaſion of mentioning more of the particular Proceedings of this Parliament, which though it met afterwards at the Time appointed, and proceeded with all Duty to the King, in raiſing great Sums of Money for the Army and the Navy, and for the Payment of other great Debts, which They thought themſelves concerned to diſcharge, and which had never been incurred by the King; and likewiſe paſſed many good Acts for the ſettling a future Revenue for the Crown, and a Vote that They would raiſe that Revenue to twelve hundred thouſand Pounds yearly: Yet They gave not any Thing to the King himſelf (all the reſt was received and paid by thoſe who were deputed by them to that Purpoſe) but ſeventy thouſand Pounds towards the Diſcharge of his Coronation, which He had appointed to be in the Beginning of *May* following. And this ſeventy thouſand Pounds was all the Money the King received or could diſpoſe of, in a full Year after his Coming to

London; ſo that there could not but be a very great Debt contracted in that Time, for the Payment whereof He muſt afterwards provide as well as He could. I ſay, I ſhall not mention more of the Particulars of that Parliament, becauſe it was foreſeen by all, that though their Meeting had produced all thoſe good Effects, in the reſtoring the King, diſbanding the Army, and many other Things, which could be wiſhed; yet that the laſting Validity of all They had done, would depend upon another Parliament to be legally ſummoned by the King with all thoſe Formalities which this wanted; and the Confirmation of that Parliament would be neceſſary for the People's Security, that They ſhould enjoy all that this had granted: So that when I ſhall ſpeak again of the Proceedings of Parliament, it will be of that Parliament which will be called by his Majeſty's Writ.

ONLY before We diſſolve this, and becauſe there hath been ſo little ſaid of the Licenſe and Diſtemper in Religion, which his Majeſty exceedingly apprehended would have received ſome Countenance from the Parliament; We ſhall remember, that the King having by his Declaration from *Breda* referred the compoſing and ſettling all that related to the Government of the Church to the Parliament, He could do Nothing towards it himſelf: But by his gracious Reception of the old Biſhops who were ſtill alive, and his own Practice in his Devotions and the Government of his Royal Chapel, He declared ſufficiently what ſhould be done in other Places. The Party of the *Presbyterians* was very numerous in the Houſe of Commons, and had before the King's Return made a Committee to deviſe ſuch a Government for the Church, as might either totally exclude Biſhops, or make them little ſuperiour to the reſt of the Clergy. But the Spirit of the Time had of itſelf elected many Members, notwithſtanding the Injunctions ſent out with the Writs, and expreſſly contrary to ſuch Injunctions, of a very different Allay; who together with ſuch as were choſen after his Majeſty's Return, were numerous enough to obſtruct and check any Prevalence of that Party, though not of Power enough to compel them to conſent to ſober Counſels. And ſo the Buſineſs was kept ſtill at the Committee, now and then getting Ground, and then caſt back again, as the ſober Members attended; ſo that no Report was brought to the Houſe from thence, which might have given the King ſome Trouble. And by Degrees the Heads of that Party grew weary of the Warmth of their Proſecution, which They ſaw not like to produce any notable Fruit that They cared for. The King deſired no more than that They ſhould do Nothing, being ſure that in a little Time He ſhould himſelf do the Work beſt. And ſo in *September* when He adjourned them, He took Notice "that They had offered him "no Advice towards the compoſing the Diſſentions in Religion, and there- "fore He would try in that ſhort Adjournment of the Parliament, what He "could do towards it himſelf."

AND thereupon He was himſelf preſent many Days, and for many Hours each Day, at a Conference between many of the *London* Miniſters, who were the Heads of the Preſbyterian Party, with an equal Number of the Orthodox Clergy, who had been for ſo many Years deprived of all that They had: Which Conference was held at *Worceſter-Houſe* in the Chancellor's Lodgings, to conſider what Ceremonies ſhould be retained in the Church, and what Alterations ſhould be made in the Liturgy that had been formerly uſed; and the Subſtance of this Conference was afterwards publiſhed in Print. The King upon this publiſhed a Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, wherein He took Notice "of the Conference that had been in his "own Preſence, and that He had commanded the Clergy of Both Sides to

The King publiſhes a Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

"meet together at the *Savoy* in the Maſter's Lodgings, and if it were "poſſible, to agree upon ſuch an *Act of Uniformity*, that might be con- "firmed in Parliament." And in the mean Time He ſignified his Pleaſure, "that Nobody ſhould be puniſhed for not uſing *The Book of Common Prayer* "which had been formerly eſtabliſhed, or for diſcontinuing the Surplice, "and the Sign of the Croſs; and that all who deſired to conform to the "old Practice in the uſing them all, ſhould be at the ſame Liberty:" Which Declaration was read to, and put into the Hands of the Divines of Both Sides for ſome Days; and then They were again heard before his Majeſty at *Worceſter-Houſe*. And though it cannot be denied, that either Party did deſire that ſomewhat might be put in, and ſomewhat left out, in neither of which They were gratified; yet it is moſt true, They were Both well content with it, or ſeemed ſo. And the Declaration was publiſhed in his Majeſty's Name before the Return of the Parliament.

Two Inſtances of the Diſingenuity of the Preſbyterian Miniſters.

HERE I cannot but inſtance two Acts of the *Presbyterians*, by which, if their Humour and Spirit were not enough diſcovered and known, their Want of Ingenuity and Integrity would be manifeſt, and how impoſſible it is for Men who would not be deceived to depend on either. When the Declaration had been delivered to the Miniſters, there was a Clauſe in it, in which the King declared "his own conſtant Practice of *The Common Prayer*, and that "He would take it well from thoſe who uſed it in their Churches, that the "common People might be again acquainted with the Piety, Gravity and "Devotion of it, and which He thought would facilitate their living in a "good Neighbourhood together;" or Words to that Effect. When They had conſidered the Whole ſome Days, Mr. *Calamy* and ſome other Miniſters deputed by the reſt, came to the Chancellor to redeliver it to his Hands. They acknowledged "the King had been very gracious to them in his "Conceſſions; though He had not granted all that ſome of their "Brethren wiſhed, yet They were contented:" Only deſired him, "that He "would prevail with the King, that the Clauſe mentioned before might be "left out; which" They proteſted "was moved by them for the King's "own End, and that They might ſhow their Obedience to him, and Re- "ſolution to do him Service. For They were reſolved themſelves to do "what the King wiſhed, and firſt to reconcile the People, who for near "twenty Years had not been acquainted with that Form, by informing "them that it contained much Piety and Devotion, and might be lawfully "uſed; and then that They would begin to uſe it themſelves, and by De- "grees accuſtom the People to it: Which" They ſaid "would have a better "Effect, than if the Clauſe were in the Declaration; for They ſhould be "thought in their Perſuaſions to comply only with the King's Recommen- "dation, and to merit from his Majeſty, and not to be moved from the "Conſcience of the Duty; and ſo They ſhould take that Occaſion to ma- "niſeſt their Zeal to pleaſe the King. And They feared there would be "other ill Conſequences from it, by the Waywardneſs of the common "People, who were to be treated with Skill, and would not be prevailed "upon all at once." The King was to be preſent the next Morning, to hear the Declaration read the laſt Time before Both Parties; and then the Chancellor told him, in the Preſence of all the reſt, what the Miniſters had deſired; which They again enlarged upon with the ſame Proteſtations of their Reſolutions, in ſuch a Manner, that his Majeſty believed They meant honeſtly; and the Clauſe was left out. But the Declaration was no ſooner publiſhed, than obſerving that the People were generally ſatisfied with it, They ſent their Emiſſaries abroad: And many of their Letters were inter-

cepted, and particularly a Letter from Mr. *Calamy* to a leading Miniſter in *Somerſetſhire*, whereby He adviſed and entreated him, "that He and his "Friends would continue and perſiſt in the Uſe of *The Directory*, and by "no Means admit *The Common Prayer* in their Churches; for that He made "no Queſtion but that They ſhould prevail farther with the King, than He "had yet conſented to in his Declaration."

THE other Inſtance was, that as ſoon as the Declaration was printed, the King received a Petition in the Name of the Miniſters of *London* and many others of the ſame Opinion with them, who had ſubſcribed that Petition; amongſt whom none of thoſe who had attended the King in thoſe Conferences had their Names. They gave his Majeſty humble Thanks "for the "Grace He had vouchſafed to ſhew in his Declaration, which They received "as an Earneſt of his future Goodneſs and Condeſcenſion in granting all thoſe "other Conceſſions, which were abſolutely neceſſary for the Liberty of "their Conſcience;" and deſired with much Importunity and ill Manners, "that the wearing the Surplice, and the uſing the Croſs in Baptiſm, might "be abſolutely aboliſhed out of the Church, as being ſcandalous to all "Men of tender Conſciences." From thoſe two Inſtances all Men may conclude, that Nothing but a ſevere Execution of the Law can ever prevail upon that *Claſſis* of Men to conform to Government.

The Parliament meets again, and is diſſolved.

WHEN the Parliament came together again after their Adjournment, They gave the King publick Thanks for his Declaration, and never proceeded farther in the Matter of Religion, of which the King was very glad: Only ſome of the Leaders brought a Bill into the Houſe "for the making "that Declaration a Law," which was ſuitable to their other Acts of Ingeguity, to keep the Church for ever under the ſame Indulgence and without any Settlement; which being quickly perceived, there was no farther Progreſs in it. And the King upon the nine and twentieth of *December*, after having given them an ample Teſtimony of their Kindneſs towards him, which He magnified with many gracious Expreſſions, and his Royal Thanks for the ſettling his Revenue and Payment of the publick Debts, promiſed "to ſend out Writs for the calling another Parliament, which "He doubted not would confirm all that They had done, and in which "He hoped many of them would be elected again to ſerve:" And ſo diſſolved the preſent Parliament with as general an Applauſe as hath been known; though it was quickly known, that the Revenue They had ſettled was not in Value equal to what They had computed. Nor did the Monies They granted in any Degree ariſe to enough to pay either the Arrears to the Army, or the Debts to the Navy; Both which muſt be the Work of the enſuing Parliament, which was directed to meet upon the eighth of *May* following: Before which Time, the King made Choice of worthy and learned Men to ſupply the vacant Sees of Biſhops, which had been void ſo many Years, and who were conſecrated accordingly before the Parliament met. And before We come to that Time, ſome particular Occurrences of Moment muſt be firſt inſerted.

A new Parliament ſummoned to meet.

WHEN the King arrived in *England*, *Monſieur Bordeaux* was there Ambaſſador from the King of *France*, and had reſided Ambaſſador there about three Years in *Cromwell's* Time, and lived in marvellous Luſtre, very acceptable and dear to *Cromwell*, having treated all the ſecret Alliance between the Cardinal and him; and was even truſted by the Protector in many of his Counſels, eſpecially to diſcover any Conſpiracy againſt him; for He lived jovially, made great Entertainments to Lords and Ladies without Diſtinction, and amongſt them would frequently let fall ſome Expreſſions

of Compaſſion and Reſpect towards the King. After *Cromwell's* Death his Credentials were quickly renewed to *Richard* his Succeſſour, with whom all the former Treaties were again eſtabliſhed. And when He was put down, He was not long without freſh Credit to the Commonwealth that ſucceeded: And ſo upon all Viciſſitudes was ſupplied with Authority to endear his Maſter's Affection to the preſent Powers, and to let them know, "how well "the Cardinal was diſpoſed to join the Power of *France* to their Intereſt." And his Dexterity had been ſuch towards all, that the Cardinal thought fit to ſend him new Credentials againſt the Time of the King's Coming to *London*. And within few Days after, when He had provided a new Equipage to appear in more Glory than He had ever yet done, He ſent to deſire an Audience from the King.

THE Earl of *St. Albans* was newly come from *France*; and to him *Bordeaux* had applied himſelf, who was always very ready to promote any Thing that might be grateful to that Crown. But the King would not reſolve any Thing in the Point, till He had conferred upon it with the Council: Where it being debated, there was an unanimous Conſent (the Earl of *St. Albans* only excepted, who exceedingly laboured the contrary), "that "it could not ſtand with his Majeſty's Honour to receive him as Ambaſſa- "dour, who had tranſacted ſo many Things to his Diſadvantage, and ſhifted "his Face ſo often, always in Conjunction with his greateſt Enemies; and "that it was a great Diſreſpect in the Crown of *France* towards his Majeſty "in ſending ſuch a Perſon, who They could not believe (without great "undervaluing the King) could be acceptable to him." The King himſelf was of that Opinion; and inſtead of aſſigning him a Day for his Audience, as was deſired, He ſent him an expreſs Command to depart the Kingdom. And when He afterwards, with much Importunity, deſired only to be admitted as a Stranger to ſee his Majeſty, and to ſpeak to him; his Majeſty as poſitively refuſed to admit him to his Preſence. All which was imputed principally to the Chancellor, who had with ſome Warmth oppoſed his being received as Ambaſſadour; and when He ſent by a Perſon well enough eſteemed by the Chancellor, "that He would receive a Viſit from him," He expreſſly refuſed to ſee him. Whoever gave the Advice, the King had great Honour by it in *France* itſelf, which declared no Kind of Reſentment of it, and gave poor *Bordeaux* ſuch a Reception, after having ſerved them five Years with notable Succeſs, and ſpent his whole Eſtate in the Service, that in a ſhort Time He died heart-broken in Miſery and uninquired after. And forthwith that King ſent the Count of *Soiſſons*, the moſt illuſtrious Perſon in *France*, very nobly accompanied and bravely attended, as his Ambaſſadour, to congratulate his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration, with all the Compliments of Friendſhip and Eſteem that can be imagined.

The Ambaſſadour from France to the late Powers commanded to quit the Kingdom.

THERE was another Ambaſſadour at the ſame Time in *London*, who might be thought to ſtand in the ſame Predicament with *Bordeaux*, though in Truth their Caſes were very different, and who received a very different Treatment. That was the Ambaſſadour of *Portugal*, who had been ſent by that Crown to finiſh a Treaty that had been begun by another Ambaſſadour with *Cromwell*; who had been ſo ill uſed, that They had put his Brother publickly to Death for a raſh Action in which a Gentleman had been killed; upon which He had got Leave from his Maſter to quit the Kingdom. And this other Ambaſſadour had been ſent in his Room; and was forced to conſent and ſubmit to very hard Conditions, as a Ranſom for that King's Generoſity in aſſiſting the King in his loweſt Condition, by receiving Prince *Rupert* with his Majeſty's Fleet in *Liſbon*, and ſo preſerving

The Ambaſſadour from Portugal to the late Powers kindly received.

them from a Fleet much ſuperiour in Number and Goodneſs of the Ships, that purſued him by Commiſſion from *Cromwell:* Who took that Action ſo to Heart, that He made War upon that Kingdom, took their Ships, obſtructed their Trade, and blocked up all their Ports; whilſt the *Spaniſh* Army invaded them at Land, and took their Towns in the very Heart of the Kingdom. And to redeem that poor King from that terrible Perſecution, that Treaty had been ſubmitted to; in which, beſides the yearly Payment of a great Sum of Money from *Portugal*, which was to continue for many Years, other great Advantages in Trade had been granted to *England*. The King made no Scruple of receiving this Ambaſſadour with a very good Countenance; and as ſoon as He got his Credentials, gave him a publick Audience, with all the Formality and Ceremony that in thoſe Caſes are uſual and neceſſary.

An Account of the Treaty and Marriage with Portugal.

AND becauſe in ſome Time after a Negotiation was ſet on Foot of the higheſt Importance, and had its Effect in the King's Marriage with the Queen; and becauſe, how acceptable ſoever both that Treaty and Concluſion of it was then to the whole Kingdom, that Affair was afterwards imputed to the Chancellor, and in the Opinion of many proved to be the Cauſe and Ground of all his Misfortunes: I ſhall here ſet down all the Particulars that introduced and attended that Negotiation and Treaty, with all the Circumſtances, ſome whereof may appear too light, and yet are not without Weight, to make it appear to all the World, how far the Chancellor was from being the Author of that Counſel (and if He had been, there was no Reaſon to be aſhamed of it) and that He did Nothing before, in, or after that Treaty, but what was neceſſary for a Man in his Condition, and what very well became a Perſon of that Truſt and Confidence He was in with his Maſter.

IT hath been remembered before, that upon the Publication of the Duke's Marriage, and the Reconciliation upon that Affair, the Chancellor was very ſolicitous that the King himſelf would marry; that He deſired the Marquis of *Ormond* very earneſtly to adviſe him to it: And himſelf often put his Majeſty in Mind of what He had ſaid to him in *France*, when the Duke was perſuaded to treat about a Marriage with *Mademoiſelle de Longueville*, "that his Majeſty was by no Means to conſent, that his Heir Apparent "ſhould marry before himſelf were married," for which He had given ſome Reaſons; for which at that Time He underwent great Diſpleaſures. And this Diſcourſe He had held often with the King: And ſure no Man in *England* more impatiently deſired to ſee him married than He did. Indeed it was no eaſy Matter to find a Perſon in all Reſpects ſo fit, that a Man would take upon him to propoſe in particular; nor did He think himſelf in many Reſpects, and with Reference to the Accidents which might probably or poſſibly fall out, fit, if He could have thought of One, to be the Author of the Propoſition.

The Portugueſe *Ambaſſadour propoſes the Marriage.*

ONE Day the King came to the Chancellor's Houſe in the Afternoon; and being alone with him, his Majeſty told him, "that He was come to "confer with him upon an Argument that He would well like, which "was about his own Marriage." He ſaid, "the Lord Chamberlain" (who was then Earl of *Mancheſter*) "had held a Diſcourſe with him ſome Days "paſt, that ſeemed to have ſomewhat in it that was worth the thinking of. "That He had told him, *the* Portugal *Ambaſſadour had made him a Viſit,* "*and having ſome Conference with him concerning the King, towards whoſe* "*Perſon He profeſſed a profound Reſpect, He ſaid it was Time for his Ma-* "*jeſty to think of Marriage; which Nothing could keep him from, but the*

"*Difficulty of finding a fit Conſort for him. That there was in* Portugal "*a Princeſs in her Beauty, Perſon and Age, very fit for him, and who* "*would have a Portion ſuitable to her Birth and Quality. That it is true* "*She was a* Catholick, *and would never depart from her Religion; but was* "*totally without that Meddling and Activity in her Nature, which many* "*Times made thoſe of that Religion troubleſome and reſtleſs, when They came* "*into a Country where another Religion was practiſed. That She had been* "*bred under a wiſe Mother, who was ſtill Regent in that Kingdom, who had* "*carefully infuſed another Spirit into her, and kept her from affecting to* "*have any Hand in Buſineſs, and which She had never been acquainted with;* "*ſo that She would look only to enjoy her own Religion, and not at all concern* "*herſelf in what others profeſſed. That He had Authority to make the Pro-* "*poſition to the King, with ſuch Particularities as included many Advantages* "*above any, He thought, which could accompany any Overture of that Kind* "*from another Prince.* To which the Chamberlain had added, *that there* "*could be no Queſtion, but that a Proteſtant Queen would in all Reſpects be* "*looked upon as the greateſt Bleſſing to the Kingdom: But if ſuch a one could* "*not be found, He did really believe, that a Princeſs of this Temper and* "*Spirit would be the beſt of all* Catholicks. *That the Trade of* Portugal *was* "*great here, and that* England *had a more beneficial Commerce with that* "*Crown than with any other: Which had induced* Cromwell *to make that* "*Peace, when He had upon the Matter forſworn it; and the making it had* "*been the moſt popular Action He had ever performed.*"

HIS Majeſty ſaid, "that He had only anſwered the Chamberlain, *that* "*He would think of it.* But that the very Morning of this Day, the Am- "baſſadour of *Portugal* had been with him, and without any Formality had "entered into the ſame Diſcourſe, and ſaid all that the Lord Chamberlain had "mentioned: To which He added, *that He had Authority to offer to his* "*Majeſty five hundred thouſand Pounds* Sterling *in ready Money, as a Por-* "*tion with the* Infanta; *and likewiſe to aſſign over, and for ever to annex to* "*the Crown of* England, *the Poſſeſſion of* Tangier *upon the* African *Shore* "*in the* Mediterranean *Sea, a Place of that Strength and Importance, as* "*would be of infinite Benefit and Security to the Trade of* England; *and* "*likewiſe to grant to the* Engliſh *Nation a free Trade in* Braſil *and in the* "East-Indies, *which They had hitherto denied to all Nations but themſelves.* "*And for their Security to enjoy that Privilege, They would put into his Ma-* "*jeſty's Hands and Poſſeſſion, and for ever annex to the Crown of* England, "*the Iſland of* Bombayne *(with the Towns and Caſtles therein, which are* "*within a very little Diſtance from* Bombayne); *which hath within itſelf* "*a very good and ſpacious Harbour, and would be a vaſt Improvement* "*to the* East-India *Trade. And thoſe two Places,* He ſaid, *of* Tangier *and* "Bombayne, *might reaſonably be valued above the Portion in Money.* "The King mentioned all the Diſcourſe as a Matter that pleaſed him, and might prove of notable Advantage to the Kingdom; and ſaid "that He had wiſhed the "Ambaſſadour to confer with him (the Chancellor) upon it;" and then aſked him "what He thought of it:" To which He anſwered, "that "He had not heard of it enough to think of it" (for He had never heard or thought of it before that Moment); "and therefore He ſhould not be "able to do more when the Ambaſſadour came to him, than to hear what "He ſaid, and report it to his Majeſty for the preſent." He only aſked, "whether his Majeſty had given over all Thoughts of a Proteſtant Wife:" To which He anſwered, "He could find none ſuch, except amongſt his own "Subjects; and amongſt them He had ſeen none that pleaſed him enough

The King approves the Propoſal.

"to that End." And obſerving the Chancellor to look fixedly upon him, He ſaid, "that He would never think more of the Princeſs of *Orange's* "Daughter, her Mother having uſed him ſo ill when He propoſed it; and "if He ſhould now think of it, He knew his Mother would never conſent "to it, and that it would break his Siſter's Heart: Therefore He had re- "ſolved never to entertain that Thought again. And that He ſaw no Ob- "jection againſt this Overture from *Portugal*, that would not occur in any "other, where the Advantages would not be ſo many or ſo great."

WHAT could the Chancellor ſay? What Objection could He make, why this Overture ſhould not be hearkened to? And what would the King have thought, or what might He not have thought, if He had adviſed him to reject this Motion? He gave him no other Anſwer for the preſent, than "that He deſired Nothing more in this World, than to ſee his Majeſty well "married; and He was very confident that all his good Subjects were of "the ſame Mind: And therefore there muſt be ſome very viſible Inconve- "nience in it, when He ſhould diſſuade him not to embrace ſuch an Op- "portunity. That He would be ready to confer with the *Portugal* Am- "baſſadour when He came, and then He ſhould entertain his Majeſty farther "upon that Subject." The Ambaſſadour came to him, repeated what He ſaid and propoſed to the King, with little other Enlargement, than concern- ing the Benefit *England* would receive by the two Places of *Tangier* and *Bombayne*, and the Deſcription of their Situation and Strength; of all which the Chancellor gave his Majeſty a faithful Account, without pre- ſuming to mingle with it a Word of his own Advice. The King appeared abundantly pleaſed, and willing to proceed farther; and aſked "what was "next to be done:" To which He anſwered, "that it was a Matter of too "great Importance for him to deliver any Opinion upon; indeed too great "for his Majeſty himſelf to reſolve, upon the private Advice of any one "Man, how agreeable ſoever it ſhould be to his own Inclination and Judg- "ment." And therefore He deſired him "that He would call to him four or "five Perſons, whom He thought to be the moſt competent Conſiderers of "ſuch an Affair, and conſult it very maturely with them, before He "entertained any more Conference with the Ambaſſadour. For whatſoever "He ſhould reſolve upon it, it ought yet to be kept in all poſſible Secrecy: "If it ſhould be thought fit to be rejected, it ought to be without the leaſt "Noiſe, and the leaſt Reflection upon the Overture, which had been made "with all the poſſible Demonſtration of Eſteem: If it ſhould appear worthy "of Entertainment and Acceptation, it would ſtill require the ſame Se- "crecy; till the Value and Conſequence of all the Particulars propoſed by "the Ambaſſadour might be fully examined and weighed, and a more par- "ticular and ſubſtantial Aſſurance given for the Accompliſhment, than the "bare Word of the Ambaſſadour."

He appoints a Committee to enter into a Treaty with the Ambaſſadour.

THE King appointed that the Lord Treaſurer, the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord Chamberlain, and Secretary *Nicholas*, ſhould be together at the Chancellor's Houſe, where his Majeſty would likewiſe be and propoſe the Buſineſs to them. And accordingly He did relate to them the whole Series of what had paſſed, and required them "with all poſſible Freedom to deliver "their Opinions, and to conſider whether there was any other Princeſs or "Lady in their View, with whom He might marry more advantageouſly." He added, "that He had ſpoken both with the Earl of *Sandwich* and Sir "*John Lawſon* occaſionally and merely as looſe Diſcourſe, *what Place* "Tangier *was*, which He pointed to in the Map, and *whether it was well* "*known to them*; and They Both ſaid *They knew it well from Sea*. But

"that Sir *John Lawſon* had been in it, and ſaid, *it was a Place of that Im-*
"*portance, that if it were in the Hands of the* Hollanders, *They would quickly*
"*make a Mole, which They might eaſily do; that now Ships could not ride*
"*there in ſuch a Wind,*" which his Majeſty named; "*but if there were*
"*a Mole, they would ride ſecurely in all Weather; and They would keep the*
"*Place againſt all the World, and give the Law to all the Trade of the* Me-
"diterranean:" With which Diſcourſe his Majeſty ſeemed very much affected. After many Queſtions and much Debate, and ſome of the Lords wiſhing that it were poſſible to get a Queen that was a *Proteſtant*, and One of them naming the Daughter of *Harry* Prince of *Orange*, of whom They had heard ſome Mention when his Majeſty was beyond the Seas, and of whoſe elder Siſter (then married to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*) there had been ſome Diſcourſe in the Life of the late King; (but his Majeſty quickly declared, "that He had very unanſwerable Reaſons why He could "not entertain that Alliance"): All the Lords unanimouſly agreed, "that "there was no Catholick Princeſs in *Europe*, whom his Majeſty could with "ſo much Reaſon and Advantage marry, as the *Infanta* of *Portugal*. That "the Portion propoſed in Money, ſetting aſide the Places, was much greater, "almoſt double to what any King had ever received in Money by any "Marriage. And the Places ſeemed to be ſituated very uſefully for Trade, "the Increaſe whereof his Majeſty was to endeavour with all poſſible Soli-"citude; which could only make this Nation flouriſh, and recover the "Intereſt They had loſt, eſpecially in the *Indies* and in the *Mediterranean*, "by the late Troubles and Diſtractions, and the Advantage the *Dutch* had "thereby gotten over the *Engliſh* in thoſe Trades, as well as in other." The King approved all that had been ſaid, and thereupon appointed all thoſe Lords with the ſame Secrecy to enter into a Treaty with the Ambaſſadour; which was begun between them accordingly.

THE Treaty neither was nor could be a Secret; nor was there any Thing more generally deſired, than that a Treaty of Alliance and Commerce ſhould be made with *Portugal*, that the Trade might continue with Security: And it was very grateful to every Body to know, that there was a Committee appointed to that Purpoſe. But the Propoſition towards a Marriage was ſtill a Secret, not communicated to any, nor ſo much as ſuſpected by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, who did all He could to obſtruct the very Treaty of Alliance; of whoſe Proceedings there will be Occaſion to make Mention anon by itſelf. The Ambaſſadour offered "to renew the Treaty (if that "of the Marriage was conſented to) *in Terminis*, that had been made with "*Cromwell*, without being ſo much as exempted from that yearly Payment, "which had been impoſed upon them for aſſiſting Prince *Rupert*," and had been aſſigned to the Merchants to ſatisfy the Damages They had ſuſtained by Prince *Rupert*; and the Releaſe whereof muſt have obliged the King to pay it himſelf: And therefore that Offer was looked upon as a generous Thing. And the whole Treaty, which They had not yet peruſed, was generally looked upon and believed to be the moſt advantageous to *England*, that had been ever entered into with any Crown.

IT had been foreſeen from the firſt Motion towards this Marriage, that it would be a very hard Matter with ſuch Alliance, to avoid ſuch a Conjunction with *Portugal* as would produce a War with *Spain*; which the King had no Mind to be engaged in. For beſides that He had received ſome Civilities from that King, after a World of Diſobligations, his Reſident at *Madrid*, Sir *Harry Bennet*, had conſented in his Majeſty's Name, that the old Treaty which had been made between the two Crowns in the Year

1630, ſhould be again obſerved; of which more anon. But his Majeſty's firm Reſolution at that Time was, wholly to intend the compoſing or ſubduing the Diſtempers and ill Humours in his three Kingdoms and all his other Dominions; and till that ſhould be fully done, He would have no Difference with any of his Neighbours, nor be engaged in any War which He could avoid: A Reſolution very prudently made; and if it had been adhered to, much Evil which ſucceeded the Departure from it, might have been prevented.

BUT the Lords found, upon Peruſal of the Treaty, one Article (which was indeed the only Article that made any Show of Benefit and Advantage to *Portugal)* by which *Cromwell* was obliged to aſſiſt *Portugal* when They ſhould require it, with ſix thouſand Foot, to be levied in *England* at their Charge. And now the Ambaſſadour urged, "that in Conſideration of the "Marriage, the Portion, the Delivery of thoſe Places, and his Majeſty's "own Intereſt by that Marriage in *Portugal*, which upon the Death of the "King and his Brother muſt devolve to his Majeſty; He would take upon "him the Protection of that Kingdom, and denounce War with *Spain*:" To which his Majeſty warmly and poſitively anſwered, "that He would admit "no ſuch Engagement; that He was not in a Condition to make a War till "He could not avoid it. He would do what was lawful for him to do; "He could chooſe a Wife for himſelf, and He could help a Brother and "Ally with a Levy of Men at their Charge, without entering into a War "with any other Prince. And if *Spain* ſhould, either upon his Marriage or "ſuch Supply, declare a War againſt him, He would defend himſelf as well as "He could, and do as much Damage as He could to *Spain*; and then that "He would apply ſuch Aſſiſtance to *Portugal*, as ſhould be moſt advan-"tageous to it: And that He ſhould not be willing to ſee it reduced under "the Obedience of *Spain* for many Reaſons. That in the mean Time He "would aſſiſt them with the ſame Number as *Cromwell* had promiſed, and "tranſport them at his own Charge thither; provided that as ſoon as "They were landed, They ſhould be received in the King of *Portugal's* "Pay:" Which Offer the King made upon a Reaſon not then communicated, and which will be mentioned hereafter; beſides that He had ſuch a Body of Men ready for ſuch a Service, and which could with much more Security and little more Charge be tranſported to *Portugal*, than be diſbanded in the Place where They were.

WHEN the Ambaſſadour found that the King would not be perſuaded to enter directly into a War with *Spain*, though He offered "to put *Barce-*"*lona* into his Hands, of which *Don Joſeph Margarita*" (a Perſon who had conducted the Revolt of that City, and all the Rebellion which had been lately in *Catalonia)* "then in *Paris* ſhould come over and give unqueſtion-"able Aſſurance," (all which, with many other Propoſitions of the ſame Nature, his Majeſty totally rejected); He concluded, that the Alliance and Marriage would give a preſent Reputation to *Portugal*, and make Impreſſion upon the Spirits of *Spain*, and that a War would hereafter fall out unavoidably: And ſo accepted what the King had offered. And then there remained Nothing to be done, but to give unqueſtionable Security to the King, for the Performance of all the Particulars which had been promiſed; and for which there appeared yet no other Warrant, than Letters and Inſtructions to the Ambaſſadour from the Queen Regent. And for farther Satisfaction therein, the Ambaſſadour offered "preſently to paſs into *Portugal*, "and doubted not, in as ſhort a Time as could be expected, to return with "ſuch Power and Authority, and ſuch a full Conceſſion of what had been

The Treaty of Commerce with Portugal ſettled.

"propoſed, as ſhould be very ſatisfactory:" Which his Majeſty well liked; and writ himſelf to the Queen Regent and to the King ſuch Letters, as ſignified "his full Reſolution for the Marriage, if all the Particulars pro- "miſed by the Ambaſſadour in Writing ſhould be made good;" and writ likewiſe a Letter with his own Hand to the *Infanta*, as to a Lady whom He looked upon as his Wife; and aſſigned two Ships to attend the Ambaſſadour, who immediately, and with ſome Appearance or Pretence of Diſcontent or Diſſatisfaction (that the Secret might be the leſs diſcovered), embarked with all his Family for the River of *Lisbon*. And to this Time the Chancellor had never mentioned any particular Advice of his own to the King, more than his Concurrence with the reſt of the Lords; nor in Truth had any of them ſhowed more Inclination towards it, than the King himſelf had done, who ſeemed marvellouſly pleaſed, and had ſpoken much more in private with the Ambaſſadour upon it, than any of the Lords had done, and of ſome Particulars which They were never acquainted with.

The Ambaſſadour gets into Portugal for further Powers.

THAT I may not break off the Thread of this Diſcourſe till I bring it to a Concluſion, nor leave out any important Particular that related to that Subject; I ſhall in this Place make Mention of a little Cloud or Eclipſe, raiſed by the Activity and Reſtleſſneſs of the Earl of *Briſtol*, that ſeemed to interpoſe and darken the Splendour of this Treaty, and to threaten the Life thereof, by extinguiſhing it in the Bud: Upon which Occaſion the Chancellor thought himſelf obliged to appear more for it, than He had hitherto done; and which afterwards (how unjuſtly ſoever) was turned to his Reproach. This Earl (who throughout the whole Courſe of his Life frequently adminiſtered Variety of Diſcourſe, that could not be applied to any other Man) upon the Defeat of Sir *George Booth*, when all the King's Hopes in *England* ſeemed deſperate, had not the Patience to expect another Change that preſently ſucceeded; but preſently changed his Religion, and declared himſelf a *Roman Catholick*, that He might with undoubted Succeſs apply himſelf to the Service of *Spain*, to which the preſent good Acceptation He had with *Don Juan* was the greater Encouragement. He gave Account by a particular Letter to the Pope of this his Converſion, which was delivered by the General of the *Jeſuits*; in Return of which He received a cuſtomary Brief from his Sanctity, with the old Piece of Scripture never left out in thoſe Occaſions, *Tu converſus converte Fratres tuos.*

An Account of the Earl of Briſtol's Behaviour abroad.

THE Noiſe and Scandal of this Defection and Apoſtaſy in a ſworn Counſellor of the King and one of his Secretaries of State, made it neceſſary for the King to remove him from Both thoſe Truſts, which He had made himſelf incapable to execute by the Laws of *England*, and which He propoſed to himſelf to enjoy with the more Advantage by his Change; and believed that the King, who ſeemed to have no other Hopes towards his Reſtoration than in Catholick Princes, would not think this a Seaſon in ordinary Policy to diſgrace a Servant of his Eminency and Relation, for no other Reaſon than his becoming *Catholick*, by which He ſhould have ſo many Opportunities to ſerve his Maſter. And this He had the Confidence to urge to the King, before He was obliged to deliver the Signet, and to forbear the being preſent any more in Council. And this Diſplacing and Remove He imputed entirely to his old Friend the Chancellor (with whom till that Minute He had for many Years held a very firm Friendſhip), and the more, becauſe He received from his Majeſty the ſame Countenance He had before, without any Reprehenſion for what He had done; the King not being at all ſurpriſed with his Declaration, becauſe He had long known that He was very indifferent in all Matters of Religion, and looked upon

the outward Profeſſion of any, as depending wholly upon the Convenience or Diſcommodity that might be enjoyed by it. And with ſuch Diſcourſes He had too much entertained the King, who never would ſpeak ſeriouſly with him upon that Subject. And truly his own Relation of the Manner of his Converſion, with all the Circumſtances, and the Diſcourſe of an ignorant old *Jeſuit* whom He perfectly contemned, and of a ſimple good Woman, the Abbeſs of a Convent, which contributed to it; was ſo ridiculous, and adminiſtered ſuch Occaſion of Mirth, that his Majeſty thought Laughing at him to be the beſt Reproof. And the Earl bore that ſo well and gratefully from the King, and from his other familiar Friends too (for He diſſembled his taking any Thing ill of the Chancellor), and contributed ſo much himſelf to the Mirth, that He was never better Company than upon that Argument: And any Man would have believed, that He had not a worſe Opinion of the Religion he had forſaken, or of any other, by his becoming *Roman Catholick*.

When the King made his Journey to *Fuentarabia* to the Treaty between the two Crowns, the Earl of *Briſtol's* irreſiſtible Importunity prevailed with him to permit him to go likewiſe, though his Majeſty had received Advertiſement from Sir *Harry Bennet*, that *Don Lewis de Haro* deſired that He might not come with his Majeſty thither. The leaſt Part of the Miſchief He did in that Journey was, that He prevailed with the King to make ſo many Diverſions and Delays in it, that the Treaty was concluded before He came thither, and He was very near being diſappointed of all the Fruit He had propoſed to himſelf to receive from it. However it was finiſhed ſo much the better, that He left the Earl behind him, who in the ſhort Time of his Stay there, had ſo far inſinuated himſelf into the Grace and good Opinion of *Don Lewis de Haro*, who came with all the Prejudice and Deteſtation imaginable towards him, (as He had to his extraordinary Parts a marvellous Faculty of getting himſelf believed); that He was well content that He ſhould go with him to *Madrid*, where the King upon the Memory of his Father (who had deſerved well from that Crown, or rather had ſuffered much for not having deſerved ill) received him graciouſly. And there He reſided in the Reſident's Houſe, who had been his Servant, in ſuch a Repoſe as was agreeable to his Fancy, that He might project his own Fortune; which was the only Thing his Heart was ſet upon, and of which He deſpaired in his own Country.

The News of the King's miraculous Reſtoration quickly arrived at *Madrid*, and put an End to the Earl's farther Deſigns, believing He could not do better abroad than He might do in his own Country; and ſo He undertook his Journey through *France*, laden with many Obligations from that Court, and arrived at *London* about the Time that the Ambaſſadour was embarked for *Portugal*. The King of *Spain* had, ſoon after the King's Arrival in *England*, ſent the Prince of *Lygnes* with a very ſplendid Ambaſſage to congratulate with his Majeſty, about the Time that the Count of *Soiſſons* came from *France* on the ſame Errand. And after his Return, the Baron of *Batteville* was ſent from *Spain* as Ordinary Ambaſſadour, a Man born in *Burgundy* in the *Spaniſh* Quarters, and bred a Soldier; in which Profeſſion He was an Officer of Note, and at that Time was Governour of *St. Sebaſtian's* and of that Province. He ſeemed a rough Man, and to have more of the Camp, but in Truth knew the Intrigues of a Court better than moſt *Spaniards*; and except when his Paſſion ſurpriſed him, was wary and cunning in his Negotiation. He lived with leſs Reſervation and more Jollity than the Miniſters of that Crown uſed to do; and drew ſuch of the Court to his Table

An Account of the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour.

and Converſation, who He obſerved were loud Talkers, and confident enough in the King's Preſence.

IN the firſt private Audience He had, He delivered a Memorial to his Majeſty; in which He required "the Delivery of the Iſland of *Jamaica* to "his Maſter, it having been taken by his rebel Subjects contrary to the "Treaty of Peace between the two Crowns; and likewiſe that his Majeſty "would cauſe *Dunkirk* and *Mardike* to be reſtored to his *Catholick* Majeſty, "they having not only been taken contrary to that Treaty, but when his Ma-"jeſty was entertained in that King's Dominions with all Courteſy and "Reſpect." And He likewiſe required in the King his Maſter's Name, "that the King would not give any Aſſiſtance, nor enter into any Treaty "of Alliance with *Portugal:* For that the ſame, as the reſt, was directly "contrary to the laſt Treaty, which was now again revived and ſtood in "Force by the Declaration of his Majeſty's Reſident at *Madrid*;" which was the firſt Notice any of his Majeſty's Miniſters had of any ſuch Declaration. But when He had delivered thoſe Memorials to the King, He never called for an Anſwer, nor willingly entered upon the Diſcourſe of either of the Subjects; but put it off merely as a Thing He was to do of Form once, that his Maſter's juſt Title might be remembered, but not to be preſſed till a fitter Conjuncture. For He eaſily diſcovered what Anſwer He ſhould receive: And ſo took the Advantage of the Licenſe of the Court, where no Rules or Formalities were yet eſtabliſhed (and to which the King himſelf was not enough inclined), but all Doors open to all Perſons. Which the Ambaſſadour finding, He made himſelf a Domeſtick, came to the King at all Hours, and ſpake to him when and as long as He would, without any Ceremony, or deſiring an Audience according to the old Cuſtom; but came into the Bedchamber whilſt the King was dreſſing himſelf, and mingled in all Diſcourſes with the ſame Freedom He would uſe in his own. And from this never heard of Licenſe, introduced by the *French* and the *Spaniard* at this Time without any Diſlike in the King, though not permitted in any other Court in *Chriſtendom*, many Inconveniencies and Miſchiefs broke in, which could never after be ſhut out.

As ſoon as the Earl of *Briſtol* came to the Court, He was very willing to be looked upon as wholly devoted to the *Spaniſh* Intereſt; and ſo made a particular Friendſhip with the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, with whom He had a former Acquaintance whilſt the King had been at *Fuentarabia*, that He might give a Teſtimony of his Gratitude for the Favours He had received ſo lately at *Madrid*. The King received him with his accuſtomed good Countenance; and He had an excellent Talent in ſpreading that Leaf Gold very thin, that it might look much more than it was: And took Pains by being always in his Preſence, and often whiſpering in his Ear, and talking upon ſome Subjects with a Liberty not ingrateful, to have it believed that He was more than ordinarily acceptable to his Majeſty. And the King, not wary enough againſt thoſe Invaſions, did communicate more to him of the Treaty with *Portugal*, than He had done to any other Perſon, except thoſe who were immediately truſted in it.

THE Earl had always promiſed himſelf (though He knew He could not be of the Council, nor in any Miniſtry of State, by Reaſon of his Religion) that He was in ſo good Eſteem with his Majeſty and with moſt of thoſe who were truſted by him, that He ſhould have a great Share in all foreign Affairs, and ſhould be conſulted with in all Matters of that Kind, in Regard of the long Experience He had in foreign Parts; which indeed amounted to no more, than a great Exactneſs in the Languages of thoſe Parts. And

The Earl of Briſtol and the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour obſtruct the Marriage.

therefore He was ſurpriſed with the Notice of this Affair, and preſently expreſſed his Diſlike of it, and told his Majeſty "that He would be exceedingly "deceived in it; that *Portugal* was poor, and not able to pay the Portion "They had promiſed. That now it was forſaken by *France*, *Spain* would "overrun and reduce it in one Year;" enlarging upon the great Preparations which were made for that Expedition, "of which *Don Lewis de* "*Haro* himſelf would be General, and was ſure of a great Party in *Portugal* "itſelf, that was weary of that Government: So that that miſerable Family "had no Hope, but by tranſporting themſelves and their poor Party in their "Ships to *Braſil*, and their other large Territories in the *Eaſt-Indies*, which "were poſſeſſed only by *Portugueſes*, who might poſſibly be willing to be "ſubject to them. And that this was ſo much in the View of all Men, "that it was all the Care *Spain* had to prevent it." The King did not inform him, that He had concluded any Thing, and that the Ambaſſadour was gone for more ample Powers to ſatisfy his Majeſty, that all that was promiſed ſhould be performed.

The Earl, who valued himſelf upon his great Faculty in obſtructing and puzzling any Thing that was agreed upon, and in contriving whereof He had no Hand, repaired to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, and informed him, under Obligation of Secrecy, of what Treaty the King was entered upon with *Portugal* by the Advice of the Chancellor; which He hoped "that They "two ſhould find ſome Means to break." But the Ambaſſadour's Breaſt was not large enough to contain that Secret. He talked of it in all Places with great Paſſion, and then took it up as from common Report, and ſpake to the King of it, and ſaid, "the *Portugal* Ambaſſadour had in his "Vanity bragged of it to ſome *Catholicks*, and promiſed them great Things "upon it; none of which He was confident could be true, and that his "Majeſty could never be prevailed with to conſent to ſuch a Treaty, "which would prove ruinous to himſelf and his Kingdom; for the King of "*Spain* could not but reſent it to ſuch a Degree, as would bring great In-"convenience to his Affairs." And his Majeſty forbearing to give him any Anſwer, at leaſt not ſuch a one as pleaſed him, his Rage tranſported him to undervalue the Perſon of the *Infanta*. He ſaid, "She was deformed, "and had many Diſeaſes; and that it was very well known in *Portugal* "and in *Spain*, that She was incapable to bear Children;" and many Particulars of that Nature.

When He had ſaid the ſame Things ſeveral Days to the King, the Earl of *Briſtol* took his Turn again, and told the King other Things which the Ambaſſadour had communicated to him in Truſt, and which He durſt not preſume to ſay to his Majeſty, and which in Truth He had ſaid himſelf, being concerning the Perſon of the *Infanta*, and her Incapacity to have Children; upon which He enlarged very pathetically, and ſaid, "He would "ſpeak freely with the Chancellor of it, upon whom the ill Conſequences "of this Counſel would fall." He told him, "there were many beautiful "Ladies in *Italy*, of the greateſt Houſes; and that his Majeſty might take his "Choice of them, and the King of *Spain* would give a Portion with her, as "if She were a Daughter of *Spain*; and the King ſhould marry her as "ſuch." And the Ambaſſadour ſhortly after propoſed the ſame Thing, and enlarged much upon it. And both the Earl and the Ambaſſadour conferred with the Chancellor (concealing the Propoſitions They had made concerning the *Italian* Ladies) "as of a Matter the Town talked of and "exceedingly diſliked, the more becauſe it was generally known, that that "Princeſs could not have any Children." The King himſelf had informed

the Chancellor of all that paſſed from the Ambaſſadour, and of his Rudeneſs towards the *Infanta*, and his declaring that She could have no Children; and told him, "that the Earl of *Briſtol* reſolved to confer with him, "and doubted not to convert him;" without ſeeming himſelf to have been moved with any Thing that the Ambaſſadour or the Earl had ſaid to him: So that when They Both came afterwards to him, not together but ſeverally, and He perceived that his Majeſty had not to either of them imparted how far He had proceeded (but had heard them talk as of ſomewhat They had taken up from publick Rumour, and had himſelf diſcourſed of it as ſprung from ſuch a Fountain), the Chancellor did not take himſelf to be at Liberty to enter into a ſerious Debate of the Matter with them; but permitted them to enjoy the Pleaſure of their own Opinion, and to believe that either there had been no Inclination to ſuch a Treaty, or that the Weight of their Reaſons would quickly enervate it.

The King appears much colder towards the Treaty.

WHETHER the King grew leſs inclined to marry, and liked the Liberty He enjoyed too well to be willing to be reſtrained; or whether what had been ſaid to him of the *Infanta's* Perſon and her Unaptneſs for Children, had made ſome Impreſſion in him; or whether the Earl of *Briſtol's* deſcribing the Perſons of the *Italian* Ladies, and magnifying their Converſations (in which Arguments He had naturally a very luxurious Style, unlimited by any Rules of Truth or Modeſty); it is not to be denied, that his Majeſty appeared much colder, and leſs delighted to ſpeak of *Portugal*, than He had been, and would ſometimes wiſh "that the Ambaſſadour had not gone, and that "He would quickly return without Commiſſion to give his Majeſty Satisfac-"tion." He ſeemed to reflect upon a War with *Spain*, "which" He ſaid "could not poſſibly be avoided in that Alliance," with more Apprehenſion than He had formerly done, when that Contingency had been debated. All which Diſcourſes troubled the Lords who had been truſted, very much, not conceiving that the Ambaſſadour's frantick Diſcourſe could have any Weight in it, or that the Earl of *Briſtol* (whoſe Levity and Vanity was enough known to the King) could make that Impreſſion in him. However it appeared, that the Earl was much more in private with him than He had uſed to be, many Hours ſhut up together; and when the King came from him, that He ſeemed to be perplexed and full of Thoughts.

ONE Morning the Earl came to the Chancellor, and after ſome Compliments and many Proteſtations of his inviolable Friendſhip, He told him, "He was come to take his Leave of him for ſome Months, being to begin "a long Journey as ſoon as He ſhould part with him; for He had already "kiſſed the King's Hand: And his Friendſhip would not permit him to be "reſerved towards him, and to keep a Secret of that vaſt Importance from "his Knowledge." He ſaid "that the King had heard ſuch unanſwerable "Reaſons againſt this Marriage with *Portugal*, that He was firmly reſolved "never more to entertain a Thought of it: That the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour "had recommended two Princeſſes to him, whereof He might take his "Choice, of incomparable Beauty and all excellent Parts of Mind, who "ſhould be endowed as a Daughter of *Spain* by that King, to whom They "were allied;" and ſo named the Ladies. He ſaid, "this Diſcourſe had "prevailed very far upon the King, as a Thing that could raiſe no Jea-"louſies in *France*, with whom He deſired ſo to live, that He might be "ſure to have Peace in his own Dominions. There was only one Thing in "which He deſired to be better ſatisfied, which was the Perſons, Beauties and "good Humours of the Princeſſes; and that He had ſo good an Opinion of "his Judgment, that He was confident if He ſaw them, He would eaſily

"know whether either of them were like to pleaſe his Majeſty; and would "ſo far truſt him, that if He did believe, knowing his Majeſty ſo well as "He did, that one of them would be grateful, He ſhould carry Power "with him to propound and conclude a Treaty; which" He ſaid "He "carried with him, and likewiſe other Letters, upon which He ſhould firſt "find ſuch Acceſs and Admiſſion, as would enable him to judge of "their Nature and Humour as well as of their Beauty." He ſeemed much tranſported with the great Truſt repoſed in him, and with the Aſſurance that He ſhould make the King and Kingdom happy. And He ſaid, "one "Reaſon, beſides his Friendſhip, that had made him impart this great Se- "cret, was a Preſumption, that now He knew how far his Majeſty was "diſpoſed and in Truth engaged in this Particular, He would not do any "Thing to croſs or interrupt the Deſign." The Chancellor, enough amazed, by ſome Queſtions found He was utterly uninformed, how far the King ſtood engaged in *Portugal*; and knowing the incredible Power the Earl had over himſelf, to make him believe any Thing He had a Mind ſhould be true, He uſed little more Diſcourſe with him than "to wiſh him a "good Journey."

Upon the firſt Opportunity He told the King all that the Earl had ſaid to him; with which his Majeſty ſeemed not pleaſed, as expecting that the Secret ſhould have been kept better. He did not diſſemble his not wiſhing that the Treaty with *Portugal* might ſucceed; and confeſſed "that He had ſent "the Earl of *Briſtol* to ſee ſome Ladies in *Italy*, who were highly extolled by "the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour," but denied that He had given him ſuch Powers as He bragged of. The Chancellor thereupon aſked him, "whether He "well remembered his Engagement, which He had voluntarily made, and "without any Body's Perſuaſion, to the King and Queen Regent;" and deſired him "to impart his new Reſolution to the Lords who were formerly "truſted by him. That probably He might find good Reaſon and juſt Ar- "guments to break off the Treaty with *Portugal*; which ought to be firſt "done, before He embarked himſelf in another: Otherwiſe that He would "ſo far expoſe his Honour to Reproach, that all Princes would be afraid "of entering into any Treaty with him." This was every Word of Perſuaſion, that He then or ever after uſed to him upon this Affair; nor did it at that Time ſeem to make any Impreſſion in him. However He ſent for the Lord Treaſurer, and conferred at large with him and the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*. And finding them exceedingly ſurpriſed with what He had done, and that They gave the ſame and other ſtronger Arguments againſt it than the other had done, his Majeſty ſeemed to recollect himſelf, and to think, that whatever Reſolution He ſhould think fit to take in the End, that He had not choſen the beſt Way and Method of proceeding towards it; and reſolved to call the Earl back, "which" He ſaid "He could infallibly do by Sir *Kenelm* "*Digby*, who knew how to ſend a Letter to him, before He had proceeded "farther in his Journey, it having been before agreed, that He ſhould "make a Halt in ſuch and ſuch Places, to the End that He might be ad- "vertiſed of any new Occurrences." And his Majeſty did write the ſame Night to him "to return, becauſe it was neceſſary to have ſome more Con- "ference with him." And the Letter was ſent by Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and probably received by the Earl in Time. But He continued his Journey into *Italy*; and after his Return pretended not to have received that Letter, or any other Order to return, till it was too late, being at that Time entered upon the Borders or Confines of *Italy*; in which He had not the good Fortune to be believed.

THE Ambaſſadour of *Portugal* diſpatched his Voyage with more Expedition than could have been expected, and returned, as He believed, with at leaſt as full Satisfaction to all Particulars as could be expected; but found his Reception with ſuch a Coldneſs, that ſtruck the poor Gentleman (who was naturally hypochondriack) to the Heart; nor could He be informed from whence this Diſtemper proceeded. And therefore He forbore to deliver his Letters, which He thought might more expoſe the Honour of his Maſter and Miſtreſs to Contempt, and remained quietly in his Houſe, without demanding a ſecond Audience; until He could by ſome Way or other be informed what had fallen out ſince his Departure, that could raiſe thoſe Clouds which appeared in every Man's Looks. He ſaw the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour exceedingly exalted with the Pride of having put an inſolent Affront upon the Ambaſſadour from *France*, which coſt his Maſter dear, and heard that He had bragged loudly of his having broken the Treaty of *Portugal*. And it is very true, that He did every Day ſomewhat either vainly or inſolently, that gave the King Offence, or leſſened the Opinion He had of his Diſcretion, and made him withdraw much of that Countenance from him, which He had formerly given him. This, and the Return of the *Portugal* Ambaſſadour with a new Title of Marquis *de Sande* (an Evidence according to the Cuſtom of that Court, that He had well ſerved his Maſter in his Employment), put him into new Fury; ſo that He came to the King with new Expoſtulations, and gave him a Memorial, in which He ſaid "that He had Order from his Maſter to let his Majeſty know, that if "his Majeſty ſhould proceed towards a Marriage with the Daughter of the Duke "of *Braganza*, his Maſter's Rebel, He had Order to take his Leave preſently, "and to declare War againſt him." The King returned ſome ſharp Anſwer preſently to him, and told him "He might be gone as ſoon as He would, "and that He would not receive Orders from the *Catholick* King, how to "diſpoſe himſelf in Marriage." Upon which the Ambaſſadour ſeemed to think He had gone too far; and the next Day deſired another Audience, wherein He ſaid, "He had received new Orders: And that his *Catholick* Majeſty had "ſo great an Affection for his Majeſty and the Good of his Affairs, that "having underſtood that, in Reſpect of the preſent Diſtempers in Religion, "Nothing could be more miſchievous to him than to marry a *Catholick*; "therefore," He declared, "that if there were any *Proteſtant* Lady, who "would be acceptable to his Majeſty" (and named the Daughter of the Princeſs Dowager of *Orange*), "the King of *Spain* would give a Portion "with her, as with a Daughter of *Spain*; by which his Majeſty's Affairs "and Occaſions would be ſupplied."

The Portuguese Ambaſſadour returns, and is coldly received.

THE multiplying theſe and many other Extravagancies made the King reflect upon all the Ambaſſadour's Proceedings and Behaviour, and revolve the Diſcourſes He had held with him; and to reconſider, whether they had not made greater Impreſſions upon him, than the Weight of them would bear. He had himſelf ſpoken with ſome who had ſeen the *Infanta*, and deſcribed her to be a Perſon very different from what the Ambaſſadour had delivered. He had ſeen a Picture that was reported to be very like her; and upon the View of it his Majeſty ſaid, "that Perſon could not be un-"handſome." And by Degrees conſidering the many Things alleged by the Ambaſſadour, which could not be known by him, and could reſult from Nothing but his own Malice, his Majeſty returned to his old Reſolution; and ſpake at large with the *Portugal* Ambaſſadour with his uſual Freedom, and received both the Letters and Information He brought with him, and declared "that He was fully ſatisfied in all the Particulars."

Extravagant Behaviour of the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour.

Nor did the Carriage of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour contribute a little towards his Majeſty's Reſolution: For He, without any other Ground than from his own Fancy (for the King had not declared his Purpoſe to any, nor was the Thing ſpoken of abroad), and from what He collected from his Majeſty's ſharp Replies to his inſolent Expreſſions, took upon him to do an Act of the higheſt Extravagancy, that hath been done in *Europe* by the Miniſter of any State in this Age. He cauſed to be printed in *Engliſh* the Copies of the Memorials which He had preſented to the King, and of the Diſcourſes He had made againſt the Match with *Portugal*, with the Offers the King of *Spain* had made to prevent ſo great a Miſchief to the Kingdom, and other ſeditious Papers to the ſame Purpoſe; and cauſed thoſe Papers to be ſpread abroad in the Army and amongſt the Populace: Some whereof were caſt out of his own Windows amongſt the Soldiers, as They paſſed to and from the Guard. Upon which unheard of Miſdemeanor, the King was ſo much incenſed, that He ſent the Secretary of State "to require him forth-

For which He is required to leave the Kingdom.

"with to depart the Kingdom, without ſeeing his Majeſty's Face," which He would not admit him to do; and to let him know, "that He would "ſend a Complaint of his Miſbehaviour to the King his Maſter, from whom "He would expect that Juſtice ſhould be done upon him." The Ambaſſadour received this Meſſage with exceeding Trouble and Grief, even to Tears, and deſired "to be admitted to ſee the King, and to make his hum-"ble Submiſſion, and to beg his Pardon; which He was ready to do:" But that being denied, within few Days He departed the Kingdom, carrying with him the Character of a very bold raſh Man.

An Incident that promotes the Treaty of Marriage.

There was an Accident about this Time, that it is probable did confirm the King in his Reſolution concerning *Portugal*. At this Time Cardinal *Mazarin* was dead, and had never been obſerved to be merry and to enjoy his natural pleaſant Humour, from the Time of the King's Reſtoration, which had deceived all his Calculations, and broken all his Meaſures. Upon his Death the Miniſtry was committed to three Perſons (the King himſelf being ſtill preſent at all their Conſultations), *Monſieur de Tellier* and *Monſieur de Lionne*, the two Secretaries of State, and *Monſieur Fouquet*, *Surintendant* of the Finances and *Procureur General du Roy*, who was a Man of extraordinary Parts, and being not forty Years of Age, enjoyed his full Vigour of Body and Mind, and in Reſpect of his ſole Power over the Finances was looked upon as the *Premier Miniſtre*. This Man, as ſoon as He was in the Buſineſs, ſent an Expreſs into *England* with a Letter to the Chancellor. The Meſſenger was *La Baſteede*, who having been Secretary during the Time of his being in *England* to *Bordeaux* whilſt He was Ambaſſadour, ſpake *Engliſh* very well. He, as ſoon as He arrived, went to the Chancellor's Houſe, and deſired one of his Servants to let his Lord know, "that He was newly come from *France*, and that He deſired "to be admitted to a private Audience with him, where Nobody elſe might "be preſent:" And ſo He was brought into a Backroom, whither the Chancellor came to him; to whom He preſented a Letter directed to him from *Monſieur Fouquet*. The Letter after general Compliments took Notice "of "the great Truſt He had with his Maſter; and that He being now admitted "to a Part of his Maſter's moſt ſecret Affairs, and knowing well the Affection "that was between the two Kings, much deſired to hold a cloſe and ſecret "Correſpondence together, which He preſumed would be for the Benefit "of Both their Maſters." The reſt contained only a Credential, "that "He ſhould give Credit to all that the Bearer ſhould ſay, who was a Perſon

"entirely truſted by him." And then He entered upon his Diſcourſe, conſiſting of theſe Parts:

(1.) "THAT the King of *France* was troubled to hear, that there was "ſome Obſtruction fallen out in the Treaty with *Portugal*; and that it "would be a very generous Thing in his Majeſty to undertake the Protec- "tion of that Crown, which if it ſhould fall into the Poſſeſſion of *Spain*, "would be a great Damage and a great Shame to all the Kings in *Europe*. "That himſelf had heretofore thought of marrying the *Infanta* of that King- "dom, who is a Lady of great Beauty and admirable Endowments; but "that his Mother and his then Miniſter, and indeed all other Princes, ſo "much deſired the Peace between the Crowns, that He was diverted from "that Deſign. And that for the perfecting that Peace and his Marriage "with *Spain*, He had been compelled to deſert *Portugal* for the preſent; "and was obliged to ſend no Kind of Aſſiſtance thither, nor to receive any "Ambaſſadour from thence, nor to have any there: All which He could "not but obſerve for ſome Time. But that *Portugal* was well aſſured of "the Continuance of his Affection, and that He would find ſome Oppor- "tunity by one Way or other to preſerve it. That He foreſaw that his "Majeſty might not be provided ſo ſoon after his Return, in Regard of his "other great Expenſes, to diſburſe ſuch a Sum of Money, as the ſending a "vigorous Aſſiſtance, which was neceſſary, would require. But for that "He would take Care; and for the preſent cauſe to be paid to his Majeſty "three hundred thouſand *Piſtoles*, which would defray the Charge of that "Summer's Expedition; and for the future, Proviſion ſhould be made "proportionable to the Charge:" And concluded, "that He believed the "King could not beſtow himſelf better in Marriage, than with the *Infanta* "of *Portugal*."

Some particular Overtures from the Court of France.

(2.) A SECOND Part was, "That there were now in *France* Ambaſſa- "dours from the *States* of the *United Provinces*, and the like in *England*, "to renew the Alliance with Both Crowns; which They hoped to do upon "the diſadvantageous Terms They had uſed to obtain it. That thoſe "People were grown too proud and inſolent towards all their Neighbours, "and treated all Kings as if They were at leaſt their Equals: That *France* "had been ill uſed by them, and was ſenſible of it; and that the King had "not been much beholden to them." And therefore He propoſed, "that "Both Kings upon this Occaſion would ſo communicate their Counſels, "that They might reduce that People to live like good Neighbours, and "with more good Manners; and that They would treat ſolely and advance "together, and that the One ſhould promiſe not to conclude any Thing "without communicating it to the other: So that Both Treaties might be "concluded together."

(3.) "THAT thoſe Particulars, and whatſoever paſſed between *M. Fou-* "*quet* and the Chancellor, might be retained with wonderful Secrecy; which "it would not be, if it were communicated to the Queen or the Earl of "*St. Albans*" (who were at that Time in *France*): "And therefore his "*Chriſtian* Majeſty deſired, that neither of them ſhould know of this Cor- "reſpondence, or any Particular that paſſed by it."

WHEN the Gentleman had finiſhed his Diſcourſe, the Chancellor told him, "that He knew *M. Fouquet* to be ſo wiſe a Man, that He would not "invite or enter into ſuch a Correſpondence, without the Privity and Approba- "tion of his Maſter: And He preſumed that He had likewiſe ſo good an Opi- "nion of him, as to believe, that He would firſt inform his Majeſty of all "that He received from him, before He would return any Anſwer himſelf.

"That He would take the firſt Opportunity to acquaint the King his "Maſter; and if He would come the next Day at the ſame Hour" (which was about Four in the Afternoon) "to the ſame Place, He would return "his Anſwer."

THE King came the next Day before the Hour aſſigned to the Chancellor's Houſe. And when He heard the Gentleman was come, his Majeſty vouchſafed himſelf to go into that Backroom; and (the Chancellor telling the other, "that He ſhould be Witneſs to his Majeſty's Approbation of "his Correſpondence"), took Notice of the Letter He had brought, and aſked many kind Queſtions concerning *M. Fouquet*, who was known to him, and told him "that He was very well pleaſed with the Correſpondence "propoſed; and that the Chancellor ſhould perform his Part very punctually, "and with the Secrecy that was deſired; and that He would give his own "Word, that the Queen and the Earl of *St. Albans* ſhould know Nothing "that ſhould paſs in this Correſpondence:" Which the Chancellor obſerving with the Fidelity He ought to do, and this coming after to be known, it kindled a new Jealouſy and Diſpleaſure in the Queen, that was never afterwards extinguiſhed. The King told him "He would upon the Encouragement "and Promiſe of the *French* King, of the Performance whereof He could "make no Doubt, proceed in the Treaty with *Portugal*; and give that "Kingdom the beſt Aſſiſtance He could, without beginning a War with "*Spain*. That for the Treaty with *Holland*, which was but newly begun" (for the *States* who had made Choice of and nominated their Ambaſſadours before the King left the *Hague*, did not ſend them in near ſix Months after; which his Majeſty looked upon as a great Diſreſpect), "He would "comply with what the King deſired; and that his *Chriſtian* Majeſty "ſhould from Time to Time receive an Account how it ſhould advance, "and that He would not conclude any Thing without his Privity." How ill Both theſe Engagements which related to *Portugal* and *Holland* were afterwards obſerved by *France*, is fit for another Diſcourſe by itſelf. The Gentleman, much ſatisfied with what the King had ſaid, propoſed "that "He would make a Cipher againſt the next Day to be left in the Chan-"cellor's Hand; becauſe *M. Fouquet* deſired, for Preſervation of the "Secret, that the Chancellor would always write with his own Hand in "*Engliſh*, directed in ſuch a Manner as He ſhould propoſe; which would "always bring the Letters ſafe to the Hands of him, *La Baſteede*, who was "appointed by the King to keep that Cipher, and to maintain that "Correſpondence."

Which the King readily embraces.

THERE was another Circumſtance that attended this private Negotiation, that may not be unfitly inſerted here, and is a ſufficient Manifeſtation of the Integrity of the Chancellor, and how far He was from being that corrupt Perſon, which his moſt corrupt Enemies would have him thought to be. The next Morning after He had ſeen the King, *La Baſteede* came again, and deſired an Audience with the Chancellor. He ſaid "He had ſome-"what elſe in his Inſtructions to ſay, which He had not yet thought fit to "offer." And from thence He entered in a confuſed Manner to enlarge "upon the great Power, Credit and Generoſity of *M. Fouquet*, the Extent "of his Power and Office, that He could diſburſe and iſſue great Sums of "Money without any Account ſo much as to the King himſelf; without "which Liberty, the King knew many ſecret Services of the higheſt Im-"portance could not be performed." He ſaid, "He knew the Streights "and Neceſſities, in which the Chancellor and others about the King "had lived for many Years: And though He was now returned with

An Inſtance of the Chancellor's uncorrupt Integrity.

"much Honour, and in great Truſt with his Maſter; yet He did ſuppoſe "He might be ſome Time without thoſe Furnitures of Houſholdſtuff and "Plate, which the Grandeur of his Office and Place required. And there- "fore that He had ſent him a Preſent, which in itſelf was but ſmall, and "was only the Earneſt of as much every Year, which ſhould be conſtantly "paid, and more, if He had Occaſion to uſe it; for *M. Fouquet* did not "look upon it as of Moment to himſelf. But He knew well the Faction "in all Courts, and that He muſt have many Enemies; and if He did not "make himſelf Friends by Acts of Generoſity and Bounty, He muſt be "oppreſſed; and that He had deſigned this Supply only to that Purpoſe." He ſhewed him then Bills of Exchange and Credit for the Sum of ten thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, to be paid at Sight: And ſaid, "that He had "been with the Merchant, who would be ready to pay it that Afternoon; "ſo that whoever He would pleaſe to appoint ſhould receive it." The Chancellor had heard him with much Indignation; and anſwered him warmly, "that if this Correſpondence muſt expoſe him to ſuch a Reproach, He "ſhould unwillingly enter into it; and wiſhed him to tell *M. Fouquet*, "that He would only receive Wages from his own Maſter." The Gentle- man ſo little looked for a Refuſal, that He would not underſtand it; but perſiſted to know "who ſhould receive the Money, which" He ſaid "ſhould "be paid in ſuch a Manner, that the Perſon who paid it ſhould never "know to whom it was paid; and that it ſhould always remain a Secret;" ſtill preſſing it with Importunity, till the other went with manifeſt Anger out of the Room.

THAT Afternoon the King and Duke (who was likewiſe informed of the Correſpondence) came to the Chancellor, and found him out of Humour. He told him, "that *Fouquet* could not be an honeſt Man, and that He "had no Mind to hold that Correſpondence with him;" and thereupon repeated what had paſſed in the Morning, with much Choler: Which made them Both laugh at him, ſaying, "the *French* did all their Buſineſs that "Way;" and the King told him "He was a Fool," implying "that He "ſhould take his Money." Whereupon the Chancellor beſought him "not "to appear to his Servants ſo unconcerned in Matters of that Nature, which "might produce ill Effects;" and deſired him to conſider, "what the "Conſequence of his receiving that Money, with what Secrecy ſoever, "muſt be. That the *French* King muſt either believe that He had received "it without his Majeſty's Privity, and ſo look upon him as a Knave fit "to be depended upon in any Treachery againſt his Maſter; or that it was "with his Majeſty's Approbation, which muſt needs leſſen his Eſteem of "him, that He ſhould permit his Servants of the neareſt Truſt to grow "rich at the Charge of another Prince, who might the next Day become "his Enemy." To which the King ſmiling made no other Reply, "than "that few Men were ſo ſcrupulous;" and commanded him "to return a "civil Anſwer to *M. Fouquet's* Letter, and to cheriſh that Correſpondence, "which" He ſaid "might be uſeful to him, and could produce no Incon- "veniency." And ſo, when *La Baſteede* (who could not forbear to uſe new Importunity with him to receive the Money, till He found He was much offended) brought him the Cipher, He delivered him his Letter for *M. Fouquet*. And the next Week after his Return, the King of *France* writ to him in his own Hand, "that the Correſpondence *M. Fouquet* had invited "him to, was with his Majeſty's Privity; and that He was well pleaſed "with it." And ſo the Correſpondence continued till that great Man's Fall: And then the King ſent all the Letters which had paſſed, and

the Cipher, to the Chancellor; and writ to him, "from that Time to communicate with all Freedom with his Ambaſſadour," which He was before reſtrained from.

AFTER the King had himſelf conferred at large with the *Portugal* Ambaſſadour, He referred him again to give the Lords, with whom He had formerly treated, an Account how all Particulars were adjuſted in *Portugal*; *The Meaſures in Portugal relative to the Treaty of Marriage.* "which were" He ſaid "in this Manner. For the Portion, the Queen "Regent, having reſolved not to diſpoſe of any of the Money that was provided for the War, had ſold her own Jewels, and much of her own Plate, "and had borrowed both Plate and Jewels from the Churches and Monaſteries: By which Means She had the whole Portion ready, which was all "ſealed up in Bags, and depoſited where Nobody could take it to apply "to any other Uſe. For the Delivery of *Tangier*, that the old Governour (who had lived there long, and was humourous) of whom the Queen "could not confidently depend, was removed; and another ſent, before He "left *Liſbon*, to take that Charge, who was a Creature of the Queen's, "who could not deceive her, and was ſo far truſted, that He knew for "what End He was ſent thither, and cheerfully undertook to perform it: "And that the Fleet which ſhould be ſent for the Queen ſhould firſt go to "*Tangier*, and take Poſſeſſion thereof; and till that ſhould be delivered "into his Majeſty's Hands, the Queen ſhould not embark upon the Fleet, "nor till all the Money ſhould be put on Board. That for the Delivery of "*Bombayne*, it was reſolved likewiſe, that the Vice-King and Governour of "*Goa*, under whom that Iſland likewiſe is, ſhould be forthwith recalled; "and that another" (whom He named), "of whom the Queen had all Aſſurance, ſhould be ſent to that high Charge, and ſhould be tranſported "thither in the Fleet which the King would ſend to receive the Iſland, "and would deliver the ſame to the Perſon deſigned to receive it." He added, "that there would be another Security given, greater than any of "the reſt, and ſuch a one as had never been given before in ſuch a Caſe. "That the Queen ſhould be delivered on Board the Fleet, and tranſported "into *England*, before She was married: Which was ſuch a Truſt that "had never been repoſed in any Prince, who, if He would break his Word, "might put an everlaſting Reproach upon their Nation."

THE Cauſe of this extraordinary Circumſtance was truly this. The Power of *Spain* was ſo great in the Court of *Rome*, notwithſtanding the Interpoſition and threatening Mediation of *France*, (whoſe Ambaſſadour declared that *Portugal* ſhould chooſe a Patriarch, and have no longer Dependance upon the Pope); that neither *Urban*, in whoſe Reign that Kingdom ſevered itſelf from *Spain*, nor *Innocent* nor *Alexander*, would acknowledge the Duke of *Braganza* for King, nor receive an Ambaſſadour or other Miniſter from him: So that They now foreſaw, that if They ſhould in what Manner ſoever demand a Diſpenſation at *Rome* (without which the Marriage could not be celebrated in *Portugal*), the Intereſt of *Spain* would cauſe it to be denied, or granted in ſuch a Manner as ſhould be worſe for them; for the Queen would have been mentioned only as the Daughter and Siſter of the Duke of *Braganza*. And before They would receive that Affront, the moſt jealous and moſt apprehenſive Nation in the World choſe rather to ſend the Daughter of the Kingdom to be married in *England*, and not to be married till She came thither.

The King refers the Whole to a full Privy Council. UPON the whole Matter, the King thought not fit to make any farther Exceptions, but reſolved to aſſemble his whole Privy Council, and to communicate the Matter to them; for it did remain a Secret yet, no Man

knowing or ſpeaking of it. The Council was ſo full, that there was only one Counſellor that was abſent. The King informed them of all that had paſſed in that Affair, "how it was firſt propoſed to him, and the Objec- "tions which occurred to him againſt it; for the better clearing whereof "the Ambaſſadour had made a Voyage into *Portugal*, and was returned "with ſuch Satisfaction to all Particulars, that He thought it now Time to "communicate the Whole to them, that He might receive their Advice." He commanded then the particular Propoſitions, which were offered by the Ambaſſadour, to be reported. And thereupon He commanded and conjured all the Lords ſeverally to give him their Advice; for He ſaid "He had not "yet ſo firmly reſolved, but that He might change his Mind, if He heard "Reaſons to move him: And therefore They would not deal faithfully "with him, if They did not with all Freedom declare their Judgment to "him." In ſhort, every Man delivered his Opinion, and every One agreed in the Opinion, "that it was very fit for his Majeſty to embrace the Pro- "poſitions, which were of great Advantage to himſelf and the Kingdom;" and that their Advice was, "that He ſhould ſpeedily and without more "Delay conclude the Treaty." And thereupon his Majeſty ſaid, "that "He looked upon ſo unanimous a Concurrence as a good Omen, and that "He would follow their Advice." *Which unanimouſly adviſes him to conclude the Treaty.*

ALL this was done between the Diſſolution of the Parliament in *December*, and the aſſembling the other in *May* following. And upon the firſt Day of its coming together, which was upon the eighth of *May*, the very Day that his Majeſty had been proclaimed the Year before, He told them "that He had deferred it a Week, that They might meet "upon that Day, for the Memory of the former Day." The King, after ſome gracious Expreſſions of his Confidence in them, told them "that "They would find what Method He thought beſt for their Proceeding, by "two Bills which He had cauſed to be provided for them, which were for "Confirmation of all that had been enacted in the laſt Meeting;" and repeated what He had ſaid to them when He was laſt there: "*That next* "*to the miraculous Bleſſing of God Almighty, and indeed as an immediate* "*Effect of that Bleſſing, He did impute the good Diſpoſition and Security* "*They were all in, to the happy* Act of Indemnity and Oblivion: *That*," his Majeſty ſaid, "*was the principal Corner-Stone that ſupported that excellent* "*Building, that created Kindneſs in them to each other; and Confidence* "*was their joint and common Security.*" He told them, "He was ſtill "of the ſame Opinion, and more if it were poſſible of that Opinion than "He had been, by the Experience He had of the Benefit of it, and from "the Unreaſonableneſs of what ſome Men ſaid againſt it." He deſired them "to provide full Remedies for future Miſchiefs; to be as ſevere as They "would againſt new Offenders, eſpecially if They were ſo upon old Prin- "ciples; and that They would pull up thoſe Principles by the Roots. But," his Majeſty ſaid, "He ſhould never think him a wiſe Man, that would "endeavour to undermine and ſhake that Foundation of the publick Peace, "by infringing that Act in the leaſt Degree; or that He could be his "Friend, or wiſh him well, who would perſuade him ever to conſent to the "Breach of a Promiſe He had ſo ſolemnly made when He was abroad, "and had performed with that Solemnity after, and becauſe He had "promiſed it: And that He could not ſuſpect any Attempts of that Kind by "any Men of Merit and Virtue." *The new Parliament meets.* *The King's Speech.* *He preſſes them to confirm the Act of Indemnity.*

AND this Warmth of his Majeſty upon this Subject was not then more than needed: For the Armies being now diſbanded, there were great Com-

binations entered into, not to confirm the *Act of Oblivion*; which They knew without Confirmation would ſignify Nothing. Men were well enough contented, that the King ſhould grant Indemnity to all Men that had rebelled againſt him; that He ſhould grant their Lives and Fortunes to them, who had forfeited them to him: But They thought it very unreaſonable and unjuſt, that the King ſhould releaſe thoſe Debts which were immediately due to them, and forgive thoſe Treſpaſſes which had been committed to their particular Damage. They could not endure to meet the ſame Men in the King's Highway, now it was the King's Highway again, who had heretofore affronted them in thoſe Ways, becauſe they were not the King's, and only becauſe They knew They could obtain no Juſtice againſt them. They could not with any Patience ſee thoſe Men, who not only during the War had oppreſſed them, plundered their Houſes, and had their own adorned with the Furniture They had robbed them of, ride upon the ſame Horſes which They had then taken from them upon no other Pretence, but becauſe they were better than their own; but after the War was ended, had committed many inſolent Treſpaſſes upon them wantonly, and to ſhew their Power of Juſtice of Peace or Committee Men, and had from the loweſt Beggary raiſed great Eſtates, out of which They were well able to ſatisfy, at leaſt in ſome Degree, the Damages the other had ſuſtained. And thoſe and other Paſſions of this Kind, which muſt have invalidated the whole *Act of Indemnity*, could not have been extinguiſhed without the King's Influence, and indeed his immediate Interpoſition and Induſtry.

He acquaints them with his intended Marriage.

When his Majeſty had ſpoken all He thought fit upon that Subject, He told them, "He could not conclude without telling them ſome News, "News that He thought would be very acceptable to them; and therefore "He ſhould think himſelf unkind and illnatured, if He ſhould not impart "it to them. That He had been often put in Mind by his Friends, that "it was high Time to marry; and He had thought ſo himſelf, ever ſince "He came into *England:* But there appeared Difficulties enough in the "Choice, though many Overtures had been made to him. And if He "ſhould never marry till He could make ſuch a Choice, againſt which "there could be no Foreſight of any Inconvenience that might enſue, They "would live to ſee him an old Bachelor, which He thought They did "not deſire to do." He ſaid, "He could now tell them, not only that "He was reſolved to marry, but whom He reſolved to marry, if it pleaſed "God. That towards his Reſolution, He had uſed that Deliberation, and "taken that Advice, that He ought to do in a Caſe of that Importance, and "with a full Conſideration of the Good of his Subjects in general, as of "himſelf. It was with the Daughter of *Portugal.* That when He had, as "well as He could, weighed all that occurred to himſelf, the firſt Reſolu-"tion He took, was to ſtate the whole Overtures which had been made to "him, and in Truth all that had been ſaid againſt it, to his Privy Council; "without hearing whoſe Advice, He never did nor ever would reſolve any "Thing of publick Importance. And," He ſaid, "He told them with great "Satisfaction and Comfort to himſelf, that after many Hours Debate in full "Council (for He thought there was not above One abſent), and He "believed upon weighing all that could be ſaid upon that Subject, for or "againſt it; the Lords, without one diſſenting Voice, adviſed him with all "imaginable Cheerfulneſs to this Marriage: Which He looked upon as "very wonderful, and even as ſome Inſtance of the Approbation of God "himſelf. That He had thereupon taken his own Reſolution, and con-

"cluded with the Ambaſſadour of *Portugal*, who was departing with the "whole Treaty ſigned, which They would find to contain many great "Advantages to the Kingdom; and that He would make all the Haſte He "could, to fetch them a Queen hither, who He doubted not would bring "great Bleſſings with her, to him and them."

THE next Day the two Houſes of Parliament, after They had expreſſed all the Joy imaginable amongſt them, ſent to the King, "that He would "appoint a Time when He would admit them to his Preſence:" Which when He had done, Both Houſes of Parliament, in a Body, preſented by the Speaker of the Houſe of Peers their humble Thanks to his Majeſty, "for that He "had vouchſafed to acquaint them with his Reſolution to marry, which had "exceedingly rejoiced their Hearts, and would, They doubted not, draw "down God's Bleſſing upon his Majeſty and the Kingdom." Shortly after, the Fleet was made ready, and the Earl of *Sandwich* Admiral thereof was likewiſe made Ambaſſadour to *Portugal*, and appointed to receive the Queen, and to conduct her into *England*. *The two Houſes expreſs their Approbation of it.*

THIS was the whole Proceeding, from the Beginning to the End of that Treaty about the Marriage of the King; by the whole Circumſtances whereof it is apparent enough, that no particular Corruption in any ſingle Perſon could have brought it to paſs in that Manner, and that the Chancellor never propoſed it, nor heard of it but from the King himſelf, nor advanced it afterwards more than every One of the other Lords did; and if He had done leſs, He could neither have been thought a prudent or an honeſt Man: To which no more ſhall be added, than that neither before or in the Treaty, or after the Marriage, He ever received the leaſt Reward or the leaſt Preſent from *Portugal*.

DURING the Interval of Parliament, the King had made Choice of many very eminent and learned Men, who were conſecrated to ſome of the Sees of Biſhops which were void; that the Preſervation of the Succeſſion might not depend upon the Lives of the few Biſhops who remained, and who were all very aged: Which could not have been done ſooner, nor till the other Parliament, to whom the Settlement of the Church had been referred, was diſſolved. Nor could He yet give any Remedy to the Licenſe in the Practice of Religion, which in all Places was full of Scandal and Diſorder, becauſe *the Liturgy* was not yet finiſhed; till when, the Indulgence by his Declaration was not to be reſtrained. But at the ſame Time that He iſſued out his Writs for convening the Parliament, He had likewiſe ſent Summons to the Biſhops, for the Meeting of the Clergy in Convocation, which is the legal Synod in *England*; againſt the Coming together whereof *the Liturgy* would be finiſhed, which his Majeſty intended to ſend thither to be examined, debated and confirmed. And then He hoped to provide, with the Aſſiſtance of the Parliament, ſuch a Settlement in Religion, as would prevent any Diſorder in the State upon thoſe Pretences. And it was very neceſſary to loſe no Time in the Proſecution of that Cure; for the Malignity againſt the Church appeared to increaſe, and to be greater than it was upon the Coming in of the King. *New Biſhops appointed.* *A Convocation ſummoned.*

THE old Biſhops who remained alive, and ſuch Deans and Chapters as were numerous enough for the Corporation, who had been long kept faſting, had now Appetites proportionable. Moſt of them were very poor, and had undergone great Extremities; ſome of the Biſhops having ſupported themſelves and their Families by teaching Schools, and ſubmitting to the like low Condeſcenſions. And others ſaw, that if They died before They were enabled to make ſome Proviſion for them, their Wives and Children

muſt unavoidably ſtarve: And therefore They made Haſte to enter upon their own. And now an Ordinance of Parliament had not Strength enough to batter an Act of Parliament. They called their old Tenants to Account for Rent, and to renew their Eſtates if They had a Mind to it; for moſt old Leaſes were expired in the long Continuance of the War, and the old Tenants had been compelled either to purchaſe a new Right and Title from the State (when the Ordinance was paſſed for taking away all Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, and for ſelling all the Lands which belonged to them), or to ſell their preſent Eſtates to thoſe, who had purchaſed the Reverſion and the Inheritance thereof: So that both the one and the other, the old Tenants and the new Purchaſers, repaired to the true Owners as ſoon as the King was reſtored; the former expecting to be reſtored again to the Poſſeſſion of what They had ſold, under an unreaſonable Pretence of a Tenant Right (as They called it), becauſe there remained yet (as in many Caſes there did) a Year or ſome other Term of their old Leaſes unexpired, and becauſe They had out of Conſcience forborne to buy the Inheritance of the Church, which was firſt offered to them. And for the Refuſal thereof, and ſuch a reaſonable Fine as was uſual, They hoped to have a new Leaſe, and to be readmitted to be Tenants to the Church. The other, the Purchaſers (amongſt which there were ſome very infamous Perſons), appeared as confident, and did not think, that according to the Clemency that was practiſed towards all Sorts of Men, it could be thought Juſtice, that They ſhould loſe the entire Sum They had diſburſed upon the Faith of that Government, which the whole Kingdom ſubmitted to; but that They ſhould, inſtead of the Inheritance They had an ill Title to, have a good Leaſe for Lives or Years granted to them by them who had now the Right; at leaſt, that upon the old Rent and moderate Fines They ſhouldbe continued Tenants to the Church, without any Regard to thoſe who had ſold both their Poſſeſſion, and with that all the Right or Title that They might pretend to, for a valuable Conſideration. And They had the more Hope of this, becauſe the King had granted a Commiſſion, under the Great Seal of *England*, to ſome Lords of the Council and to other eminent Perſons, to interpoſe and mediate with the Biſhops and Clergy in ſuch Caſes, as ought not to be proſecuted with Rigour.

A Clamour raiſed againſt the Biſhops and Clergy by their Tenants.

But the Biſhops and Clergy concerned had not the good Fortune to pleaſe their old or their new Tenants. They had been very barbarouſly uſed themſelves; and that had too much quenched all Tenderneſs towards others. They did not enough diſtinguiſh between Perſons: Nor did the Suffering any Man had undergone for Fidelity to the King, or his Affection to the Church eminently expreſſed, often prevail for the Mitigation of his Fine; or if it did ſometimes, three or four Stories of the contrary, and in which there had been ſome unreaſonable Hardneſs uſed, made a greater Noiſe and ſpread farther, than their Examples of Charity and Moderation. And as honeſt Men did not uſually fare the better for any Merit, ſo the Purchaſers who offered moſt Money, did not fare the worſe for all the Villanies They had committed. And two or three unhappy Inſtances of this Kind brought Scandal upon the whole Church, as if They had been all guilty of the ſame Exceſſes, which They were far from. And by this Means the new Biſhops, who did not all follow the Precedents made by the old, underwent the ſame Reproaches: And many of them who had moſt adhered to their Order, and for ſo doing had undergone for twenty Years together ſundry Perſecutions and Oppreſſions, were not in their preſent Paſſion ſo much pleaſed with the renewing it, as They expected to have

been. Yet upon a very ſtrict Examination of the true Grounds of all thoſe Miſpriſions (except ſome few Inſtances which cannot be defended), there will be found more Paſſion than Juſtice in them; and that there was even a Neceſſity to raiſe as much Money as could be juſtly done, for the repairing the Cathedrals, which were all miſerably ruinated or defaced, and for the entirely building up many Houſes of the Prebends, which had been pulled down or let fall to the Ground. And thoſe Ways much more of thoſe Monies which were raiſed by Fines were iſſued and expended, than what went into the private Purſes of them, who had a Right to them, and had Need enough of them. But the Time began to be froward again, and all Degrees of Men were hard to be pleaſed; eſpecially when They ſaw one *Claſſis* of Men reſtored to more than They had ever loſt, and preferred to a Plenty They had never been acquainted with, whilſt themſelves remained remedileſs after ſo many Sufferings, and without any other Teſtimony of their Courage and Fidelity, than in the Ruin of their Fortunes, and the Sale of their Inheritance.

ANOTHER great Work was performed, between the Diſſolution of the laſt and the Beginning of the next Parliament, which was the Ceremony of the King's Coronation; and was done with the greateſt Solemnity and Glory, that ever any had been ſeen in that Kingdom. That the Novelties and new Inventions, with which the Kingdom had been ſo much intoxicated for ſo many Years together, might be diſcountenanced and diſcredited in the Eyes of the People, for the Folly and Want of State thereof; his Majeſty had directed the Records and old Formularies ſhould be examined, and thereupon all Things ſhould be prepared, and all Forms accuſtomed be uſed, that might add Luſtre and Splendour to the Solemnity. A *Court of Claims* was erected, where before the Lords Commiſſioners for that Service, all Perſons made Claim to thoſe Privileges and Precedency, which They conceived to be due to their Perſons, or the Offices of which They were poſſeſſed, in the Ceremony of the Coronation; which were allowed or rejected as their Right appeared. *The King's Coronation.*

THE King went early in the Morning to the *Tower* of *London* in his Coach, moſt of the Lords being there before. And about ten of the Clock They ſet forward towards *Whitehall*, ranged in that Order as the Heralds had appointed; thoſe of the Long Robe, the King's Council at Law, the Maſters of the Chancery, and Judges, going firſt, and ſo the Lords in their Order, very ſplendidly habited, on rich Footcloths; the Number of their Footmen being limited, to the Dukes ten, to the Earls eight, and to the Viſcounts ſix, and the Barons four, all richly clad, as their other Servants were. The whole Show was the moſt glorious in the Order and Expenſe, that had been ever ſeen in *England*; They who rode firſt being in *Fleet-ſtreet* when the King iſſued out of the *Tower*, as was known by the Diſcharge of the Ordnance: And it was near three of the Clock in the Afternoon, when the King alighted at *Whitehall*. The next Morning the King rode in the ſame State in his Robes and with his Crown on his Head, and all the Lords in their Robes, to *Weſtminſter-Hall*; where all the Enſigns for the Coronation were delivered to thoſe who were appointed to carry them, the Earl of *Northumberland* being made High Conſtable, and the Earl of *Suffolk* Earl Marſhal, for the Day. And then all the Lords in their Order, and the King himſelf, walked on Foot upon blue Cloth from *Weſtminſter-Hall* to the *Abbey Church*, where after a Sermon preached by Dr. *Morley* (then Biſhop of *Worceſter*) in *Henry the Seventh's Chapel*, the King was ſworn, crowned and anointed, by Dr. *Juxon* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*,

bury, with all the Solemnity that in thoſe Caſes had been uſed. All which being done, the King returned in the ſame Manner on Foot to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, which was adorned with rich Hangings and Statues; and there the King dined, and the Lords on either Side at Tables provided for them: And all other Ceremonies were performed with great Order and Magnificence.

Two unlucky Accidents which attended it.

I SHOULD not have enlarged thus much upon the Ceremony of the Coronation, it may be not mentioned it (a perfect Narration having been then made and publiſhed of it, with all the Grandeur and Magnificence of the City of *London*), but that there were two Accidents in it, the one abſolutely new, the other that produced ſome Inconveniences which were not then diſcerned. The firſt was, that it being the Cuſtom in thoſe great Ceremonies or Triumphs of State, that the Maſter of the King's Horſe, (who is always a great Man, and was now the Duke of *Albemarle*, the General) rides next after the King, with a led Horſe in his Hand: In this Occaſion the Duke of *York* privately prevailed with the King, who had not enough Reverence for old Cuſtoms, without any Conſultation, that his Maſter of his Horſe (ſo He was called), Mr. *Jermyn*, a younger Brother of a very private Gentleman's Family, ſhould ride as near his Perſon, as the General did to his Majeſty, and lead a Horſe likewiſe in his Hand; a Thing never heard of before. Neither in Truth hath the younger Brother of the King ſuch an Officer as Maſter of his Horſe, which is a Term reſtrained within the Family of the King, Queen, and Prince of *Wales*; and the two Maſters of the Horſe to the Queen and Prince are ſubordinate to the King's Maſter of his Horſe, who hath the Juriſdiction over the other. The Lords were exceedingly ſurpriſed and troubled at this, of which They heard Nothing till They ſaw it; and They liked it the worſe, becauſe They diſcerned that it iſſued from a Fountain, from whence many bitter Waters were like to flow, the Cuſtoms of the Court of *France*, whereof the King and the Duke had too much the Image in their Heads, and than which there could not be a Copy more univerſally ingrateful and odious to the *Engliſh* Nation.

THE other was: In the Morning of the Coronation, whilſt They ſate at the Table in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to ſee the many Enſigns of the Coronation delivered to thoſe Lords who were appointed to carry them, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was that Day High Conſtable, came to the King and told him, "that amongſt the young Noblemen who were appointed to "carry the ſeveral Parts of the King's Mantle, the Lord *Oſſory*, who was "the eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Ormond*, challenged the Place before the "Lord *Percy*, who was his eldeſt Son; whereas" He ſaid "the Duke of *Or-*"*mond* had no Place in the Ceremony of that Day, as Duke, but only as "Earl of *Brecknock*, and ſo the eldeſt Sons of all ancienter Earls ought to "take Place of his eldeſt Son;" which was ſo known a Rule, and of ſo general a Concernment, that the King could not chuſe but declare it, and ſend a Meſſage to the Lord *Oſſory* by the Lord Chamberlain, "that He "ſhould deſiſt from his Pretence." This, and the publick Manner of aſking and determining it, produced two ill Effects. The firſt, a Jealouſy and ill Underſtanding between the two great Families: The One naturally undervaluing and contemning his Equals, without paying much Regard to his Superiours; and the other not being uſed to be contemned by any, and well knowing that all the Advantages the Earl had in *England*, either in Antiquity or Fortune, He had the ſame in *Ireland*, and that He had merited and received an Increaſe of Title, when the other had deſerved to loſe that which

He was born to. The other, was a Jealouſy and Prejudice that it raiſed in the Nobility of *England*, as if the Duke of *Ormond* (who in Truth knew Nothing of it) had entered upon that Conteſt, in Hope that by his Intereſt in the King, He ſhould be able to put this eternal Affront upon the Peers of *England*, to bring them upon the ſame Level with thoſe of *Ireland*, who had no ſuch Eſteem. And it did not a little add to their Envy, that He had behaved himſelf ſo worthily throughout the ill Times, that He was the Object of an univerſal Reverence at home and abroad; which was a Reproach to moſt of them, whoſe Actions would not bear the Light. But as the Duke was not in the leaſt Degree privy to the particular Conteſt, nor raiſed the Value of himſelf from any Merit in his Services, nor undervalued others upon the Advantage of their having done amiſs; ſo He was abundantly ſatisfied in the Teſtimony of his own Conſcience, and in his unqueſtionable Innocence, and from thence too much deſpiſed the Prejudice and the Envy the others had towards him, the Marks whereof He was compelled afterwards to bear, which He did with the ſame Magnanimity.

BEFORE We proceed farther in the Relation of what was afterwards done, it will not be unſeaſonable in this Place to give an Account of ſomewhat that was not done, and which was generally expected to have been done, and as generally cenſured becauſe it was not; the Reaſon whereof is known to very few. The King had reſolved before his Coming into *England*, that as ſoon as He ſhould be ſettled in any Condition of Security, and no juſt Apprehenſion of future Troubles, He would take up and remove the Body of his Father, the laſt King, from *Windſor*, and inter it with all Solemnity at *Weſtminſter*; and that the Court ſhould continue in Mourning till the Coronation. And many good People thought this ſo neceſſary, that They were much troubled that it was not done, and liked not the Reaſons which were given, which made it appear that it had been conſidered. The Reaſons which were given in publick Diſcourſes from Hand to Hand, were two. The firſt; that now ten Years were paſt ſince that woful Tragedy, and the Joy and the Triumph for the King's Return had compoſed the Minds of the People, it would not be prudent to renew the Memory of that Parricide, by the Spectacle of a ſolemn Funeral; leſt it might cauſe ſuch Commotions of the Vulgar in all Places, as might produce great Diſorders and Inſurrections amongſt thoſe who had formerly ſerved the Kingdom, as if it were a good Seaſon and a new Provocation to take Revenge upon their Neighbours who had formerly tyranniſed over them; which might likewiſe have cauſed the Soldiers, who were newly diſbanded, to draw themſelves together for their own Security: And ſo the Peace would be at leaſt diſturbed. The other was; that to perform this Interment in any private Manner, would be liable to very juſt Cenſure, when all Things relating to the King himſelf had ſhowed ſo magnificently; and if it were done with the uſual Pomp of a ſolemn Interment of a King, the Expenſe would be ſo vaſt, that there would be neither Money found nor Credit for the Charge thereof.

A ſolemn Interment of the late King intended.

THESE were the Reaſons alleged and ſpread abroad; nor was either of them in itſelf without Weight to thinking Men. But the true Reaſon was. At the Time of that horrid Murder, *Windſor* was a Garriſon under the Command of a Citizen, who was an *Anabaptiſt*, with all his Officers and Soldiers. The Men had broken down all the Wainſcot, Rails and Partitions, which divided the Church, defaced all the Monuments and other Marks, and reduced the Whole into the Form of a Stable or Barn, and ſcarce fit for any other Uſe; when *Cromwell* had declared that the

But upon Search the Body could not be found.

Royal Body ſhould be privately interred in the Church of the Caſtle at *Windſor*, and the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindſey*, had obtained Leave to be preſent (only to be preſent, for They had no Power to prepare or do any Thing in it) at their Maſter's Burial. Thoſe great Men were not ſuffered to have above three Servants each, to enter into the Caſtle with them; and it may eaſily be concluded, that their own noble Hearts were too full of Sorrow, to ſend their Eyes abroad to take Notice of the Places by which They paſſed. They found the Church ſo wild a Place, that They knew not where They were; and as ſoon as the Royal Body was put into the Ground, They were conducted out of the Caſtle to their Lodging in the Town, and the next Morning returned to their ſeveral Houſes. Shortly after the King returned from beyond the Seas, He ſettled the Dean and Chapter of *Windſor*, with Direction to put his Royal Chapel there into the Order it uſed to be, and to repair the Ruins thereof, which was a long and a difficult Work. His Majeſty commanded the Dean carefully to inform himſelf of the Place, in which the King's Body had been interred, and to give him Notice of it. Upon Enquiry He could not find one Perſon in the Caſtle or in the Town, who had been preſent at the Burial. When the Parliament firſt ſeized upon the Caſtle and put a Garriſon into it, ſhortly after, They not only ejected all the Prebends and Singingmen of the Royal Chapel, but turned out all the Officers and Servants who had any Relation to the King or to the Church, except only thoſe who were notorious for their Infidelity towards the King or the Church: And of thoſe, or of the Officers or Soldiers of the Garriſon, there could not now one Man be found, who was in the Church when the King was buried. The Duke of *Richmond* and the Marquis of *Hertford* were Both dead: And the King ſent (after He had received that Account from the Dean) the two ſurviving Lords, the Earls of *Southampton* and of *Lindſey*, to *Windſor*; who taking with them as many of thoſe three Servants who had been admitted to attend them, as were now living, They could not recollect their Memories, nor find any one Mark by which They could make any Judgment, near what Place the King's Body lay. They made ſome Gueſs, by the Information of the Workmen who had been now employed in the new Pavement of the Church, and upon their Obſervation of any Place where the Earth had ſeemed to lye lighter, that it might be in or near that Place: But when They had cauſed it to be digged, and ſearched in and about it, They found Nothing. And upon their Return, the King gave over all farther Thought of Enquiry: And thoſe other Reaſons were caſt abroad upon any occaſional Enquiry or Diſcourſe of that Subject.

The Affairs of Ireland reſumed.

THAT which gave the King moſt Trouble, and deprived him of that Eaſe and Quiet which He had promiſed to himſelf during the Vacation between the two Parliaments, was the Buſineſs of *Ireland*; which We ſhall now take up again, and continue the Relation without Interruption, as long as We ſhall think fit to make any Mention of that Affair. We left it in the Hands of the Lord *Roberts*, whom the King had declared Deputy of *Ireland*, preſuming that He would upon Conference with the ſeveral Parties, who were all appointed to attend him, ſo ſhape and model the whole Bulk, that it might be more capable of ſome farther Debate before his Majeſty in Council: But that Hand did not hold it many Days.

Character of Lord Roberts the Deputy.

THAT noble Lord, though of a good Underſtanding, was of ſo moroſe a Nature, that it was no eaſy Matter to treat with him. He had ſome pedantick Parts of Learning, which made his other Parts of Judgment the worſe, for He had ſome Parts of good Knowledge in the Law, and in An-

quity, in the Precedents of former Times; all which were rendered the leſs uſeful, by the other Pedantry contracted out of ſome Books, and out of the ill Converſation He had with ſome Clergymen and People in Quality much below him, by whoſe weak Faculties He raiſed the Value of his own, which were very capable of being improved in better Company. He was naturally proud and imperious: Which Humour was increaſed by an ill Education; for excepting ſome Years ſpent in the Inns of Court amongſt the Books of the Law, He might be very juſtly ſaid to have been born and bred in *Cornwall*. There were many Days paſſed after the King's Declaration of him to be Deputy, before He could be perſuaded to viſit the General, who He knew was to continue Lieutenant; and when He did viſit him, it was with ſo ill a Grace, that the other received no Satisfaction in it, and the leſs, becauſe He plainly diſcerned that it proceeded from Pride, which He bore the more uneaſily, becauſe as He was now the greater Man, ſo He knew himſelf to be of a much better Family. He made ſo many Doubts and Criticiſms upon the Draught of his Patent, that the Attorney General was weary of attending him; and when all Things were agreed on at Night, the next Morning produced new Dilemmas. But that which was worſe than all this, He received thoſe of the *Iriſh* Nation of the beſt Quality, and who were of the Privy Council and chief Command in that Kingdom, ſo ſuperciliouſly; received their Information ſo negligently, and gave his Anſwers ſo ſcornfully; that after They had waited upon him four or five Days, They beſought the King that They might not be obliged to attend him any more. And it was evident, that his Carriage towards them was not to be ſubmitted to by Perſons of his own Quality, or of any liberal Education: Nor did He make any Advance towards the Buſineſs.

THIS gave the King very great Trouble, and them as much Pleaſure who had never liked the Deſignation. He knew not what to do with his Deputy, nor what to do for *Ireland*. The Lord *Roberts* was not a Man that was to be diſgraced and thrown off, without much Inconvenience and Hazard. He had Parts which in Council and Parliament (which were the two Scenes where all the King's Buſineſs lay) were very troubleſome; for of all Men alive who had ſo few Friends, He had the moſt Followers. They who converſed moſt with him, knew him to have many Humours which were very intolerable; They who were but a little acquainted with him, took him to be a Man of much Knowledge, and called his Moroſity Gravity, and thought the Severity of his Manners made him leſs grateful to the Courtiers. He had no ſuch advantageous Faculties in his Delivery, as could impoſe upon his Auditors; but He was never tedious, and his Words made Impreſſion. In a Word, He was ſuch a Man, as the King thought worthy to be compounded with. And therefore his Majeſty appointed the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treaſurer to confer with him, and to diſpoſe him to accept the Office of Privy Seal, which gave him a great Precedence that would gratify that Paſſion which was ſtrongeſt in him; for in his Nature He preferred Place before Money, which his Fortune ſtood more in Need of. And the King thought, it would be no ill Argument to incline him to give over the Thought of *Ireland*, that it was impoſſible for the King, to ſupply him for the preſent with near any ſuch Sum of Money as He had very reaſonably demanded, for the Satisfaction of the Army there (which was upon the Matter to be new modelled, and ſome Part of it diſbanded) with the Reduction of many Officers, and for his own Equipage.

The King makes Lord Roberts an Offer of the Privy Seal.

THEY began their Approach to him, by aſking him "when He would "be ready for his Journey to *Ireland*;" to which He anſwered with ſome

Quickneſs, "that He was confident there was no Purpoſe to ſend him thi-
"ther, for that He ſaw there was no Preparation of thoſe Things, without
"which the King knew well that it was not poſſible for him to go; nor
"had his Majeſty lately ſpoken to him of it. Beſides He had obſerved,
"that the Chancellor had for many Days paſt called him at the Council,
"and in all other Places where They met, by the Name of Lord *Roberts*;
"whereas, for ſome Months before, He had upon all Occaſions and in all
"Places treated him with the Style of Lord Deputy: Which gave him firſt
"Cauſe to believe, that there was ſome Alteration in the Purpoſe of ſending
"him thither." They Both aſſured him, "that the King had no other Per-
"ſon in his View but himſelf for that Service, if He were diſpoſed to un-
"dertake it vigorouſly; but that the King had forborn lately to ſpeak with
"him of it, becauſe He found it impoſſible for him to provide the Money
"He propoſed; and it could not be denied, that He had propoſed it very
"reaſonably in all Reſpects. However, it being impoſſible to procure it,
"and that He could not go without it, for which He could not be blamed,
"his Majeſty muſt find ſome other Expedient to ſend his Authority thither,
"the Government there being yet ſo looſe, that He could not but every
"Day expect to receive News of ſome great Diſorder there, the ill Conſe-
"quence whereof would be imputed to his Majeſty's Want of Care and
"Providence. That his Majeſty had yet forborn to think of that Expedient,
"till He might do it with his Conſent and Advice, and until He could
"reſolve upon another Poſt, where He might ſerve his Majeſty with equal
"Honour, and by which the World might ſee the Eſteem He had of him.
"And therefore ſince it would be both unreaſonable and unjuſt, to preſs
"him to go for *Ireland* without thoſe Supplies, and it was equally impoſ-
"ſible to prepare and ſend thoſe Supplies;" They ſaid, "the King
"had commanded them to propoſe to him, that He would make him Lord
"Privy Seal, an Office He well underſtood. And if He accepted that and
"were poſſeſſed of it (as He ſhould immediately be), his Majeſty would
"enter upon new Conſiderations how to ſettle the tottering Condition of
"*Ireland*." The Lord's dark Countenance preſently cleared up, having no Doubt expected to be deprived of his Title to *Ireland*, without being aſſigned any other any where elſe: And now being offered the third Place of Precedence in the Nobility, the Privy Seal going next to the Treaſurer, upon a very ſhort Recollection, He declared "that He received it as a great
"Honour, that the King would make Uſe of his Service in any Place, and
"that He ſubmitted wholly to his good Pleaſure, and would ſerve him with
"great Fidelity." The next Day the King gave him the Privy Seal at the Council-Board, where He was ſworn and took his Place; and to ſhew his extraordinary Talent, found a Way more to obſtruct and puzzle Buſineſs, at leaſt the Diſpatch of it, than any Man in that Office had ever done before: Inſomuch as the King found himſelf compelled in a ſhort Time after, to give Order that moſt Grants and Patents, which required Haſte, ſhould paſs by immediate Warrant to the Great Seal, without viſiting the Privy Seal; which Preterition was not uſual, and brought ſome Inconvenience and Prejudice to the Chancellor.

Lord Roberts *accepts the Privy Seal, and quits the Place of Deputy.*

THOUGH the King had within himſelf a Proſpect of the Expedient, that would be fitteſt for him to make Uſe of for the preſent, towards the Settlement of *Ireland*; yet it was abſolutely neceſſary for him, even before He could make Uſe of that Expedient, to put the ſeveral Claims and Petitions of Right which were depending before him, and which were attended with ſuch an unruly Number of Suitors, into ſome ſuch Method of examining and

determining, that they might not be left in the Confuſion they were then in. And this could not be done, without his impoſing upon himſelf the Trouble of hearing once at large, all that every Party of the Pretenders could allege for the Support of their ſeveral Pretences: And this He did with incredible Patience for very many Days together. We ſhall firſt mention thoſe Intereſts, which gave the King leaſt Trouble, becauſe they admitted leaſt Debate.

The King hears all Parties.

IT was looked upon as very ſcandalous, that the Marquis of *Ormond* ſhould remain ſo long without the Poſſeſſion of any Part of his Eſtate; which had been taken from him upon no other Pretence, but his adhering to the King. And therefore there was an Act of Parliament paſſed with the Conſent of all Parties, that He ſhould be preſently reſtored to all his Eſtate; which was done with the more Eaſe, becauſe the greateſt Part of it (for his Wife's Land had been before aſſigned to her in *Cromwell's* Time, or rather in his Son *Harry's*) lay within that Province, which *Cromwell* out of his Huſbandry had reſerved for himſelf, exempt from all Title or Pretence of *Adventurer* or Soldier: What other Part of his Eſtate either the one or the other were poſſeſſed of, in their own Judgments it was ſo impoſſible for them to enjoy, that They very willingly yielded it up to the Marquis, in Hope of having Recompenſe made to them out of other Lands. There could as little be ſaid againſt the Reſtoration of the Earl of *Inchiquin* to his Eſtate, which had been taken from him and diſtributed amongſt the *Adventurers* and Soldiers, for no other Cauſe but his ſerving the King. There were likewiſe ſome others of the ſame *Claſſis*, who had Nothing objected to them but their Loyalty, who were put into the Poſſeſſion of their own Eſtates. And all this gave no Occaſion of Murmur; every Man of what Intereſt ſoever believing or pretending to believe, that the King was obliged in Honour, Juſtice and Conſcience, to cauſe that Right to be done to thoſe who had ſerved him faithfully.

The King's Friends reſtored by Act of Parliament.

THERE could be as little Doubt, and there was as little Oppoſition viſible, in the Claim of the Church: So that the King made Choice of many grave Divines, to whom He aſſigned Biſhopricks in *Ireland*, and ſent them thither, to be conſecrated by the Biſhops who remained alive there according to the Laws of that Kingdom; and conferred the other Dignities and Church-Preferments upon worthy Men, who were all authorized to enter upon thoſe Lands, which belonged to their ſeveral Churches. And in this general Zeal for the Church, ſome new Grants were made of Lands and Impropriations, which were not enough deliberated, and gave afterwards great Interruption to the Settlement of the Kingdom, and brought Envy upon the Church and Churchmen, when the Reſtoration to what was their own was generally well approved.

Church-Lands reſtored, and new Biſhops appointed.

THE Pretences of the *Adventurers* and Soldiers were very much involved and perplexed: Yet they gave the King little other Trouble, than the general Care and Solicitude, that by an unſeaſonable Diſturbance of their Poſſeſſions there, the Soldiers who had been diſbanded, and thoſe of the ſtanding Army (who for the moſt Part had the ſame ill Affections), might not unite together, and ſeize upon ſome Places of Defence, before his Affairs in that Kingdom ſhould be put in ſuch an Order as to oppoſe them. And next that Apprehenſion, his Majeſty had no Mind that any of thoſe Soldiers; either who had been diſbanded, and put into Poſſeſſion of Lands for the Arrears of their Pay, and upon which They now lived; or of the other, the ſtanding Army, many whereof were likewiſe in Poſſeſſion of Lands aſſigned to them: I ſay, the King was not without Apprehenſion, that the Reſort of either of theſe into *England* might find too many of their old

Friends and Aſſociates, ready to concord with them in any deſperate Meaſures, and for controling of which He was not enough provided even in this Kingdom. But for their private and particular Intereſt, the King cared not much how it was compounded, nor conſidered the Danger if it were not compounded. For beſides the Factions, Diviſions and Animoſities, which were between themſelves, and very great; They could have no Cauſe of Complaint againſt the King, who would take Nothing from them to which They had the leaſt Pretence of Law or Right. And for their other Demands, He would leave them to litigate between themſelves; it being evident to all Men, that there muſt be ſome Judicatory erected by Act of Parliament, that only could examine and put an End to all thoſe Pretences: The Peruſal and Examination of which Act of Parliament, when the ſame ſhould be prepared, his Majeſty reſolved that all Parties ſhould have, and that He would hear their particular Exceptions to it, before He would tranſmit it into *Ireland* to be paſſed.

THAT which gave the King the only Trouble and Solicitude, was the miſerable Condition of the *Iriſh* Nation, that was ſo near an Extirpation; the Thought whereof his Majeſty's Heart abhorred. Nor can it be denied, that either from the Indignation He had againſt thoſe, in whoſe Favour the other poor People were miſerably deſtroyed, or from his own natural Compaſſion and Tenderneſs, and the juſt Regard of the Merit of many of them who had ſerved him with Fidelity, He had a very ſtrong and princely Inclination to do the beſt He could, without doing apparent Injuſtice, to preſerve them in a tolerable Condition of Subjects. This made him give them, who were moſt concerned and ſolicitous on their Behalf, Liberty to reſort to his Preſence; and hear all They could allege for themſelves, in private or in publick. And this Indulgence proved to their Diſadvantage, and exalted them ſo much, that when They were heard in publick at the Board, They behaved themſelves with leſs Modeſty towards their Adverſaries, who ſtood upon the Advantage-Ground, and with leſs Reverence in the Preſence of the King, than the Truth of their Condition and any ordinary Diſcretion would have required. And their Diſadvantage was the greater, becauſe They who ſpake publickly on their Behalf, and were very well qualified to ſpeak, and left Nothing for the Matter unſaid that was for their Purpoſe, were Men, who from the Beginning to the End of the Rebellion, had behaved themſelves eminently ill towards the King. And They of their Adverſaries who ſpake againſt them, had great Knowledge and Experience of all that had paſſed on either Side, and knew how to preſs it home when it was ſeaſonable.

The King inclined to favour the Pretenſions of the Iriſh Catholicks.

THEY of the *Iriſh*, who were all united under the Name of *The confederate Catholicks* of *Ireland*, made their firſt Approach wiſely for Compaſſion; and urged "their great and long Sufferings; the Loſs of their Eſtates for "five or ſix and twenty Years; the waſting and ſpending of the whole "Nation in Battles, and Tranſportation of vaſt Multitudes of Men into the "Parts beyond the Seas, whereof many had the Honour to teſtify their "Fidelity to the King by real Services, and many of them returned into "*England* with him, and were ſtill in his Service; the great Numbers of "Men, Women and Children, that had been maſſacred and executed in "cold Blood, after the King's Government had been driven from thence; "the Multitudes that had been deſtroyed by Famine and the Plague, thoſe two "heavy Judgments having raged over the Kingdom for two or three Years; "and at laſt, as a Perſecution unheard of, the tranſplanting the ſmall Re-"mainder of the Nation into one Corner of the Province of *Conaught*, where

The Plea of the Iriſh Catholicks.

"yet much of the Lands was taken from them, which had been aſſigned "with all thoſe Formalities of Law, which were in Uſe and practiſed under "that Government."

(2.) THEY demanded "the Benefit of two Treaties of Peace, the one in "the late King's Time and confirmed by him, the other confirmed by his "Majeſty who was preſent; by Both which," They ſaid, "They ſtood in-"demnified for all Acts done by them in the Rebellion; and inſiſted upon "their Innocence ſince that Time, and that They had paid ſo entire an "Obedience to his Majeſty's Commands whilſt He was beyond the Seas, "that They betook themſelves to, and withdrew themſelves from, the Ser-"vice of *France* or *Spain*, in ſuch Manner as his Majeſty ſignified his "Pleaſure was They ſhould do." And if They had ended here, They would have done wiſely. But whether it was the Obſervation They made, that what They had ſaid made Impreſſion upon his Majeſty and many of the Lords; or whether it was their evil Genius that naturally tranſported them to Actions of ſtrange Sottiſhneſs and Indiſcretion; They urged and enforced with more Liberty than became them in that Conjuncture, "the "Unworthineſs and Incapacity of thoſe, who for ſo many Years had poſ-"ſeſſed themſelves of their Eſtates, and ſought now a Confirmation of their "rebellious Title from his Majeſty."

(3.) "THAT their Rebellion had been more infamous and of a greater "Magnitude than that of the *Iriſh*, who had riſen in Arms to free them-"ſelves from the Rigour and Severity that was exerciſed upon them by ſome "of the King's Miniſters, and for the Liberty of their Conſcience and Practice "of their Religion, without having the leaſt Intention or Thought of with-"drawing themſelves from his Majeſty's Obedience, or declining his Go-"vernment: Whereas the others had carried on an odious Rebellion "againſt the King's ſacred Perſon, whom They had horridly murdered "in the Sight of the Sun, with all imaginable Circumſtances of Contempt "and Defiance, and as much as in them lay had rooted out Monarchy "itſelf, and overturned and deſtroyed the whole Government of Church "and State: And therefore that whatever Puniſhment the poor *Iriſh* had "deſerved for their former Tranſgreſſions, which They had ſo long repented "of, and departed from the Rebellion when They had Armies and ſtrong "Towns in their Hands, which They, together with themſelves, had put "again under his Majeſty's Protection; this Part of the *Engliſh*, who were "poſſeſſed of their Eſtates, had broken all their Obligations to God and the "King, and ſo could not merit to be gratified with their Ruin and total "Deſtruction. That it was too evident and notorious to the World, that "his Majeſty's three Kingdoms had been very faulty to him, and withdrawn "themſelves from his Government; by which He had been compelled "to live in Exile ſo many Years: And yet, that upon their Return to their "Duty and Obedience, He had been graciouſly pleaſed to grant a free and "general Pardon and Act of Indemnity, in which many were comprehended, "who in Truth had been the Contrivers and Fomenters of all the Miſery "and Deſolation, which had involved the three Nations for ſo many Years. "And therefore that They hoped, that when all his Majeſty's other Sub-"jects (as criminal at leaſt as They were) were, by his Majeſty's Clemency, "reſtored to their own Eſtates which They had forfeited, and were in full "Peace, Mirth and Joy; the poor *Iriſh* alone ſhould not be totally exempt "from all his Majeſty's Grace, and left in Tears and Mourning and Lamen-"mentation, and be ſacrificed without Redemption to the Avarice and "Cruelty of thoſe, who had not only ſpoiled and oppreſſed them, but had

"done all that was in their Power, and with all the Inſolence imaginable, "to deſtroy the King himſelf and his Poſterity, and who now returned to "their Obedience, and ſubmitted to his Government, when They were no "longer able to oppoſe it. Nor did They yet return to it with that "Alacrity and Joy and Reſignation as the *Iriſh* did, but inſiſted obſtinately "upon Demands unreaſonable, and which They hoped could not conſiſt "with his Majeſty's Honour to grant:" And ſo concluded with thoſe pathetical Applications and Appeals to the King, as Men well verſed in Diſcourſes of that Nature are accuſtomed to.

THIS Diſcourſe carried on and urged with more Paſſion, Vehemence and Indiſcretion, than was ſuitable to the Condition They were in, and in which, by the Exceſſes of their Rhetorick, They had let fall many Expreſſions very indecent and unwarrantable, and in ſome of them confidently excuſed if not juſtified their firſt Entrance into Rebellion (the moſt barbarous certainly and inexcuſable, that any Chriſtians have been engaged in in any Age), irreconciled many to them who had Compaſſion enough for them, and made it impoſſible for the King to reſtrain their Adverſaries, who were prepared to anſwer all They had ſaid, from uſing the ſame Licenſe. They enlarged "upon all the odious Circumſtances of the firſt Year's Rebellion, "the murdering of above a hundred thouſand Perſons in cold Blood, and "with all the Barbarity imaginable; which Murders and Barbarities had been "always excepted from Pardon." And They told them, "that if there were "not ſome amongſt themſelves who then appeared before his Majeſty, They "were ſure there would be found many amongſt thoſe for whom They appeared, who would be found guilty of thoſe odious Crimes, which were "excluded from any Benefit by thoſe Treaties." They took Notice, "how "confidently They had extolled their own Innocence from the Time "that thoſe two Acts of Pacification had paſſed, and their great Affection "for his Majeſty's Service." And thereupon They declared, "that whatſoever legal Title the *Adventurers* had to the Lands of which They were "poſſeſſed, many of whom had conſtantly ſerved the King; yet They "would be contented, that all thoſe, who in Truth had preſerved their Integrity towards his Majeſty from the Time of either if not of Both the "Pacifications, and not ſwerved afterwards from their Allegiance, ſhould "partake of his Royal Bounty, in ſuch a Manner and to ſuch a Degree, as "his Majeſty thought fit to exerciſe towards them. But" They ſaid "They "would make it appear, that their Pretences to that Grace and Favour were "not founded upon any reaſonable Title; that They had never conſented "to any one Act of Pacification, to which the Promiſe of Indemnity had "been annexed, which They had not violated and broken within ten "Days after, and then returned to all the Acts of Diſloyalty and Rebellion."

The Anſwer of the Adventurers.

"THAT after the firſt Act of Pacification ratified by the laſt King, in "very few Days, They treated the Herald, his Majeſty's Officer, who "came to proclaim that Peace, with all Manner of Indignity, tearing his Coat "of Arms (the King's Arms) from his Back; and beat and wounded him "ſo, that He was hardly reſcued from the Loſs of his Life. That about "the ſame Time They endeavoured to ſurpriſe and murder the Lord Lieutenant, and purſued him to *Dublin*, which They forthwith beſieged with "their Army, under the Command of that General who had ſigned the "Peace. They impriſoned their Commiſſioners who were authorized by "them, for conſenting to thoſe Articles which themſelves had confirmed, "and ſo proſecuted the War with as much Aſperity as ever; and refuſed to

"give

"give that Aid and Aſſiſtance They were obliged to, for the Recovery and "Reſtoration of his late Majeſty; the Promiſe and Expectation of which "Supply and Aſſiſtance, was the ſole Ground and Conſideration of that "Treaty, and of the Conceſſions therein made to them. That They there-"upon more formally renounced their Obedience to the King, and put "themſelves under the Protection and Diſpoſal of *Rinuccini* the Pope's "*Nuncio*, whom They made their Generaliſſimo of all their Armies, their "Admiral at Sea, and to preſide in all their Councils. After their Diviſions "amongſt themſelves, and the Burden of the Tyranny They ſuffered under, "had diſpoſed them to petition his Majeſty that now is, who was then in "*France*, to receive them into his Protection, and to ſend the Marquis of "*Ormond* over again into *Ireland* to command them, his Majeſty was "ſo far prevailed with, that He ſent the Marquis of *Ormond* into *Munſter*, "with ſuch a Supply of Arms and Ammunition as He could get; where "the Lord *Inchiquin*, Lord Preſident of that Province, received him with "the Proteſtant Army and joined with him: And ſhortly after, the *Confe-"derate Iriſh* made that ſecond Treaty of Pacification, of which They now "demanded the Benefit. But it was notoriouſly known, that They no "ſooner made that Treaty than They brake it, in not bringing in thoſe "Supplies of Men and Money, which They ought and were obliged to do; "the Want whereof expoſed the Lord Lieutenant to many Difficulties, "and was in Truth the Cauſe of the Misfortune before *Dublin:* Which He "had no ſooner undergone, than They withdrew from taking any further "Care of the Kingdom, and raiſed Scandals upon and Jealouſies of the whole "Body of the *Engliſh*, who, being ſo provoked, could no longer venture "themſelves in any Action or Conjunction with the *Iriſh*, without more "Apprehenſion of them than of the common Enemy."

"INSTEAD of endeavouring to compoſe theſe Jealouſies and ill Humours, "They cauſed an Aſſembly or Convention of their Clergy to meet without "the Lord Lieutenant's Authority, and put the Government of all Things "into their Hands: Who, in a ſhort Time, improved the Jealouſies in the "Mind of the People towards the few *Proteſtants* who yet remained in the "Army, and who had ſerved the King with all imaginable Courage and "Fidelity from the very firſt Hour of the Rebellion, to that Degree, that "the Marquis was even compelled to diſcharge his own Troop of Guards "of Horſe, conſiſting of ſuch Officers and Gentlemen as are mentioned "before, and to truſt himſelf and all the remaining Towns and Garriſons "to the Fidelity of the *Iriſh*; They proteſting with much Solemnity, that "upon ſuch a Confidence, the whole Nation would be united as one Man "to his Majeſty's Service, under his Command. But They had no ſooner "received Satisfaction in that Particular (which was not in the Marquis his "Power to refuſe to give them), but They raiſed ſeveral Calumnies againſt "his Perſon, declaimed againſt his Religion, and inhibited the People, upon "Pain of Excommunication, to ſubmit to this and that Order that was iſſued "out by the Marquis, without obeying whereof the Army could not ſtay to-"gether; and upon the Matter forbad the People to pay any Obedience "to him. Inſtead of raiſing new Forces according to their laſt Promiſe and "Engagement, thoſe that were raiſed ran from their Colours and diſperſed "themſelves; They who were truſted with the keeping of Towns and "Forts, either gave them up by Treachery to *Cromwell*, or loſt them "through Cowardice to him upon very feeble Attacks: And their General, "*Owen ONeile*, made a formal Contract and Stipulation with the Parlia-"ment. And in the End, when They had diveſted the Lord Lieutenant

"of all Power to oppoſe the Enemy, and given him great Cauſe to believe "that his Perſon was in Danger to be betrayed, and delivered up to the "Enemy, They vouchſafed to petition him that He would depart out of "the Kingdom (to the Neceſſity whereof They had even already compelled "him); and that He would leave his Majeſty's Authority in the Hands of "one of his Catholick Subjects, to whom They promiſed to ſubmit with "the moſt punctual Obedience."

"HEREUPON the Marquis, when He found that He could not unite them "in any one Action worthy the Duty of good Subjects, or of prudent Men, "towards their own Preſervation; and ſo, that his Reſidence amongſt them "longer could in no Degree contribute to his Majeſty's Service or Honour; "and that They would make it to be believed, that if He would have "committed the Command into the Hands of a *Roman Catholick*, They "would have been able to preſerve thoſe Towns which ſtill remained in "their Poſſeſſion, which were *Limerick* and *Gallway*, and ſome other "Places of Importance enough, though of leſs than thoſe Cities; and that "They would likewiſe by Degrees recover from the Enemy what had been "loſt, which indeed was very poſſible for them to have done, ſince They "had great Bodies of Men to perform any Enterpriſe, and ſome good "Officers to lead them, if They would have been obedient to any Com- "mand: Hereupon the Marquis reſolved to gratify them, and to place "the Command in the Hands of ſuch a Perſon, whoſe Zeal for the Catho- "lick Religion was unqueſtionable, and whoſe Fidelity to the King was "unblemiſhed. And ſo He made Choice of the Marquis of *Clan- "rickard*, a Gentleman, though originally of *Engliſh* Extraction, whoſe "Family had for ſo many hundred Years reſided in that Kingdom, that "He was looked upon as being of the beſt Family of the *Iriſh*; and whoſe "Family had, in all former Rebellions, as well as in this laſt, preſerved "its Loyalty to the Crown not only unſpotted, but eminently conſpicuous."

"THE *Roman Catholicks* of all Kinds pretended at leaſt a wonderful Satis- "faction and Joy in this Election; acknowledged it as a great Obligation "upon them and their Poſterity to the Lord Lieutenant, for making ſo wor- "thy a Choice; and applied themſelves to the Marquis of *Clanrickard* with "all the Proteſtations of Duty and Submiſſion, to induce him to accept the "Charge and Command over them; who indeed knew them too well to be "willing to truſt them, or to have any Thing to do with them. Yet upon "the Marquis of *Ormond's* earneſt and ſolemn Intreaty, as the laſt and "only Remedy to keep and retain ſome Remainder of Hope, from whence "future Hopes might grow; whereas all other Thoughts were deſperate, "and the Kingdom would preſently fall into the Hands and Poſſeſſion of "the *Engliſh*, who would extirpate the whole Nation: This Importunity, "and his great Zeal for the Service of the Crown, and to ſupport the Go- "vernment there until his Majeſty could procure other Supplies, which the "Marquis of *Ormond* promiſed to ſolicit in *France*, or till his Majeſty "ſhould ſend better Orders to preſerve his Authority in that Kingdom "(the Hope of which ſeemed the leſs deſperate, becauſe They had Notice "at the ſame Time of his Majeſty's March into *England*, with an Army "from *Scotland*), prevailed with him ſo, that He was contented to receive "ſuch Commiſſions from the Lord Lieutenant, as were neceſſary for the "Execution of the preſent Command. Upon which the Lord Lieute- "nant embarked himſelf, with ſome few Friends and Servants, upon a lit- "tle rotten Pink that was bound for *France*, and very ill accommodated "for ſuch a Voyage; being not to be perſuaded to ſend to the Commander

"in Chief of the *Engliſh* for a Paſs, though He was aſſured that it would very "readily have been granted: But it pleaſed God that He arrived ſafely in "*France*, a little before or about the Time that the King tranſported him- "ſelf thither, after his miraculous Eſcape from *Worceſter*."

"THE Marquis of *Ormond* was no ſooner gone out of *Ireland*, but the "Lord Marquis of *Clanrickard*, then Lord Deputy, found himſelf no better "treated than the Lord of *Ormond* had been. That Part of the Clergy, which "had continually oppoſed the Lord Lieutenant for being a *Proteſtant*, were "now as little ſatisfied with the Deputy's Religion, and as violently con- "tradicted all his Commands and Deſires, and violated all their own Pro- "miſes, and quickly made it evident, that his Affection and Loyalty to "the King was that which They diſliked, and a Crime that could not be "ballanced by the undoubted Sincerity of his Religion. They entered into "ſecret Correſpondence with the Enemy, and Conſpiracies between them- "ſelves: And though there were ſome Perſons of Honour and Quality with "the Deputy, who were very faithful to him and to the King; yet there "were ſo many of another Allay, that all his Counſels, Reſolutions and "Deſigns, were diſcovered to the Enemy ſoon enough to be prevented. And "though ſome of the Letters were intercepted, and the Perſons diſcovered "who gave the Intelligence, He had not Power to bring them to Juſtice; "but being commonly Friars and Clergymen, the Privilege of the Church "was inſiſted upon, and ſo They were reſcued from the ſecular Proſecution "till their Eſcape was contrived. That perfidious and treacherous Party "had ſo great an Intereſt in all the Towns, Forts and Garriſons, which yet "pretended to be ſubject to the Deputy, that all his Orders were ſtill "contradicted or neglected: And the Enemy no ſooner appeared before any "Place, but ſome Faction in the Town cauſed it to be given up and rendered."

"NOR could this fatal Sottiſhneſs be reformed, even by the Severity and "Rigour which the *Engliſh* exerciſed upon them, who, by the wonderful Judg- "ment of God Almighty, always put thoſe Men to Death, who put them- "ſelves and thoſe Towns into their Hands; finding ſtill that They had ſome "barbarous Part in the foul Murders, which had been committed in the "Beginning of the Rebellion, and who had been, by all the Acts of Grace "granted by the ſeveral Powers, ſtill reſerved for Juſtice. And of this Kind "there would be ſo many Inſtances in and about *Limerick* and *Gallway*, "that they deſerve to be collected and mentioned in a Diſcourſe by itſelf, "to obſerve and magnify the wonderful Providence of God Almighty in "bringing heinous Crimes to Light and Puniſhment in this World, by "Means unapprehended by the guilty: Inſomuch as it can hardly be "believed, how many of the Clergy and the Laity, who had a ſignal Hand "in the contriving and fomenting the firſt Rebellion, and in the Perpetra- "tion of thoſe horrible Murders; and who had obſtructed all Overtures "toward Peace, and principally cauſed any Peace that was made, to be "preſently broken; who had with moſt Paſſion adhered to the *Nuncio*, "and endeavoured moſt maliciouſly to exclude the King and his Poſterity "from the Dominion of *Ireland*: I ſay, it can hardly be believed, how many "of theſe moſt notorious Tranſgreſſors did by ſome Act of Treachery en- "deavour to merit from the *Engliſh* Rebels, and ſo put themſelves into "their Hands, and were by them publickly and reproachfully executed and "put to Death."

"THIS being the ſad Condition the Deputy was in; and the *Iriſh* "having, without his Leave and againſt his expreſs Command, taken upon "them to ſend Meſſengers into *Flanders*, to deſire the Duke of *Lorraine* to

"take them into his Protection, and offered to deliver ſeveral important "Places and Sea-Towns into his Poſſeſſion, and to become his Subjects, "(upon which the Duke ſent over an Ambaſſadour, and a good Sum of "Money for their preſent Relief), the Deputy was in a ſhort Time reduced to "thoſe Streights, that He durſt not remain in any Town nor even in his "own Houſe three Days together, but was forced for his Safety to ſhift "from Place to Place, and ſometimes to lodge in the Woods and Fields in "cold and wet Nights; by which He contracted thoſe Infirmities and Diſ-"eaſes, which ſhortly after brought him to his Grave. And in the End, He "was compelled to accept a Paſs from the *Engliſh*, who had a Reverence "for his Perſon and his unſpotted Reputation, to tranſport himſelf into *Eng-*"*land*, where his Wife and Family were; and where He died before He "could procure Means to carry himſelf to the King, which He always in-"tended to do."

When the Commiſſioners had enlarged with ſome Commotion in this Narration and Diſcourſe, They again provoked the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners to nominate "one Perſon amongſt themſelves, or of thoſe for whom They ap-"peared, who They believed could in Juſtice demand his Majeſty's Favour; "and if They did not make it evidently appear, that He had forfeited all "his Title to Pardon after the Treaties, and that He had been again as "faulty to the King as before, They were very willing He ſhould be reſtored "to his Eſtate." And then applying themſelves to his Majeſty with great Duty and Submiſſion, They concluded; "that if any Perſons had, by their "ſubſequent Loyalty or Service, or by their Attendance upon his Majeſty "beyond the Seas, rendered themſelves grateful to him, and worthy of his "Royal Favour, They were very willing that his Majeſty ſhould reſtore all or "any of them to their Honours or Eſtates, in ſuch Manner as his Majeſty "thought fit, and againſt all Impediments whatſoever." And upon this frank Offer of theirs, which his Majeſty took very well, ſeveral Acts of Parliament were preſently paſſed, for the Indemnity and the reſtoring many Perſons of Honour and Intereſt to their Eſtates; who could either in Juſtice require it, as having been faithful always to the King, and ſuffered with him or for him; or who had ſo far manifeſted their Affection and Duty for his Majeſty, that He thought fit, in that Conſideration, to wipe out the Memory of whatſoever had been formerly done amiſs. And by this Means, many were put into a full Poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, to which They could make any good Pretence at the Time when the Rebellion began.

Many Catholicks who had ſerved the King immediately reſtored.

This Conſideration and Debate upon the Settlement of this unhappy Kingdom took up many Days, the King being always preſent, in which there aroſe every Day new Difficulties. And it appeared plainly enough, that the Guilt was ſo general, that if the Letter of the Act of Parliament of the ſeventeenth Year of the late King were ſtrictly purſued, as poſſibly it might have been, if the Reduction had fallen out likewiſe during the whole Reign of that King, even an utter Extirpation of the Nation would have followed.

Three Particulars in this Affair which diſtreſs the King.

There were three Particulars, which, upon the firſt Mention and View of them, ſeemed in moſt Mens Eyes worthy of his Majeſty's extraordinary Compaſſion and Interpoſition; and yet upon a ſtricter Examination were found as remedileſs as any of the reſt. One was; "the Condition of that "miſerable People, which was likewiſe very numerous, that was tranſplanted "into *Conaught*; who had been removed from their own Poſſeſſions in other "Provinces, with ſuch Circumſtances of Tyranny and Cruelty, that their "own Conſents obtained afterwards with that Force, could not reaſonably

1. The Tranſplantation of the Iriſh into Conaught.

"be thought any Confirmation of their unjuſt Title, who were in Poſſeſ-
"ſion of their Lands."

To this it was anſwered, "that though it was acted in an irregular *The Adventurers Defence of this Meaſure.*
"Manner, and without lawful Authority, it being in a Time of Uſurpa-
"tion; yet that the Act itſelf was very prudent and neceſſary, and an Act
"of Mercy, without which an utter Extirpation of the Nation muſt have
"followed, if the Kingdom were to be preſerved in Peace. That it can-
"not be denied to be an Act of Mercy, ſince there was not one Man tranſ-
"planted, who had not by the Law forfeited all the Eſtate He had;
"and his Life might have been as legally taken from him: So that both
"his Life, and whatever Eſtate He had granted to him in *Conaught*, was
"from the pure Bounty of the State, which might and did by the Act of
"Parliament ſeize upon the ſame. That, beſide the unſteady Humour of
"that People, and their natural Inclination to rebel, it was notorious, that
"whilſt They were diſperſed over the Kingdom, though all their Forces
"had been ſo totally ſubdued, that there was not throughout the whole
"Kingdom a viſible Number of twenty Men together, who pretended to
"be in Arms; yet there were daily ſuch Diſorders committed by Thefts
"and Robberies and Murders, that They could not be ſaid to be in Peace.
"Nor could the *Engliſh*, Man, Woman or Child, go one Mile from their
"Habitations upon their neceſſary Employment, but They were found
"murdered and ſtripped by the *Iriſh*, who lay in Wait for thoſe Purpoſes;
"ſo that the People were very hardly reſtrained from committing a Maſſacre
"upon them wherever They were met: So that there appeared no other
"Way to prevent an utter Extirpation of them, but to confine and reſtrain
"them within ſuch Limits and Bounds, that might keep them from doing
"Miſchief, and thereby make them ſafe. That thereupon this Expedient
"was laid Hold of. And whereas They had Nothing to enable them to live
"upon in the Places where They were diſperſed, They had now by this
"Tranſplantation into *Conaught* Lands given them, ſufficient with their
"Induſtry to live well upon; of which there was good Evidence, by their
"having lived well there ſince that Time, and many of them much better
"than They had ever done before. And the State, which had done this
"Grace for them, had great Reaſon, when it gave them good Titles to the
"Land aſſigned to them, which They might plead in any Court of Juſtice,
"to require from them Releaſes of what They had forfeited; which,
"though to the Publick of no Uſe or Validity, were of Benefit and behoove-
"ful to many particular Perſons, for the quieting their Poſſeſſions againſt
"frivolous Suits and Claims which might ſtart up. That this Tranſplan-
"tation had been acted, finiſhed, and ſubmitted to by all Parties, who
"had enjoyed the Benefit thereof, quietly and without Diſturbance, many
"Years before the King's Return: And the Soldiers and *Adventurers* had
"been likewiſe ſo many Years in the Poſſeſſion of their Lots, in Purſuance
"of the Act of Parliament, and had laid out ſo much Money in building
"and planting; that the Conſequence of ſuch an Alteration, as was now
"propoſed, would be the higheſt Confuſion imaginable."

AND it cannot be denied, that if the King could have thought it ſafe and ſeaſonable to have reviewed all that had been done, and taken thoſe Advantages upon former Miſcarriages and Miſapplications, as according to the Strictneſs of that very Law He might have done; the whole Foundation, upon which all the Hopes reſted of preſerving that Kingdom within the Obedience to the Crown of *England*, muſt have been ſhaken and even diſſolved; with no ſmall Influence and Impreſſion upon the Peace and Quiet

of *England* itſelf. For the Memory of the Beginning of the Rebellion in *Ireland* (how many other Rebellions ſoever had followed as bad, or worſe in Reſpect of the Conſequences that attended them) was as freſh and as odious to the whole People of *England*, as it had been the firſt Year. And though no Man durſt avow ſo unchriſtian a Wiſh, as an Extirpation of them (which They would have been very well contented with); yet no Man diſſembled his Opinion, that it was the only Security the *Engliſh* could have in that Kingdom, that the *Iriſh* ſhould be kept ſo low, that They ſhould have no Power to hurt them.

2. The Caſe of Entails and Settlements at Law.

ANOTHER Particular, that ſeemed more againſt the Foundation of Juſtice, was; "that the Soldiers and *Adventurers* expected and promiſed themſelves, "that in this new Settlement that was under Debate, all Entails and Settle- "ments at Law ſhould be deſtroyed, whether upon Conſideration of Mar- "riage, or any other Contracts which had been made before the Rebellion. "Nor had there been in the whole former Proceedings in the Time of the "Uſurpation, any Conſideration taken of Mortgages or Debts due by Sta- "tute or Recogniſance, or upon any other Security; ſo that all ſuch Debts "muſt be either loſt to the Proprietors, or remain ſtill with the Intereſt "upon the Land, whoever had enjoyed the Benefit or Profits thereof." All which ſeemed to his Majeſty very unreaſonable and unjuſt; and that ſuch Eſtates ſhould remain forfeited by the Treaſon of the Father, who had been only Tenant for Life, againſt all Deſcents and legal Titles of innocent Children; and of which, in all legal Attainders, the Crown never had or could receive any Benefit.

YET, how unreaſonable ſoever theſe Pretences ſeemed to be, it was no eaſy Matter to give Rules and Directions for the Remedy of the Miſchief, without introducing another Miſchief equally unjuſt and unreaſonable. For the Commiſſioners declared, "that if ſuch Titles, as are mentioned, were "preſerved and allowed to be good, there would not in that univerſal "Guilt, which upon the Matter comprehended and covered the whole *Iriſh* "Nation, be one Eſtate forfeited by Treaſon, but ſuch Conveyances and "Settlements would be produced to ſecure and defend the ſame: And "though they would be forged, there would not be Witneſſes wanting to "prove and juſtify whatſoever the Evidence could be applied to. And if "thoſe Trials were to be by the known Rules and Cuſtoms of the Law in "Caſes of the like Nature, there was too much Reaſon to ſuſpect and fear "that there would be little Juſtice done: Since a Jury of *Iriſh* would in- "fallibly find againſt the *Engliſh*, let the Evidence be what it could be; "and there was too much Reaſon to apprehend that the *Engliſh*, whoſe "Animoſity was not leſs, would be as unjuſt in bringing in their Verdict "againſt the *Iriſh* right or wrong." And there was Experience afterwards, in the Proſecution of this Affair, of ſuch Forgeries and Perjuries, as have not been heard of amongſt Chriſtians; and in which, to our Shame, the *Engliſh* were not behindhand with the *Iriſh*. The King however thought it not reaſonable or juſt for him, upon what probable Suggeſtions ſoever, to countenance ſuch a barefaced Violation of the Law, by any Declaration of his; but commanded his Council at Law, to make ſuch Alterations in the Expreſſions as might be fit for him to conſent to.

The Adventurers Anſwer.

3. The extreme Miſery of the Iriſh.

THE third Particular, and which much affected the King, was; "that "in this univerſal Joy for his Reſtoration without Blood, and with the In- "demnity of ſo many hundred Thouſands who had deſerved to ſuffer the "utmoſt Puniſhments, the poor *Iriſh*, after ſo long Sufferings in the "greateſt Extremity of Miſery, ſhould be the only Perſons who ſhould

"find no Benefit or Eaſe by his Majeſty's Reſtoration, but remain robbed "and ſpoiled of all They had, and be as it were again ſacrificed to the "Avarice and Cruelty of them, who had not deſerved better of his Majeſty "than the other poor People had done."

To which there can be no other Anſwer made, which is very ſufficient in Point of Juſtice, but that, "as their Rebellion and other Crimes had "been long before his Majeſty's Time, ſo full Vengeance had been executed "upon them; and They had paid the Penalties of their Crimes and Tranſ- "greſſions before his Majeſty's Return: So that He could not reſtore that "which They called their own, without taking it from them, who were "become the juſt Owners by an Act of Parliament; which his Majeſty "could not violate without Injuſtice, and Breach of the Faith He had "given." *Anſwer to this Plea.*

AND that which was their greateſt Miſery and Reproach, and which diſtinguiſhed them from the Subjects of the other two Kingdoms, who were otherwiſe bad enough, was; that Both the other Nations had made many noble Attempts for redeeming their Liberty, and for the Reſtoration of his Majeſty (for *Scotland* itſelf had done much towards it); and his preſent Reſtoration was, with God's Bleſſing and only with his Bleſſing, by the ſole Effects of the Courage and Affection of his own Subjects: So that *England* and *Scotland* had in a great Degree redeemed, and even undone what had been before done amiſs by them; and his Majeſty had improved and ſecured thoſe Affections to him by thoſe Promiſes and Conceſſions, which He was in Juſtice obliged to perform. But the miſerable *Iriſh* alone had no Part in contributing to his Majeſty's Happineſs; nor had God ſuffered them to be the leaſt Inſtruments in bringing his good Pleaſure to paſs, or to give any Teſtimony of their Repentance for the Wickedneſs They had wrought, or of their Reſolution to be better Subjects for the future: So that They ſeemed as a People left out by Providence, and exempted from any Benefit from that bleſſed Conjuncture in his Majeſty's Reſtitution.

AND this Diſadvantage was improved towards them, by their frequent Manifeſtation of an inveterate Animoſity againſt the *Engliſh* Nation, and *Engliſh* Government; which again was returned to them in an irreconcilable Jealouſy of all the *Engliſh* towards them. And to this their preſent Behaviour and Imprudence contributed very much: For it appeared evidently, that They expected the ſame Conceſſions (which the Neceſſity of that Time had made fit to be granted to them) in Reſpect of their Religion ſhould be now likewiſe confirmed. And this Temper made it very neceſſary for the King to be very wary in diſpenſing extraordinary Favours (which his natural merciful Inclination prompted him to) to the *Iriſh*; and to prefer the general Intereſt of his three Kingdoms, before the particular Intereſt of a Company of unhappy Men, who had fooliſhly forfeited their own; though He pitied them, and hoped in the Concluſion to be able, without expoſing the publick Peace to manifeſt Hazard, in ſome Degree to improve their Condition.

UPON the whole Matter, the King found, that if He deferred to ſettle the Government of *Ireland* till a perfect Settlement of all particular Intereſts could be made, it would be very long. He ſaw it could not be done at once; and that there muſt be ſome Examinations taken there, and ſome Matters more clearly ſtated and adjuſted, before his Majeſty could make his Determination upon thoſe Particulars, which purely depended upon his own Judgment; and that ſome Difficulties would be removed or leſſened

The first Act of Settlement passed.

by Time: And ſo He paſſed that which is called *The firſt Act of Settlement*; and was perſuaded to commit the Execution thereof, to a great Number of Commiſſioners, recommended to his Majeſty by thoſe who were moſt converſant in the Affairs of *Ireland*; none or very few of which were known to his Majeſty, or to any of thoſe who had been ſo many Years from their Country, in their conſtant Attendance upon his Majeſty's Perſon beyond the Seas.

AND for the better Countenance of this Commiſſion, and likewiſe to reſtrain the Commiſſioners from any Exceſs, if their very large Juriſdiction ſhould prove a Temptation to them, the King thought fit to commit the Sword to three Juſtices, which He had reſolved, when the ſending the Lord *Roberts* was declined. Thoſe three were, Sir *Morrice Euſtace*, whom He newly made Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, the Lord *Broghill*, whom He now made Earl of *Orrery*, and Sir *Charles Coote*, whom He likewiſe made Earl of *Montrath*. The firſt had been his Sergeant at Law long in that Kingdom, and had been eminent in the Profeſſion of the Law, and the more eſteemed for being always a *Proteſtant* though an *Iriſhman*, and of approved Fidelity to the King during this whole Rebellion. But He was now old, and made ſo little Shew of any Parts extraordinary, that, but for the Teſtimony that was given of him, it might have been doubted whether He ever had any. The other two had been Both eminently againſt the King, but upon this Turn, when all other Powers were down, eminently for him; the one, very able and generous; the other, proud, dull and very avaricious. But the King had not then Power to chooſe any, againſt whom ſome as material Objections might not be made, and who had been able to do as much Good. With them, there were too many others upon whom Honours were conferred; upon ſome, that They might do no Harm, who were thereby enabled to do the more; and upon others, that They might not murmur, who murmured the more for having Nothing given them but Honour: And ſo They were all diſpatched for *Ireland*; by which the King had ſome Eaſe, his Service little Advancement.

Three Lords Juſtices appointed.

AFTER a Year was ſpent in the Execution of this Commiſſion (for I ſhall, without diſcontinuing the Relation, ſay all that I intend upon this Subject of *Ireland*), there was very little done towards the ſettling the Kingdom, or towards preparing any Thing that might ſettle it; but on the contrary, the Breaches were made wider, and ſo much Paſſion and Injuſtice ſhewed, that Complaints were brought to his Majeſty from all Parts of the Kingdom, and from all Perſons in Authority there. The Number of the Commiſſioners was ſo great, and their Intereſts ſo different, that They made no Diſpatch. Very many of them were in Poſſeſſion of thoſe Lands, which others ſued for before them; and They themſelves bought broken Titles and Pretences of other Men, for inconſiderable Sums of Money, which They ſupported and made good by their own Authority. Such of the Commiſſioners, who had their own particular Intereſt and Concernment depending, attended the Service very diligently: The few who were more equal and juſt, becauſe They had no Intereſt of their own at Stake, were weary of their Attendance and Expenſe (there being no Allowance for their Pains); and offended at the Partiality and Injuſtice which They ſaw practiſed, withdrew themſelves, and would be no longer preſent at thoſe Tranſactions which They could not regulate or reform.

Partiality of the Commiſſioners appointed by the firſt Act.

ALL Intereſts were equally offended and incenſed; and the Soldiers and *Adventurers* complained no leſs of the Corruption and Injuſtice than the *Iriſh* did: So that the Lords Juſtices and Council thought it neceſſary to

tranſmit another Bill to his Majeſty, which, as I remember, They called an explanatory Bill of the former; and in that They provided, "that no "Perſon who lived in *Ireland*, or had any Pretence to an Eſtate there, "ſhould be employed as a Commiſſioner; but that his Majeſty ſhould be "deſired to ſend over a competent Number of well qualified Perſons out "of *England* to attend that Service, upon whom a fit Salary ſhould be "ſettled by the Bill; and ſuch Rules ſet down as might direct and govern "the Manner of their Proceeding; and that an Oath might be preſcribed "by the Bill, which the Commiſſioners ſhould take, for the impartial Ad- "miniſtration of Juſtice, and for the Proſecution and Execution of this "Bill," which was tranſmitted as an Act by the King. His Majeſty made Choice of ſeven Gentlemen of very clear Reputations; one of them being an eminent Sergeant at Law, whom He made a Judge upon his Return from thence; two others, Lawyers of very much Eſteem; and the other four, Gentlemen of very good Extractions, excellent Underſtandings, and above all Suſpicion for their Integrity, and generally reputed to be ſuperiour to any baſe Temptation.

Second Act of Settlement tranſmitted to the King.

New Commiſſioners appointed to execute it.

BUT this ſecond Bill, before it could be tranſmitted, took up as much Time as the former. The ſame numerous Retinue of all Intereſts from *Ireland* attended the King; and all that had been ſaid in the former Debates was again repeated, and almoſt with the ſame Paſſion and Impertinence. The *Iriſh* made large Obſervations upon the Proceedings of the late Commiſſioners, to juſtify thoſe Fears and Apprehenſions which They had formerly urged: And there appeared too much Reaſon to believe, that their greateſt Deſign now was, rather to keep off any Settlement, than that They hoped to procure ſuch a one as They deſired; relying more to find their Account from a general Diſſatisfaction, and the Diſtraction and Confuſion that was like to attend it, than from any Determination that was like to be in their Favour. Yet They had Friends in the Court, who made them great Promiſes; which They could not be without, ſince They made as great Promiſes to thoſe who were to protect them. There were indeed many particular Men both of the Soldiers and *Adventurers*, who in Reſpect of their many notorious and opprobrious Actions againſt the Crown throughout their whole Employment (and who even ſince his Majeſty's Return had enough expreſſed how little They were ſatisfied with the Revolution) were ſo univerſally odious both in *England* and *Ireland*, that if their particular Caſes could have been ſevered from the reſt, without Violation of the Rule of Juſtice that ſecured all the reſt, any Thing that could have been done to their Detriment would have been grateful enough to every Body.

The different Parties again heard by the King.

AFTER many very tedious Debates, in which his Majeſty endeavoured by all the Ways He could think of to find ſome Expedient, that would enable him to preſerve the miſerable *Iriſh* from the Extremity of Miſery; He found it neceſſary at laſt, to acquieſce with a very poſitive Aſſurance from the Earl of *Orrery* and others, who were believed to underſtand *Ireland* very exactly, and who, upon the Surveys that had been taken with great Punctuality, undertook "that there was Land enough to ſatisfy all the Soldiers and *Adven-* "*turers*, and that there would be a very great Proportion left for the Accom- "modation of the *Iriſh* very liberally." And for the better Improvement of that Proportion, the King preſcribed ſome Rules and Limitations to the immoderate Pretences and Demands of the Soldiers and *Adventurers* upon the *doubling Ordinance* and imperfect Admeaſurement, and ſome other Irregularities, in which his Majeſty was not in Honour or Juſtice obliged to comply with them: And ſo He tranſmitted this ſecond Bill.

Second Act of Settlement paſſed.

WHILST this ſecond Bill was under Deliberation, there fell out an Accident in *Ireland*, which produced great Alterations with Reference to the Affairs of that Kingdom. The Differences which had every Day ariſen between the three Juſtices, and their different Humours and Affections, had little advanced the ſettling that Government; ſo that there would have been a Neceſſity of making ſome Mutation in it: So that the Death of the Earl of *Montrath*, which happened at this Time, fell out conveniently enough to the King; for by it the Government was again looſe. For the Earl of *Orrery* was in *England*; and the Power reſided not in leſs than two: So that the Chancellor, who remained ſingle there, was without any Authority to act. And They who took the moſt diſpaſſioned Survey of all that had been done, and of what remained to be done, did conclude that Nothing could reaſonably produce a Settlement there, but the deputing one ſingle Perſon to exerciſe that Government. And the Duke of *Albemarle* himſelf, who had a great Eſtate in that Kingdom, which made him the more long for a Settlement, and who had before the King's Return and ever ſince diſſuaded the King from thinking of employing the Duke of *Ormond* there, who had himſelf Averſion enough from that Command, of which He had ſufficient Experience: I ſay, the General had now ſo totally changed his Mind, that He plainly told the King, "that there was no "Way to explicate that Kingdom out of thoſe Intricacies in which it was "involved, but by ſending over a Lord Lieutenant thither. That He thought "it not fit for his Majeſty's Service, that himſelf, who had that Commiſ-"ſion of Lord Lieutenant, ſhould be abſent from his Perſon; and therefore "that He was very ready and deſirous to give up his Commiſſion: And "that in his Judgment Nobody would be able to ſettle and compoſe the "ſeveral Factions in that Kingdom, but the Duke of *Ormond*, who He "believed would be grateful to all Sorts of People." And therefore He adviſed his Majeſty very poſitively, "that He would immediately give him the "Commiſſion, and as ſoon as ſhould be poſſible ſend him away into *Ireland*." And Both the King and the General ſpake with the Duke of *Ormond*, and prevailed with him to accept it, before either of them communicated it to the Chancellor, who the King well knew would for many Reaſons, and out of his great Friendſhip to the Duke, diſſuade him from undertaking it; which was very true.

The Duke of Albemarle *reſigns the Office of Lord Lieutenant.*

And the Duke of Ormond *accepts it.*

AND the King and the Duke of *Ormond* came one Day to the Chancellor, to adviſe what was to be done for *Ireland*; and (concealing the Reſolution) the King told him what the General's Advice was, and aſked him "what He thought of ſending the Duke of *Ormond* his Lieutenant into "*Ireland*." To which the Chancellor anſwered preſently, "that the King "would do very ill in ſending him, and that the Duke would do much "worſe, if He deſired to go." Upon which They Both ſmiled, and told him "that the General had prevailed with the King, and the King with "the Duke; ſo that the Matter was reſolved, and there remained Nothing "to be done but preparing the Inſtructions, which He muſt think upon."

The Chancellor expreſſes his Concern at this.

THE Chancellor could not refrain from ſaying very warmly, "that He "was ſorry for it; and that it would be good for neither of them, that the "Duke ſhould be from the King, or that He ſhould be in *Ireland*, where "He would be able to do no Good. Beſides that He had given himſelf ſo "much to his Eaſe and Pleaſure ſince He came into *England*, that He "would never be able to take the Pains, which that moſt laborious Pro-"vince would require." He ſaid, "if this Counſel had been taken when "the King came firſt over, it might have had good Succeſs, when the

"Duke was full of Reputation, and of unqueſtionable Intereſt in his Ma-
"jeſty, and the King himſelf was more feared and reverenced than pre-
"ſumed upon: So that the Duke would have had full Authority to have
"reſtrained the exorbitant Deſires and Expectations of all the ſeveral Parties,
"who had all Guilt enough upon their Hearts to fear ſome Rigour from the
"King, or to receive moderate Grace with infinite Submiſſion and Ac-
"knowledgment. But now the Duke, beſides his withdrawing himſelf
"from all Buſineſs as much as He could, had let himſelf fall to Familiari-
"ties with all Degrees of Men; and upon their Averments had undertaken
"to protect or at leaſt to ſolicit Mens Intereſts, which it may be might
"not appear upon Examination to be founded upon Juſtice. And the King
"himſelf had been expoſed to all Manner of Importunities, received all
"Mens Addreſſes, and heard all They would ſay, made many Promiſes
"without Deliberation, and appeared ſo deſirous to ſatisfy all Men, that
"He was irreſolute in all Things. And therefore till He had taken ſome
"firm and fixed Reſolutions himſelf, from which neither Prejudice towards
"one Man, nor Pity and Compaſſion on the Behalf of another, ſhould re-
"move him; the Lieutenant of *Ireland* would be able to do him little
"Service, and would be himſelf continually expoſed to Scorn and Af-
"fronts."

AND afterwards the Chancellor expoſtulated warmly with the Duke of *Ormond* (who well knew, that all his Commotion proceeded from the Integrity of his unqueſtionable Friendſhip), and told him "that He would
"repent this raſh Reſolution; and that He would have been able to have
"contributed more to the Settlement of *Ireland*, by being near the Perſon
"of the King, than by being at *Dublin*, from whence in a ſhort Time
"there would be as many Aſperſions and Reproaches ſent hither, as had
"been againſt other Men; and that He had no Reaſon to be confident,
"that they would not make as deep Impreſſion by the Arts and Induſtry
"of his Enemies, of which He had Store, and would have more by being
"abſent, for the Court naturally had little Regard for any Man who was
"abſent. And that He carried with him the ſame Infirmity into *Ireland*
"with that of the King, which kept it from being ſettled here; which was
"an Unwillingneſs to deny any Man what He could not but ſee was im-
"poſſible to grant, and a Deſire to pleaſe every Body, which whoſoever
"affected ſhould pleaſe Nobody."

THE Duke, who never took any Thing ill He ſaid to him, told him,
"that Nobody knew better than He the Averſion He had to that Command,
"when it may be He might have undertaken it with more Advantage."
He confeſſed, "He ſaw many Dangers with Reference to himſelf, which
"He knew not how to avoid, and many Difficulties with Reference to the
"Publick, which He had little Hope to overcome; yet *Ireland* muſt not
"be given over: And ſince there ſeemed to be a general Opinion, with
"which the King concurred, that He could be able to contribute to the
"compoſing the Diſtempers, and the ſettling the Government; He would
"not ſuſpect himſelf, but believe that He might be able to do ſomewhat
"towards it." And He gave his Word to him, "that Nothing ſhould be
"defective on his Part in Point of Induſtry; for He was reſolved to take
"indefatigable Pains for a Year or two, in which He hoped the Settlement
"would be compleated, that He might have Eaſe and Recreation for the
"other Part of his Life." And He confeſſed, "that He did the more wil-
"lingly enter upon that Province, that He might have the Opportunity to
"ſettle his own Fortune, which how great ſoever in Extent of Lands did

The Duke acquaints the Chancellor with his Reaſons for accepting it.

"not yet, by Reaſon of the general Unſettlement, yield him a Quarter of "the Revenue it ought to do. That for what concerned himſelf, and the "Diſadvantages He might undergo by his Abſence, He referred it to Pro- "vidence and the King's good Nature; who" He ſaid "knew him better "than any of his Enemies did; and therefore, He hoped, He would believe "himſelf before them." However, the Truth is, He was the more diſpoſed to that Journey, by the Diſlike He had of the Court, and the neceſſary Exerciſes which Men there were to excel in, for which He was ſuperannuated: And if He did not already diſcern any Leſſening of the King's Grace towards him, He ſaw enough to make him believe, that the contrary ought not to be depended upon. And within few Years after, He had Cauſe to remember what the Chancellor had foretold him of Both their Fortunes.

The Duke and the Commiſſioners ſet out for Ireland.

The Duke (with the ſeven Commiſſioners who were appointed for that *Act of Settlement*, and all other Perſons who attended that Intereſt) entered upon his Journey from *London* about the End of *July*, in the Year one thouſand ſix hundred ſixty and four, full four Years and more after the King's happy Return into *England*.

It was ſome Months after the Commiſſioners Arrival in *Ireland*, before They could ſettle thoſe Orders and Rules for their Proceedings, which were neceſſary to be done, before the People ſhould be appointed to attend. And it was as neceſſary, that They ſhould in the Order of their Judicatory firſt proceed upon the Demands and Pretences of the *Iriſh*; both becauſe there could be no Settlement of Soldiers or *Adventurers* in Poſſeſſion of any Lands, before the Titles of the *Iriſh* to thoſe Lands were determined; and becauſe there was a Clauſe in the laſt Act of Parliament, that all the *Iriſh* ſhould put in their Claims by a Day appointed, and that they ſhould be determined before another Day, which was likewiſe aſſigned; which Days might be prolonged for once by the Lord Lieutenant, upon ſuch Reaſons as ſatisfied him: So that the Delay for ſo many Months before the Commiſſioners ſate, gave great Argument of Complaint to the *Iriſh*, though it could not be avoided, in Regard that the Commiſſioners themſelves had not been nominated by the King above twenty Days before They began their Journey into *Ireland*; ſo that They could never ſo much as read over the Acts of Parliament together, before They came to *Dublin*. And then They found ſo many difficult Clauſes in Both Acts of Parliament, and ſo contrary to each other, that it was no eaſy Matter to determine how to govern themſelves in Point of Right, and to reduce themſelves to any Method in their Proceedings.

The Commiſſioners publiſh their intended Method of proceeding.

But after They had adjuſted all Things as well as They could, They publiſhed their Orders in what Method They meant to proceed, and appointed the *Iriſh* to put in their Claims by ſuch a Day, and to attend the Proſecution of them accordingly. And They had no ſooner entered upon their Work, but the *Engliſh* thought They had began it ſoon enough. For They heard every Day many of the *Iriſh*, who had been known to have been the moſt forward in the firſt Beginning of the Rebellion, and the moſt malicious in the carrying it on, declared innocent; and Deeds of Settlement and Entails which had been never heard of before, and which would have been produced (as might reaſonably be believed) before the former Commiſſioners, if They had had them to produce, now declared to be good and valid; by which the *Iriſh* were immediately put into the Poſſeſſion of a very great Quantity of Land taken from the *Engliſh:* So that in a ſhort Time the Commiſſioners had rendered themſelves as generally odious as the *Iriſh*, and were looked upon as Perſons corrupted for that Intereſt, which had every Day

Succeſs almoſt in whatſoever They pretended. And their Determinations happened to have the more of Prejudice upon them, becauſe the Commiſſioners were always divided in their Judgments. And it is no Wonder, that They who ſeemed moſt to adhere to the *Engliſh* Intereſt were moſt eſteemed by them.

THE Parliament in *Ireland* was then ſitting: And the Houſe of Commons, conſiſting of many Members who were either Soldiers or *Adventurers*, or had the like Intereſt, was very much offended at the Proceedings of the Commiſſioners, made many Votes againſt them, and threatened them with their Authority and Juriſdiction. But the Commiſſioners, who knew their own Power, and that there was no Appeal againſt their Judgments, proceeded ſtill in their own Method, and continued to receive the Claims of the *Iriſh*, beyond the Time that the Act of Parliament or the Act of State limited to them, as was generally underſtood. And during the laſt eight or ten Days Sitting upon thoſe Claims, They paſſed more Judgments and Determinations than in near a Year before, indeed with very wonderful Expedition; when the *Engliſh* who were diſpoſſeſſed by thoſe Judgments had not their Witneſſes ready, upon a Preſumption, that in Point of Time it was not poſſible for thoſe Cauſes to come to be heard. By theſe Sentences and Decrees, many hundred Thouſands of Acres were adjudged to the *Iriſh*, which had been looked upon as unqueſtionably forfeited, and of which the *Engliſh* had been long in Poſſeſſion accordingly. *Their Decrees much in Favour of the Iriſh.*

THIS raiſed ſo great a Clamour, that the *Engliſh* refuſed to yield Poſſeſſion upon the Decrees of the Commiſſioners, who, by an Omiſſion in the Act of Parliament, were not qualified with Power enough to provide for the Execution of their own Sentences. The Courts of Law eſtabliſhed in that Kingdom would not, nor indeed could, give any Aſſiſtance to the Commiſſioners. And the Lord Lieutenant and Council, who had in the Beginning, by their Authority, put many into the Poſſeſſion of the Lands which had been decreed to them by the Commiſſioners, were now more tender and reſerved in that Multitude of Decrees that had lately paſſed: So that the *Iriſh* were uſing their utmoſt Endeavours, by Force to recover the Poſſeſſion of thoſe Lands which the Commiſſioners had decreed to them; whilſt the *Engliſh* were likewiſe reſolved by Force to defend what They had been ſo long poſſeſſed of, notwithſtanding the Commiſſioners Determination. And the Commiſſioners were ſo far troubled and diſſatisfied with theſe Proceedings, and with ſome intricate Clauſes in the Act of Parliament concerning the future Proceedings; that, though They had not yet made any Entrance upon the Deciſion of the Claims of the *Engliſh* or of the *Iriſh* *Proteſtants*, They declared "that They would proceed no farther in the Exe-"cution of their Commiſſion, until They could receive his Majeſty's farther "Pleaſure." And that They might the more effectually receive it, They deſired Leave from the King that They might attend his Royal Perſon; and there being at the ſame Time ſeveral Complaints made againſt them to his Majeſty, and Appeals to him from their Decrees, He gave the Commiſſioners Leave to return. And at the ſame Time all the other Intereſts ſent their Deputies to ſolicit their Rights; in the Proſecution whereof, after much Time ſpent, the King thought fit likewiſe to receive the Advice and Aſſiſtance of his Lieutenant: And ſo the Duke of *Ormond* returned again to the Court. And the Settlement of *Ireland* was the third Time brought before the King and Council; there being then likewiſe tranſmitted a third Bill, as additional and ſupplemental to the other two, and to reverſe many of the Decrees made by the Commiſſioners, They bearing the Reproach of *The different Parties heard a third Time by the King.*

all that had been done or had ſucceeded amiſs, and from all Perſons who were grieved in what Kind ſoever.

THE King was very tender of the Reputation of his Commiſſioners, who had been always eſteemed Men of great Probity and unqueſtionable Reputation: And though He could not refuſe to receive Complaints, yet He gave thoſe who complained no farther Countenance, than to give the others Opportunity to vindicate themſelves. Nor did there appear the leaſt Evidence to queſtion the Sincerity of their Proceeding, or to make them liable to any reaſonable Suſpicion of Corruption: And the Complaints were ſtill proſecuted by thoſe, who had that taken from them which They deſired to keep for themſelves.

The Author's Reflections on the Proceedings of the Commiſſioners.

THE Truth is; there is Reaſon enough to believe, that upon the firſt Arrival of the Commiſſioners in *Ireland*, and ſome Converſation They had, and the Obſervation They made of the great Bitterneſs and Animoſities from the *Engliſh*, both Soldiers and *Adventurers*, towards the whole *Iriſh* Nation of what Kind ſoever; the ſcandalous Proceeding of the late Commiſſioners upon the firſt Act, when They had not been guided by any Rules of Juſtice, but rejected all Evidence, which might operate to the taking away any Thing from them which They reſolved to keep, the Judges themſelves being both Parties and Witneſſes in all the Cauſes brought before them; together with the very ill Reputation very many of the Soldiers and *Adventurers* had for extraordinary Malice to the Crown, and to the Royal Family; and the notable Barbarity They had exerciſed towards the *Iriſh*, who without Doubt for many Years had undergone the moſt cruel Oppreſſions of all Kind that can be imagined, many Thouſands of them having been forced, without being covered under any Houſe, to periſh in the open Fields for Hunger; the infamous Purchaſes which had been made by many Perſons, who had compelled the *Iriſh* to ſell their Remainders and lawful Pretences for very inconſiderable Sums of Money: I ſay, theſe and many other Particulars of this Kind, together with ſome Attempt that had been made upon their firſt Arrival, to corrupt them againſt all Pretences which ſhould be made by the *Iriſh*, might probably diſpoſe the Commiſſioners themſelves to ſuch a Prejudice againſt many of the *Engliſh*, and to ſuch a Compaſſion towards the *Iriſh*, that They might be much inclined to favour their Pretences and Claims; and to believe that the Peace of the Kingdom and his Majeſty's Government might be better provided for, by their being ſettled in the Lands of which They had been formerly poſſeſſed, than by ſupporting the ill gotten Titles of thoſe, who had manifeſted all imaginable Infidelity and Malice againſt his Majeſty whilſt They had any Power to oppoſe him, and had not given any Teſtimony of their Converſion, or of their Reſolution to yield him for the future a perfect and entire Obedience after They could oppoſe him no longer; as if They deſired only to retain thoſe Lands which They had gotten by Rebellion, together with the Principles by which They had gotten them, until They ſhould have an Opportunity to juſtify Both by ſome new Power, or a Concurrence amongſt themſelves. Whenceſoever it proceeded, it was plain enough the *Iriſh* had received more Favour than was expected or imagined.

AND in the very Entrance into the Work, to avoid the Partiality which was too apparent in the *Engliſh* towards each other, and their Animoſity againſt the *Iriſh* as evident, very ſtrict Rules had been ſet down by the Commiſſioners, what Kind of Evidence They would admit to be good, and receive accordingly. And it was provided, "that the Evidence of no Soldier "or *Adventurer* ſhould be received in any Caſe, to which himſelf was never

"ſo much a Stranger;" as, if his own Lot had fallen in *Munſter*, and He had no Pretence to any Thing out of that Province, his Evidence ſhould not be received, as to any Thing that He had ſeen done in *Leinſter* or *Conaught* or *Ulſter*, wherein He was not at all concerned: Which was generally thought to be a very unjuſt Rule, after ſo many Years expired, and ſo many Perſons dead, who had likewiſe been preſent at thoſe Actions. And by this Means many Men were declared not to have been in Rebellion, when there might have been full Evidence, that They had been preſent in ſuch and ſuch a Battle, and in ſuch and ſuch a Siege, if the Witneſſes might have been received who were then preſent at thoſe Actions, and ready to give Teſtimony of it, and of ſuch Circumſtances as could not have been feigned, if their Evidence might have been received.

Too many of the Iriſh *Rebels reſtored to their Eſtates.*

THAT which raiſed the greateſt Umbrage againſt the Commiſſioners was, that a great Number of the moſt infamous Perſons of the *Iriſh* Nation, who were looked upon by thoſe of their own Country with the greateſt Deteſtation, as Men who had been the moſt violent Fomenters and Proſecutors of the Rebellion, and the greateſt Oppoſers of all moderate Counſels, and of all Expedients which might have contributed towards a Peace in the late King's Time (whereby the Nation might have been redeemed), and who had not had the Confidence ſo much as to offer any Claim before the late Commiſſioners, were now adjudged and declared innocent, and ſo reſtored to their Eſtates: And that many other, who in Truth had never been in Rebellion, but notoriouſly ſerved the King againſt the Rebels both in *England* and *Ireland*, and had never been put out of their Eſtates, now upon ſome ſlight Evidence, by the Interception of Letters, or Confeſſion of Meſſengers that They had had Correſpondence with the Rebels (though it was evident that even that Correſpondence had been perfunctory, and only to ſecure them that They might purſue his Majeſty's Service), were condemned, and had their Eſtates taken from them, by the Judgment of the Commiſſioners.

Many who had ſerved the King very hardly treated.

AND of this I cannot forbear to give an Inſtance, and the rather, that it may appear how much a perſonal Prejudice, upon what Account ſoever, weighs and prevails againſt Juſtice itſelf, even with Men who are not in their Natures Friends to Injuſtice. It was the Caſe of the Earl of *Tyrconnell*, and it was this. He was the younger Son of the Lord *Fitzwilliams* a Catholick Lord in *Ireland*, but of ancient *Engliſh* Extraction, of a fair Eſtate, and never ſuſpected to be inclined to the Rebels; as very few of the *Engliſh* were. *Oliver Fitzwilliams* (who was the Perſon We are now ſpeaking of, and the younger Son of that Lord *Fitzwilliams)* had been ſent by his Father into *France*, to be there educated, many Years before the Rebellion. He was a proper and a handſome Man, and by his Courage had gotten a very good Reputation in the *French* Army; where, after He had ſpent ſome Years in the *Campagna*, He obtained the Command of a Regiment in which He had been firſt a Captain, and was looked upon generally as an excellent Officer.

An Inſtance of this in the Caſe of the Earl of Tyrconnell.

WHEN the Army was ſent into Winter-Quarters, He went to *Paris* to kiſs the Hands of the Queen of *England*, who was come thither the Summer before, it being in the Year 1644. Having often waited upon her Majeſty, He made many Profeſſions of Duty and Obedience to the King, and much condemned the Rebellion of the *Iriſh*, and ſaid, "He knew many of them "were cozened and deceived by Tales and Lies, and had no Purpoſe to "withdraw themſelves from his Majeſty's Obedience." He made Offer of his Service to the Queen, "and that, if She thought He might be able to

"do the King any Service, He would immediately go into *England*, and "with his Majeſty's Approbation into *Ireland*, where if He could do no "other Service, He was confident He could draw off many of the *Iriſh* "from the Service of the Rebels." The Queen, upon the good Reputation He had there, accepted his Offer, and writ a Letter by him to the King, with a very good Character of his Perſon, and as very fit to be truſted in *Ireland*.

It was his Fortune to come to the King very few Days before the Battle of *Naſeby*, where as a Volunteer in the Troop of Prince *Rupert*, He behaved himſelf with very ſignal Courage in the View of the King himſelf; who ſhortly after gave him a Letter full of Recommendation and Teſtimony to the Marquis of *Ormond* his Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who received him kindly, and having conferred with him at large, and underſtood all He intended to do, gave him Leave to go into the *Iriſh* Quarters and to return again, as He thought fit. And in a ſhort Time after, both his Father and his elder Brother died; whereby both the Title and the Eſtate devolved to him, and He was poſſeſſed accordingly.

The Man was before and in his Nature elate and proud enough, had a greater Value of himſelf than other Men had, and a leſs of other Men than They deſerved, whereby He got not himſelf beloved by many; but Nobody who loved him worſt ever ſuſpected him to incline to the Rebels, though They knew that He was often in their Quarters, and had often Conferences with them: And a good Part of his Eſtate lay in their Quarters. He attended upon the Lord Lieutenant in all his Expeditions: And when the *Iriſh* ſo infamouſly broke the firſt Peace, and beſieged the Lieutenant in *Dublin* (upon which He was compelled to deliver it into the Hands of the Parliament with the King's Conſent), the Lord *Fitzwilliams* returned with him or about the ſame Time into *England*, and from thence again into *France*; where He married the Daughter of the Widow Counteſs of *Clare*, and Siſter to that Earl, a Lady of a Religion the moſt oppoſite to the Roman Catholick, which He ſuffered her to enjoy without any Contradiction. When the War was at an End in *England*, and the King a Priſoner, He with his Wife and Family tranſported himſelf into *England*, and after ſome Time into *Ireland*; where *Cromwell* had a jealous Eye upon him, but not being able to diſcover any Thing againſt him, could not hinder him from poſſeſſing the Eſtate that had deſcended to him from his Father and his elder Brother. And the War being there ended, and the Settlement made by the Act of Parliament upon the Statute, as hath been mentioned before, there was not the leaſt Trouble given to him; but He quietly enjoyed the Poſſeſſion of his whole Eſtate till the King's Return, when He came into *England* to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand, and was by him made Earl of *Tyrconnell*.

When the Commiſſioners ſate upon the firſt Act, who obſerved no Rules of Juſtice, Law or Equity, when they contradicted any Intereſt or Appetite of their own, He received no Diſturbance; but when theſe new Commiſſioners came over, all Men, as well *Proteſtants* as others, whoſe Eſtates had never been queſtioned, thought it ſafeſt for them to put in their Claims before the Commiſſioners, to prevent any Trouble that might ariſe hereafter. This Gentleman followed that Advice and Example, put in his Claim, and preſſed the Commiſſioners for a ſhort Day to be heard. The Day was appointed. Neither *Adventurer*, Soldier, or any other Perſon, made any Title to the Land: But ſome envious Perſon, unqualified for any Proſecution, offered a Letter to the Commiſſioners which had many

Years before, and before his Coming into *Ireland*, been written by Colonel *Fitzwilliams* in *Paris* to a *Jeſuit*, one *Hartogan*, then in *Ireland*; in which He gave him Notice "of his Purpoſe of coming into *Ireland*, where "He hoped to do their Friends ſome Service."

THIS Letter was writ when the Queen firſt deſigned to ſend him to the King, that the *Iriſh*, who were the moſt jealous People of the World, might know of his Purpoſe to come thither, before They ſhould hear of his being in *Dublin*; and now being produced before the Commiſſioners, without conſidering how long ſince it was writ or the Reaſon of writing it, that He had ſerved the King, and never in the leaſt Degree againſt him, upon one of their Rules, "that a Correſpondence with the Rebels was a "good Evidence," They without any Pauſe declared him nocent, and preſently aſſigned his Eſtate to ſome Perſons to whom Repriſals were to be made: Whilſt They who thought the Judgment very unjuſt, laughed at the ill Luck of a Man whom They did not love; and all Men were well enough pleaſed with the Sentence, who were diſpleaſed with the Perſon. And this Party purſued him ſo ſeverely into *England*, that the King's Interpoſition to redeem him from ſo unjuſt a Decree, was looked upon as overfavouring the *Iriſh*; when none were ſo glad of the Decree as the *Iriſh*, who univerſally hated him. Nor was He at laſt reſtored to the Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, without making ſome Compoſition with thoſe to whom the Commiſſioners had aſſigned it.

Many Decrees made upon Settlements notoriouſly forged.

MANY, who had formerly made their Claims without inſiſting upon any Deeds of Settlement or other Conveyances in Law, now produced former Settlements in Conſideration of Marriage, or other like good Conſiderations in Law, made before the Beginning of the Rebellion: Which being now proved by Witneſſes enough, Decrees were every Day obtained for the Reſtitution of great Quantities of Land upon thoſe Deeds and Conveyances; though the Forgeries of thoſe Deeds and Perjury of thoſe Witneſſes were very notorious. And ſome Inſtances were given of the Manifeſtation and direct Proof that was made of the Forgery of Deeds, upon which Decrees had been made, to the Satisfaction of the Commiſſioners themſelves, within a very ſhort Time after the pronouncing thoſe Decrees: And yet no Reparation was given, but the Decrees proceeded and were executed with all Rigour, as if no ſuch Thing had appeared.

The Commiſſioners Defence.

THE Commiſſioners anſwered, "that They had made no Decrees but "according to their Conſciences, and ſuch as They were obliged to make "by the Courſe and Rule of Juſtice. That They did doubt and in "Truth believe, that there had been evil Practices uſed both in the forging "of Deeds and corrupting of Witneſſes, and that the ſame was equally "practiſed by the *Engliſh* as the *Iriſh*: And therefore that They had been "obliged to make that Order, which had been ſo much excepted againſt, "*not to admit the Teſtimony of any* Engliſh Adventurer *or Soldier in the Caſe* "*of another* Adventurer *or Soldier*; for that it was very notorious, They "looked upon the Whole as one joint Intereſt, and ſo gratified each other "in their Teſtimonies." And of this They gave many ſad Inſtances, by which it was too evident that the Perjuries were mutual, and too much practiſed by the one and the other Side.

"THAT They had uſed all the Providence and Vigilance They could, by "the careful Examination of Witneſſes (which were produced apart, and "never in the Preſence of each other), and by aſking them all ſuch material "Queſtions as occurred to their Underſtandings, and which They could "not expect to be aſked, to diſcover the Truth, and to prevent and manifeſt

"all Perjuries. That They had likewiſe uſed their utmoſt Diligence and "Care, to prevent their being impoſed upon with falſe and forged Deeds "and Conveyances, by taking a preciſe and ſtrict View themſelves of all "Deeds produced; and interrogated the Witneſſes with all the Cunning "They could, upon the Matter and Conſideration upon which ſuch Deeds "had been entered into, and upon the Manner and Circumſtances in the "Execution thereof: Which was all the Providence They could uſe. And "though They met with many Reaſons oftentimes to doubt the Integrity of "the Proceedings, and in their own private Conſciences to apprehend there "might be great Corruption; yet that They were obliged judicially to deter- "mine according to the Teſtimony of the Witneſſes, and the Evidence of thoſe "Deeds in Law againſt which no Proofs were made. That They had con- "ſtantly heard all that the adverſe Party had thought fit to object, both "againſt the Credit of any Witneſſes, and the Truth and Validity of any "Conveyances which were produced; upon which They had rejected many "Witneſſes, and diſallowed ſome Conveyances: But when the Objections "were only founded upon Preſumptions and Probabilities, as moſt uſually "they were, they could not weigh down the full and categorical Evidence "that was given."

"That if They had yielded to the Importunities of the Perſons concerned, "who often preſſed to have farther Time given to them to prove ſuch a Perjury, "or to diſprove ſuch a Conveyance; it muſt have made their Work endleſs, "and ſtopped all Manner of Proceedings, for which it appeared They were "ſtreightened too much in Time: And that indeed would have but opened "the Door wider for Perjuries and other Corruptions; ſince it was very plain "to them, that either Side could bring as many Witneſſes as They pleaſed, to "prove what They pleaſed, and that They would bring as many as They be- "lieved neceſſary to the Work in Hand. And therefore the Commiſſioners "having before preſcribed a Method and Rule to themſelves for their Pro- "ceedings, and that no Man could have a Cauſe, in which He was concerned, "brought to Hearing without his knowing when it was to be heard, and ſo "it was to be preſumed, that He was well provided to ſupport his own Ti- "tle; They had thought fit, upon mature Deliberation amongſt themſelves, "to adhere to the Order They had preſcribed to themſelves and others, "and to conclude, that They would not be able to prove that another Day, "which They were not able to prove at the Time when They ought to have "been ready."

"For the Diſcovery of any Forgery after the Decrees had been paſſed, and "upon which They had given no Reparation," They confeſſed, "that ſome "few ſuch Diſcoveries had been made to them, by which the Forgery ap- "peared very clearly: But as They had no Power by the Act of Parlia- "ment to puniſh either Forgery or Perjury, but muſt leave the Examina- "tion and Puniſhment thereof to the Law and to the Judges of the Law; "ſo, that They had only Authority to make Decrees upon ſuch Grounds "as ſatisfied their Conſciences, but had not any Authority to reverſe thoſe "Decrees, after they were once made and publiſhed, upon any Evidence "whatſoever." They concluded with their humble Deſire to the King, "that the moſt ſtrict Examinations might be made of their Corruptions, in "which" They ſaid "They were ſure to be found very innocent, againſt "all the Malice that was diſcovered againſt them: That They had proceeded "in all Things according to the Integrity of their Hearts, and the beſt of "their Underſtanding; and if through the Defect of that They had erred "in

"in any Part of their Determinations and Judgments, They hoped their "Want of Wiſdom ſhould not be imputed to them as a Crime."

MANY, who had a very good Opinion of the Perſons and Abilities of the Commiſſioners, were not yet ſatisfied with their Defence; nor did They believe, that They were ſo ſtrictly bound to judge upon the Teſtimony of ſuſpected Witneſſes; but that They were therefore truſted with an arbitrary Power, becauſe it was foreſeen that Juries were not like to be entire: So that They were, upon weighing all Circumſtances, to declare what in their Conſciences They believed to be true and juſt. That if They had bound themſelves up by too ſtrict and unreaſonable Rules, They ſhould rather in Time have reformed thoſe Rules, than think to ſupport what was done amiſs, by the Obſervation of what They had preſcribed to themſelves. And it was believed, that the entire Excluſion of the *Engliſh* from being Witneſſes for the proving of what could not in Nature be otherwiſe proved, was not juſt or reaſonable. That their Want of Power to reverſe or alter their own Decrees, upon any emergent Reaſons which could afterwards occur, was a juſt Ground for their more ſerious Deliberation in and before They paſſed any ſuch Decrees. And their Excuſe for not granting longer Time when it was preſſed for, was founded upon Reaſons which were viſibly not to be juſtified; it not being poſſible for any Man to defend himſelf againſt the Claims of the *Iriſh*, without knowing what Deeds or Witneſſes They could produce for making good their Suggeſtions; and therefore it was as impoſſible for them to have all their Evidence upon the Place. Beſides that it was very evident, that in the laſt ten Days of their Sitting (which was likewiſe thought to be when their Power as to thoſe Particulars was determined, and in which They had made more Decrees than in all the Time before), They had made ſo many in a Day, contrary to their former Rule and Method, that Men were plainly ſurpriſed, and could not produce thoſe Proofs which in a ſhort Time They might have been ſupplied with; and the refuſing to allow them that Time, was upon the Matter to determine their Intereſt, and to take away their Eſtates without being once heard, and upon the bare Allegations of their Adverſaries. And in theſe laſt Decrees many Inſtances were given of that Nature, wherein the Evidence appeared to be very full, if Time had been given to produce it.

Their Defence not perfectly ſatisfactory.

THERE was one very notable Caſe decreed by the Commiſſioners extremely complained of, and cried out againſt by all Parties, as well *Iriſh* as *Engliſh*; and for which the Commiſſioners themſelves made no other Excuſe or Defence, but the Receipt of a Letter from the King, which was not thought a good Plea for ſworn Judges, as the Commiſſioners were. It was the Caſe of the Marquis of *Antrim*. Which Caſe having been ſo much upon the Stage, and ſo much enlarged upon to the Reproach of the King, and even to the traducing of the Memory of his bleſſed Father; and thoſe Men, who artificially contrived the doing of all that was done amiſs, having done all They could to wound the Reputation of the Chancellor, and to get it to be believed, "that He had by ſome ſiniſter Information miſled the "King to oblige the Marquis:" It is a Debt due to Truth, and to the Honour of Both their Majeſties, to ſet down a very particular Narration of that whole Affair; by which it will appear, how far the King was from ſo much as wiſhing that any Thing ſhould be done for the Benefit of the Marquis, which ſhould be contrary to the Rules of Juſtice.

A Decree in Favour of the Marquis of Antrim *univerſally complained of.*

WHILST his Majeſty was in foreign Parts, He received frequent Adverſements from *England* and from *Ireland*, "that the Marquis of *Antrim* be-"haved himſelf very undutifully towards him; and that He had made himſelf

A very particular Relation of the Marquis of Antrim's *Caſe.*

"very grateful to the Rebels, by calumniating the late King: And that He "had given it under his Hand to *Ireton*, or ſome other principal Perſon em- "ployed under *Cromwell, that his late Majeſty had ſent him into* Ireland *to* "*join with the Rebels, and that his Majeſty was not offended with the* Iriſh "*for entering into that Rebellion:*" Which was a Calumny ſo falſe and ſo odious, and reflected ſo much upon the Honour of his Majeſty, that the King was reſolved, as ſoon as God ſhould put it into his Power, to cauſe the ſtricteſt Examination to be made concerning it; the Report having gained much Credit with his Majeſty, by the Notoriety that the Marquis had procured great Recommendations from thoſe who governed in *Ireland*, to thoſe who governed in *England*; and that upon the Preſumption of that He had come into *England*, and as far as *St. Albans* towards *London*, from whence He had been forced ſuddenly to return into *Ireland* by the Activity of his many Creditors, who upon the News of his Coming had provided for his Reception, and would unavoidably have caſt him into Priſon. And no Recommendation could have inclined thoſe who were in Authority, to do any Thing extraordinary for the Protection of a Perſon, who from the Beginning of the *Iriſh* Rebellion lay under ſo ill a Character with them, and had ſo ill a Name throughout the Kingdom.

The King had been very few Days in *London*, after his Arrival from the Parts beyond the Seas, when He was informed that the Marquis of *Antrim* was upon his Way from *Ireland* towards the Court: And the Commiſſioners from *Ireland*, who have been mentioned before, were the firſt who gave his Majeſty that Information, and at the ſame Time told him all that his Majeſty had heard before concerning the Marquis, and of the bold Calumnies with which He had traduced his Royal Father, with many other Particulars; "all which" They affirmed "would be proved by unqueſtionable Evidence, "and by Letters and Certificates under his own Hand." Upon this full Information (of the Truth whereof his Majeſty entertained no Doubt), as ſoon as the Marquis came to the Town, He was by the King's ſpecial Order committed to the *Tower*; nor could any Petition from him, or Intreaty of his Friends, of which He had ſome very powerful, prevail with his Majeſty to admit him into his Preſence. But by the firſt Opportunity He was ſent Priſoner to *Dublin*, where He was committed to the *Caſtle*; the King having given Direction, that He ſhould be proceeded againſt with all Strictneſs according to Law: And to that Purpoſe, the Lords Juſtices were required to give all Orders and Directions neceſſary. The Marquis ſtill profeſſed and avowed his Innocence, and uſed all the Means He could to procure that He might be ſpeedily brought to his Trial; which the King likewiſe expected. But after a Year's Detention in Priſon, and Nothing brought againſt him, He was ſet at Liberty, and had a Paſs given him from the Council there to go into *England*. He then applied himſelf to his Majeſty, demanding Nothing of Favour, but ſaid, "He expected Juſtice; "and that after ſo many Years being deprived of his Eſtate, He might at "laſt be reſtored to it, if Nothing could be objected againſt him wherein He "had diſſerved his Majeſty."

He was a Gentleman who had been bred up in the Court of *England*, and having married the Dutcheſs of *Buckingham* (though againſt the King's Will) He had been afterwards very well received by Both their Majeſties, and was frequently in their Preſence. He had ſpent a very vaſt Eſtate in the Court, without having ever received the leaſt Benefit from it. He had retired into *Ireland*, and lived upon his own Eſtate in that Country, ſome Years before the Rebellion brake out; in the Beginning whereof He had undergone

dergone ſome Suſpicion, having held ſome Correſpondence with the Rebels, and poſſibly made ſome Undertakings to them: But He went ſpeedily to *Dublin*, was well received by the Juſtices there, and from thence tranſported himſelf with their Licenſe to *Oxford*, where the King was; to whom He gave ſo good an Account of all that had paſſed, that his Majeſty made no Doubt of his Affection to his Service, though He had very little Confidence in his Judgment and Underſtanding, which were never remarkable. Beſides that it was well known, that He had a very unreaſonable Envy towards the Marquis of *Ormond*, and would fain have it believed that his Intereſt in *Ireland* was ſo great, that He could reclaim that whole Nation to his Majeſty's Obedience; but that Vanity and Preſumption never gained the leaſt Credit with his Majeſty: Yet it may reaſonably be believed that He thought ſo himſelf, and that it was the Source from which all the bitter Waters of his own Misfortune iſſued.

UPON the *Scots* ſecond Entering into *England* with their Army upon the Obligation of the *Covenant*, and all his Majeſty's Endeavours to prevent it being diſappointed, the Marquis of *Mountroſe* had propoſed to the King, "to make "a Journey privately into *Scotland*, and to get into the *Highlands*, where, "with his Majeſty's Authority, He hoped He ſhould be able to draw toge- "ther ſuch a Body of Men, as might give his Countrymen Cauſe to call "for their own Army out of *England*, to ſecure themſelves." And with this Overture or upon Debate thereof, He wiſhed "that the Earl of *An-* "*trim*" (for He was then no more) "might be likewiſe ſent into *Ulſter*, "where his Intereſt lay, and from whence He would be able to tranſport "a Body of Men into the *Highlands*, where He had likewiſe the Clan of "*Macdonnels*, who acknowledged him to be their Chief, and would be "conſequently at his Devotion; by which Means, the Marquis of *Moun-* "*troſe* would be enabled the more powerfully to proceed in his Under- "taking." The Earl of *Antrim* entered upon this Undertaking with great Alacrity, and undertook to the King to perform great Matters in *Scotland*; to which his own Intereſt and Animoſity enough diſpoſed him, having an old and a ſharp Controverſy and Conteſtation with the Marquis of *Argyle*, who had diſpoſſeſſed him of a large Territory there. All Things being adjuſted for this Undertaking, and his Majeſty being well pleaſed with the Earl's Alacrity, He created him at that Time a Marquis, gave him Letters to the Marquis of *Ormond* his Lieutenant there, as well to ſatisfy him of the good Opinion He had of the Marquis of *Antrim*, and of the Truſt He had repoſed in him, as to wiſh him to give him all the Aſſiſtance He could with Convenience, for the carrying on the Expedition for *Scotland*.

AND for the better preventing of any Inconvenience, that might fall out by the Raſhneſs and Inadvertency of the Marquis of *Antrim* towards the Lord Lieutenant, his Majeſty ſent *Daniel ONeile* of his Bedchamber into *Ireland* with him, who had great Power over him, and very much Credit with the Marquis of *Ormond*; and was a Man of that Dexterity and Addreſs, that no Man could ſo well prevent the Inconveniences and Prejudice, which the natural Levity and Indiſcretion of the other might tempt him to, or more diſpoſe and incline the Lord Lieutenant to take little Notice of thoſe Vanities and Indiſcretions. And the King, who had no Deſire that the Marquis ſhould ſtay long in *Dublin*, upon his Promiſe that He would uſe all poſſible Expedition in tranſporting himſelf into *Scotland*, gave him Leave to hold that Correſpondence with the *Iriſh* Rebels (who had the Command of all the Northern Parts, and without whoſe Connivance at leaſt, He could very hardly be able to make his Levies and tranſport his Men) as was neceſſary

to his Purpoſes: Within the Limits of which, it is probable enough that He did not contain himſelf; for the Education and Converſation He had in the World, had not extirpated that natural Craft in which that Nation excels, and by which They only deceive themſelves; and might ſay many Things, which He had not Authority or Warrant to ſay.

UPON his Coming to *Dublin*, the Lord Lieutenant gave him all the Countenance He could wiſh, and aſſiſted him in all the Ways He could propoſe, to proſecute his Deſign; but the Men were to be raiſed in or near the Rebels Quarters. And it cannot be denied, but that the Levies He made, and ſent over into *Scotland* under the Command of *Calkito*, were the Foundation of all thoſe wonderful Acts, which were performed afterwards by the Marquis of *Mountroſe* (They were fifteen hundred Men, very good, and with very good Officers, all ſo hardy, that neither the ill Fare nor the ill Lodging in the *Highlands* gave them any Diſcouragement), and gave the firſt Opportunity to the Marquis of *Mountroſe* of being in the Head of an Army; under which He drew together ſuch of the *Highlanders* and others of his Friends, who were willing to repair to him. But upon any military Action, and Defeat given to the Enemy, which happened as often as They encountered the *Scots*, the *Highlanders* went always home with their Booty, and the *Iriſh* only ſtaid together with their General. And from this Beginning the Marquis of *Mountroſe* grew to that Power, that after many Battles won by him with notable Slaughter of the Enemy, He marched victoriouſly with his Army till He made himſelf Maſter of *Edinburgh*, and redeemed out of the Priſon there the Earl of *Crawford*, Lord *Ogilby*, and many other noble Perſons, who had been taken and ſent thither, with Reſolution that They ſhould all loſe their Heads. And the Marquis of *Mountroſe* did always acknowledge, that the Riſe and Beginning of his good Succeſs was due and to be imputed to that Body of *Iriſh*, which had in the Beginning been ſent over by the Marquis of *Antrim*; to whom the King had acknowledged the Service by ſeveral Letters, all of his own Handwriting; in which were very gracious Expreſſions of the Senſe his Majeſty had of his great Services, and his Reſolution to reward him.

IT is true, that the Marquis of *Antrim* had not gone over himſelf with his Men, as He had promiſed to do, but ſtayed in *Ulſter* under Pretence of raiſing a greater Body of Men, with which He would adventure his own Perſon; but either out of Jealouſy or Diſpleaſure againſt the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, or having in Truth no Mind to that Service of *Scotland*, He proſecuted not that Purpoſe, but remained ſtill in *Ulſter*, where all his own Eſtate lay, and ſo was in the Rebels Quarters, and no Doubt was often in their Councils; by which He gave great Advantages againſt himſelf, and might in Strictneſs of Law have been as ſeverely puniſhed by the King, as the worſt of the Rebels. At laſt, in his moving from Place to Place (for He was not in any Expedition with the Rebels) He was taken Priſoner by the *Scots*, who intended to have put him to Death for having ſent Men into *Scotland*; but He made his Eſcape out of their Hands, and tranſported himſelf into *Flanders*, and from thence, having Aſſurance that the Prince (his Majeſty that now is) was then in the *Weſt*, He came with two good Frigats into the Port of *Falmouth*, and offered his Service to his Royal Highneſs; and having in his Frigats a Quantity of Arms and ſome Ammunition, which He had procured in *Flanders* for the Service of *Ireland*, moſt of the Arms and Ammunition were employed, with his Conſent, for the Supply of the Troops and Garriſons in *Cornwall*: And the Prince made Uſe of one of the Frigats to tranſport his Perſon to *Scilly*, and from thence to *Jerſey*;

without which Convenience, his Highneſs had been expoſed to great Difficulties, and could hardly have eſcaped the Hands of his Enemies. After all which, when *Dublin* was given up to the Parliament, and the King's Authority was withdrawn out of that Kingdom, He again (not having wherewithal to live any where elſe) tranſported himſelf into *Ireland*, made himſelf gracious with the *Iriſh*, and was by them ſent into *France*, to deſire the Queen Mother and the Prince of *Wales* "to ſend the Marquis of "*Ormond* to reaſſume his Majeſty's Government in that Kingdom;" which was done accordingly, in the Manner that is mentioned elſewhere.

THE Marquis of *Antrim* alleged all theſe Particulars, and produced many original Letters from the late King (beſides thoſe which are mentioned), the Queen Mother, and the Prince, in all which his Services had been acknowledged, and many Promiſes made to him; and concluded with a full Proteſtation, "that He deſired no Pardon for any Thing that He had ever done "againſt the King; and if there were the leaſt Proof that He had failed in "his Fidelity to him, or had not according to the beſt of his Underſtanding "advanced his Service, He looked for no Favour. But if his being in the "*Iriſh* Quarters and conſulting with them, without which He could not "have made his Levies for *Scotland*, nor tranſported them if He had levied "them, and if his living amongſt them afterwards, when his Majeſty's Au"thority was drawn from thence, and when He could live no where elſe, "do by the ſtrict Letter of the Law expoſe him to Ruin without his Ma"jeſty's Grace and Favour, He did hope his Majeſty would redeem him from "that Miſery, and that the Forfeiture of his Eſtate ſhould not be taken, as "if He were a Traitor and a Rebel to the King." And it appeared that if He were reſtored to all He could pretend to, or of which He had ever been poſſeſſed, his Debts were ſo great, and his Creditors had thoſe legal Incumbrances upon his Eſtate, that his Condition at beſt would not be liable to much Envy.

THOUGH the King had been never taken Notice of to have any great Inclinations to the Marquis, who was very little known to him; yet this Repreſentation and clear View of what He had done and what He had ſuffered, raiſed great Compaſſion towards him in the Royal Breaſt of his Majeſty. And He thought it would in ſome Degree reflect upon his own Honour and Juſtice, and upon the Memory of his bleſſed Father, if in a Time when He paſſed by ſo many Tranſgreſſions very heinous, He ſhould leave the Marquis expoſed to the Fury of his Enemies (who were only his Enemies becauſe They were poſſeſſed of his Eſtate, and becauſe He deſired to have his own from them) for no other Crime upon the Matter, than for not having that Prudence and that Providence in his Endeavours to ſerve the King, as He ought to have had; that is, He ought to have been wiſer. And the Rigour exerciſed towards him upon his firſt Arrival, in ſending him to the *Tower* and afterwards into *Ireland*, by thoſe who enough wiſhed his Deſtruction, and that They had not been able to make the leaſt Proof againſt him, improved his Majeſty's good Diſpoſition towards him. Yet He refuſed poſitively to write a Letter to the Commiſſioners on his Behalf; which the Marquis moſt importunately deſired, as the only Thing that could do him Good. But his Majeſty directed a Letter to be prepared to the Lord Lieutenant, in which all his Allegations and Suggeſtions ſhould be ſet down, and the Truth thereof examined by him; and that if He ſhould be found to have committed no greater Faults againſt the King, than thoſe which He confeſſed, then that Letter ſhould be ſent to the Commiſſioners, that They might ſee Both their Majeſties Teſtimonies in ſuch Parti-

culars as were known to themſelves. And this Letter was very warily drawn, and being approved by his Majeſty, was ſent accordingly to the Lord Lieutenant. And ſhortly after a Copy of it ſigned by the King (who conceived it only to be a Duplicate, leſt the other ſhould miſcarry) was, contrary to his Majeſty's Reſolution, and contrary to the Advice of the Chancellor and without his Knowledge, likewiſe ſent to the Commiſſioners; who had thereupon made ſuch a Decree as is before mentioned, and declared, "that They had made it only upon that Ground;" which gave his Majeſty ſome Trouble, and obliged him to inſert a Clauſe in the next Bill concerning that Affair.

And this was the whole Proceeding that related to the Marquis of *Antrim*: And it is yet very hard to comprehend, wherein there was more Favour ſhewed towards him by his Majeſty, than He might in Truth very reaſonably pretend to, what Noiſe ſoever was raiſed, and what Gloſſes ſoever made; which proceeded only from the general Diſlike of the Man, who had much more Weakneſs than Wickedneſs in him, and was an Object rather of Pity than of Malice or Envy.

When his Majeſty entered upon the Debate of the third Bill, which was tranſmitted to him for a Supplement and Addition to the other two, He quickly found the Settlement propoſed, and which was the End of the three Bills, was now grown more difficult than ever. All the Meaſures, which had formerly been taken from the great Proportion of Land which would remain to be diſpoſed of, were no more to be relied upon, but appeared to have been a wrong Foundation from the Beginning; which was now made more deſperate, by the vaſt Proportions which had been aſſigned to the *Iriſh* by the Commiſſioners Decrees: And ſomewhat had intervened by ſome Acts of Bounty from his Majeſty, which had not been carefully enough watched and repreſented to him.

The Difficulties of a Settlement increaſed.

By ſome improvident Acts of Bounty in the King.

The King had, upon paſſing the former Bills, and upon diſcerning how much the *Iriſh* were like to ſuffer, reſolved to retain, all that ſhould by Forfeiture or otherwiſe come to his Majeſty, in his own Power; to the End, that when the Settlement ſhould be made, He might be able to gratify thoſe of the *Iriſh* Nation, who had any Thing of Merit towards him, or had been leaſt faulty. And if He had obſerved that Reſolution, very much of the Trouble He underwent afterwards had been prevented: For He would then, beſides that which *Cromwell* had reſerved to himſelf (which was a vaſt Tract of Ground), have had all thoſe Forfeitures which the Regicides had been poſſeſſed of, and other criminal Perſons; which amounted to a huge Quantity of the beſt Land. And though the King had before deſigned all thoſe forfeited Lands to his Brother the Duke, yet his Highneſs was ſo pleaſed with the Reſolution his Majeſty had taken, to retain them to that Purpoſe, that He forbore to proſecute that Grant, till He heard of great Quantities of Land every Day granted away by his Majeſty to his Servants and others; whereby He ſaw the main End would be diſappointed. And then He reſolved to be no longer a Loſer for the Benefit of thoſe, who had no Pretence to what They got; and ſo proceeded in getting that Grant from the King to himſelf of thoſe Lands deſigned to him.

The King had ſwerved from that Rule, before it was ſcarce diſcerned: And the Error of it may be very juſtly imputed to the Earl of *Orrery*, and to none but him; who believing that He could never be well enough at Court, except He had Courtiers of all Sorts obliged to him, who would therefore ſpeak well of him in all Places and Companies (and thoſe Arts of

This Improvidence owing to the Earl of Orrery.

his put the King to much Trouble and Loſs both in *England* and *Ireland*), He commended to many of ſuch Friends (though He had adviſed the King to the former Reſolution) many Suits of that Kind, and ſent Certificates to them, oftentimes under his own Hand, of the Value thoſe Suits might be to them if obtained, and of the little Importance the granting of them would be to his Majeſty; which, having been ſhewed to the King, diſpoſed him to thoſe Conceſſions, which otherwiſe He would not ſo eaſily have made. Then He directed them a Way (being then one of the Lords Juſtices) for the more immediate paſſing thoſe Grants They could obtain, without meeting thoſe Obſtructions which They had been ſubject to; for when any of thoſe Grants had been brought to the Great Seal of *England*, the Chancellor always ſtopped them, and put his Majeſty in Mind of his former Reſolution: But this new Way (in itſelf lawful enough) kept him from knowing any of thoſe Tranſactions, which were made by Letters from the King to the Lords Juſtices; and thereupon the Grants were prepared there, and paſſed under the Great Seal of *Ireland*. *This done without the Chancellor's Knowledge.*

THERE was then likewiſe a new Clauſe introduced into thoſe Grants, of a very new Nature; for being grounded always upon Letters out of *England*, and paſſed under the Seal of *Ireland*, the Letters were prepared and formed there, and tranſmitted hither only for his Majeſty's Sign Manual: So that neither the King's learned Council at Law, nor any other his Miniſters (the Secretaries only excepted), had any Notice or the Peruſal of any of thoſe Grants. The Clauſe was, "that if any of thoſe Lands ſo granted by his "Majeſty ſhould be otherwiſe decreed, his Majeſty's Grantee ſhould be re- "priſed with other Lands:" So that in many Caſes, the greateſt Inducement to his Majeſty's Bounty being the Incertainty of his own Right, which the Perſon to whom it was granted was obliged to vindicate at his own Charge, the King was now bound to make it good, if his Grant was not valid. And ſo that which was but a contingent Bounty, which commonly was the ſole Argument for the paſſing it, was now turned into a real and ſubſtantial Benefit, as a Debt; which created another Difficulty in the Settlement: Which was yet the more hard, becauſe there were many Claims of the *Iriſh* themſelves yet unheard, all the falſe Admeaſurements to be examined, and many other Uncertainties to be determined by the Commiſſioners; which left thoſe who were in quiet Poſſeſſion, as well as thoſe who were out of it, in the higheſt Inſecurity and Apprehenſion. *And with an extraordinary Clauſe inſerted in the Grants.*

THIS Intricacy and even Deſpair, which poſſeſſed all Kind of People, of any Settlement, made all of them willing to contribute to any that could be propoſed. They found his Majeſty very unwilling to conſent to the Repeal of the Decrees made by the Commiſſioners; which muſt have taken away the Confidence and Aſſurance of whatſoever was to be done hereafter, by making Men ſee, that what was ſettled by one Act of Parliament might immediately be unſettled by another: So that there was no Hope by that Expedient to increaſe the Number of Acres, which being left might in any Degree comply with the ſeveral Pretences. The *Iriſh* found, that They might only be able to obſtruct any Settlement, but ſhould never be able to get ſuch a one as would turn to their own Satisfaction. The Soldiers and *Adventurers* agreed leſs amongſt themſelves: And the Clamour was as great againſt thoſe, who by falſe Admeaſurements had gotten more than They ſhould have, as from thoſe who had received leſs than was their Due; and They who leaſt feared any new Examination could not yet have any ſecure Title, before all the reſt were ſettled. In a Word, all Men found that any Settlement would be better than none; and that more Profit would ariſe from

a ſmaller Proportion of Land quietly poſſeſſed and huſbanded accordingly, than from a much greater Proportion under a doubtful Title and an Incertainty, which muſt diſhearten any Induſtry and Improvement.

Upon theſe Conſiderations and Motives, They met amongſt themſelves, and debated together by what Expedient They might draw Light out of this Darkneſs. There appeared only one Way which adminiſtered any reaſonable Hope; which was, by increaſing the Stock for Repriſals to ſuch a Degree, that all Mens Pretences might in ſome Meaſurebe provided for: And there was no other Way to arrive to this, but by every Man's parting with ſomewhat which He thought to be his own. And to this They had one Encouragement, that was of the higheſt Prevalence with them, which was, that this Way an End would be put to the illimited Juriſdiction of the Commiſſioners (which was very terrible to all of them), who from henceforth could have little other Power, than to execute what ſhould here be agreed upon.

The different Parties at laſt agree upon an Expedient for a Settlement.

In Concluſion, They brought a Propoſition to the King, raiſed and digeſted between themſelves, "that all Perſons, who were to receive any Be- "nefit by this Act, ſhould abate and give a fourth Part of what They had, "towards the Stock for Repriſals; all which the Commiſſioners ſhould diſ- "tribute amongſt thoſe *Iriſh*, who ſhould appear moſt fit for his Majeſty's "Bounty." And this Agreement was ſo unanimous, that though it met with ſome obſtinate Oppoſition after it was brought before the King, yet the Number of the Oppoſers was ſo ſmall in Reſpect of the others who agreed to it, that They grew weary and aſhamed of farther Contention.

Hereupon the King paſſes the Third Act of Settlement.

And thereupon that *Third Act of Settlement*, as ſupplemental to the other two, was conſented to by the King; who, to publiſh to the World that Nothing ſtuck with him which ſeemed to reflect upon the Commiſſioners, reſolved to make no Change: And ſo though two of them, who had Offices here to diſcharge, prevailed with his Majeſty that They might not return again into *Ireland*; the other five were continued, to execute what was more to be done by this Act, and ſo to perfect the Settlement. And no Doubt it will be here ſaid, that this Expedient might have been ſooner found, and ſo prevented many of thoſe Diſorders and Inconveniences which intervened. But They who knew that Time, and the Perverſeneſs and Obſtinacy that poſſeſſed all Pretenders, muſt confeſs that the Seaſon was never ripe before: Nor could their Conſent and Agreement, upon which this Act was founded, ever be obtained before.

These were all the Tranſactions which paſſed with Reference to *Ireland*, whilſt the Chancellor remained at that Board; in which He acted no more than any other of the Lords who were preſent did: Except when any Difficulties occurred in their private Meetings and Debates, They ſometimes reſorted to him for Advice, which He was ready to give; being always willing to take any Pains, which might make that very difficult Work more eaſy to be brought to a good End. But as He never thought He deſerved any Reward for ſo doing, ſo He never expected the Benefit of one Shilling in Money or in Money's Worth, for any Thing He ever did in that Affair; and was ſo far from entertaining any Overture to that Purpoſe, that it is notoriouſly known to many Perſons of Honour, who I preſume will be ready to teſtify the ſame, that when, upon his Majeſty's firſt Return into *England*, ſome Propoſitions were made to him of receiving the Grant of ſome forfeited Lands, and for the buying other Lands there upon the Deſire of the Owners thereof, and at ſo low a Price that the very Profit of the Land would in a ſhort Time have paid for the Purchaſe, and other Over-

tures of immediate Benefit in Money (which others did and lawfully might accept); He rejected all Propoſitions of that Kind or relating to it, and declared publickly and privately, "that He would neither have Lands in *Ire-*"*land* nor the leaſt Benefit from thence, till all Differences and Pretences "in that Kingdom ſhould be ſo fully ſettled and agreed, that there could "be no more Appeal to the King, or repairing to the King's Council for "Juſtice; in which," He ſaid, "He ſhould never be thought ſo competent "an Adviſer, if He had any Title of his own in that Kingdom to bias his "Inclinations." And He was often heard to ſay, "that He never took a "firmer Reſolution in any Particular in his Life, than to adhere to that "Concluſion." Yet becauſe it was notorious afterwards, that He did receive ſome Money out of *Ireland*, and had a lawful Title to receive more (with which He was reproached when He could not anſwer for himſelf); it may not be amiſs in this Place, for his Vindication, to ſet down particularly how that came to paſs, and to mention all the Circumſtances which preceded, accompanied or attended, that Affair.

A Vindication of the Chancellor with Regard to the Irish Affairs.

IN the Bills which were firſt tranſmitted from *Ireland* after his Majeſty's happy Return, there was an Impoſition of a certain Sum of Money upon ſome ſpecified Lands in ſeveral Provinces, "which was to be paid to his "Majeſty within a limited Time, and to be diſpoſed of by his Majeſty to "ſuch Perſons who had ſerved him faithfully, and ſuffered in ſo doing," or Words to that Effect; for He often proteſted that He never ſaw the Act of Parliament, and was moſt confident that He never heard of it at the Time when it paſſed, He being often abſent from the Council, by Reaſon of the Gout or other Accidents, when ſuch Matters were tranſacted. But two Years after the King's Return or thereabout, He received a Letter from the Earl of *Orrery*, "that there would be in his Hands, and in the Earl of *An-*"*gleſey's* and the Lord *Maſſaren's*" (who it ſeems were appointed Treaſurers to receive the Money to be raiſed by that Act of Parliament), "a good Sum "of Money for him; which He gave him Notice of, to the End that He might "give Direction for the Diſpoſal thereof, whether He would have it returned "into *England*, or laid out in Land in *Ireland*;" and He wiſhed "that He "would ſpeedily ſend his Direction, becauſe He was confident that the "Money would be paid in, at leaſt by the Time that his Letter could arrive "there." No Man can be more ſurpriſed, than the Chancellor was at the Receipt of this Letter, believing that there was ſome Miſtake in it, and that his Name might have been uſed in Truſt by Somebody who had given him no Notice of it. And without returning any Anſwer to the Earl of *Orrery*, He writ by that Poſt to the Lord Lieutenant, to inform him of what the Earl of *Orrery* had writ to him, and deſired him to "inform him by his own En-"quiry, what the Meaning of it was."

BEFORE He had an Anſwer from the Lord Lieutenant, or indeed before his Letter could come to the Lord Lieutenant's Hands, He received a ſecond Letter from the Earl of *Orrery*; in which He informed him, "that there was "now paid in to his Uſe, the Sum of twelve thouſand ſix hundred and odd Pounds, "and that there would be the like Sum again received for him at the End of "ſix Months;" and ſent him a particular Direction, "to what Perſon and "in what Form He was to ſend his Order for the Payment of the Money." The Chancellor ſtill forbore to anſwer this Letter, till He had received an Anſwer to what He had written to the Lord Lieutenant, who then informed him at large, what Title He had to that Money, and how He came to have it: "That ſhortly after the paſſing that Act of Parliament, which had given "his Majeſty the Diſpoſal of the Money before mentioned, the Earl of *Or-*

"*rery* had come to him, the Lord Lieutenant, and putting him in Mind, "how the Chancellor had rejected all Overtures which had been made to "him of Benefit out of that Kingdom" (which Refuſal, and many others that ſhew how unſolicitous He had always been in the Ways of getting, is not more known to any Man living than to the Lord Lieutenant), "wiſhed "that He would move the King to confer ſome Part of that Money upon "the Chancellor; which the Lord Lieutenant very willingly did, and his "Majeſty as cheerfully granted: That a Letter was accordingly prepared, "and his Majeſty's Royal Signature procured by Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, "who was at the ſame Time commanded by the King not to let him "know of it; to which Purpoſe there was likewiſe a Clauſe in the Letter, "whereby it was provided that He ſhould have no Notice of it; which," the Lord Lieutenant ſaid, "was by his Majeſty's Direction or with his Appro-"bation, becauſe it was ſaid, that if He had Notice of it, He would be ſo "fooliſh as to obſtruct it himſelf. And there was a Clauſe likewiſe in the "ſaid Letter, which directed the Payment of the ſaid Monies to his Heirs, "Executors or Aſſigns, if He ſhould die before the Receipt thereof."

The Chancellor being ſo fully advertiſed of all this by the Lord Lieutetenant, and of which till that Time He had not the leaſt Notice or Imagination, He deſired Secretary *Nicholas* to give him a Copy of that Letter (which had been ſince paſſed as a Grant to him under the Great Seal of *Ireland*, according to the Form then uſed); which the Secretary gave him, with a large Account of many gracious Circumſtances in the King's granting it, and the Obligation laid upon him of Secrecy, and the great Caution that was uſed that He might have no Notice of it. After He was informed of all this, He did not think that there was any Thing left for him to do, but to make his humble Acknowledgment to his Majeſty for his Royal Bounty, and to take Care for the receiving and tranſmitting the Money; and doubted not but that He might receive it very honeſtly. He did therefore wait upon his Majeſty with that Duty that became him: And his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to enlarge his Bounty with thoſe Expreſſions of Favour, and of the Satisfaction He had vouchſafed to take himſelf in conferring his Donative, that his Joy was much greater from that Grace, than in the Greatneſs of the Gift.

At the very ſame Time, and the very Day that the Chancellor received the Letter from the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of *Portland* came to him, and informed him of a Difference that was fallen out between the Lord *Lovelace* and Sir *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, upon a Defect in the Title to certain Lands purchaſed heretofore by Sir *Bulſtrode Whitlock* from the Lord *Lovelace*, and enjoyed by him ever ſince; but being by the Neceſſity of that Time, the Delinquency of *Lovelace* and the Power of *Whitlock*, bought and ſold at an Undervalue, and the Time being now more equal, *Lovelace* reſolved to have more Money, or not to perform a Covenant He had entered into; the Not-performance whereof would leave the other's Title very defective. The Earl deſired to reconcile thoſe two, which could not be done without Sale of the Land: And ſo He propoſed to the Chancellor the buying this Land, which lay next to ſome Land He had in *Wiltſhire*. This Propoſition was made upon the very Day, as is ſaid before, that He had received the Letter from the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; by which it appeared that there was near as much Money already received for him, as would pay for that Purchaſe, beſides what was more to be received within ſix Months after. The Land was well known to the Chancellor; ſo that upon a ſhort Conference with the Parties, They all agreed upon the Purchaſe: And He was

eaſily prevailed with to undertake the Payment of the greateſt Part of the Money upon ſealing the Writings, not making the leaſt Doubt, but that He ſhould by that Time receive the Money from *Ireland*; which was the ſole Ground and Motive to his making that Purchaſe.

BUT the next Letters He received from *Ireland* informed him, "that "the Neceſſities of that Kingdom had been ſuch, that They could only "return ſix thouſand Pounds of that Money; and that They had been com- "pelled to make Uſe of the reſt for the Publick, which would take Care "to repay it to him in a ſhort Time:" And ſo He found himſelf engaged in a Purchaſe which He could not retract, upon Preſumption of Money which He could not receive. And He did not only never after receive one Penny of what was due upon the ſecond Payment (which He ſo little ſuſpected could fail, there being an Act of Parliament for the Security, that He aſſigned it upon the Marriage of his ſecond Son to him, as the beſt Part of his Portion); but the Remainder of the firſt Sum, which was ſo borrowed or taken from him, or any Part of it, was never after paid to him or to his Uſe: By which, and the Inconveniences and Damages which enſued to him from thence, He might reaſonably ſay that He was a Loſer, and involved in a great Debt, by that ſignal Bounty of his Majeſty; and which was afterwards made Matter of Reproach to him, and as an Argument of his Corruption. But this is a very true Account of that Buſineſs, and of all the Money that He ever received from *Ireland*, with all the Circumſtances thereof; which, in the Judgment of all impartial Men, cannot reflect to the Prejudice of his Integrity and Honour.

AND ſo We ſhall no further purſue or again reſume any Mention of the Affairs of *Ireland*, though they will afford a large Field of Matter; but ſhall return to the Beginning of the Parliament, from whence We departed.

IT cannot be expreſſed, hardly imagined, with what Alacrity the Parliament entered upon all particular Affairs which might refer to the King's Honour, Safety or Profit. They pulled up all thoſe Principles of Sedition and Rebellion by the Roots, which in their own Obſervation had been the Ground of or contributed to the odious and infamous Rebellion in the long Parliament. They declared "that ſottiſh Diſtinction between the King's "Perſon and his Office to be Treaſon; that his Negative Voice could not be "taken from him, and was ſo eſſential to the making a Law, that no "Order or Ordinance of either Houſe could be binding to the Subject without "it; that the Militia was inſeparably veſted in his Majeſty, and that it was "High Treaſon to raiſe or levy Soldiers without the King's Commiſſion." And becauſe the Licence of ſpeaking ſeditiouſly, and of laying ſcandalous Imputations and Aſperſions upon the Perſon of the King, as ſaying *that He was a Papiſt*, and ſuch like Terms, to alienate the Affections of the People from his Majeſty, had been the Prologue and principal Ingredient to that Rebellion, and corrupted the Hearts of his loving Subjects; They declared, "that the raiſing any Calumnies of that Kind upon the King, as ſaying "*that He is a Papiſt, or popiſhly affected*, or the like, ſhould be Felony." In a Word, They vindicated all his Regalities and Royal Prerogatives, and provided for the Safety of his Perſon in as loving and ample a Manner as He could wiſh: And towards raiſing and ſettling a Revenue proportionable to his Dignity and neceſſary Expenſe, over and above the Confirmation of all that had been done or granted in the laſt Convention, They entered upon all the Expedients which could occur to them, and were willing to receive Propoſitions or Advice from any Body that might contribute there-

Tranſactions in Parliament.

The King's Prerogative aſſerted.

unto. In all theſe publick Matters, no Man could wiſh a more active Spirit to be in them, than They were in Truth poſſeſſed with.

The Parliament unwilling to confirm the Act of Indemnity.

But in that which the King had principally recommended to them, the Confirmation of the *Act of Oblivion and Indemnity*, They proceeded very ſlowly, coldly and unwillingly, notwithſtanding the King's frequent Meſſages to them "to diſpatch it, though with the Delay of thoſe other Things "which They thought did more immediately concern him." They had many Agents and Solicitors in the Court, who thought that all that was releaſed by that Act might lawfully be diſtributed amongſt them; and ſince the King had referred that whole Affair to the Parliament, He might well leave it to their Judgments, without his own Interpoſition. But his Majeſty looked upon himſelf as under another Obligation both of Honour and Conſcience, and upon the Thing itſelf as more for the publick Peace and Security, than any Thing the Parliament could provide inſtead thereof; and therefore was very much troubled and offended at the apparent Unwillingneſs to paſs it. And thereupon He went himſelf to the Houſe of Peers, and ſent for the Commons, and told them, "that it was abſolutely neceſ-"ſary to diſpatch that Bill, which He himſelf had ſent to them near two "Months before:" For it was now the eighth of *July*. His Majeſty told them, "that it was to put himſelf in Mind as well as them, that He ſo often, "as often as He came to them, mentioned to them his Declaration from "*Breda*." And He ſaid, "He ſhould put them in Mind of another De-"claration publiſhed by themſelves about that Time, and which He was "perſuaded made his the more effectual, an honeſt, generous and Chriſtian "Declaration, ſigned by the moſt eminent Perſons, who had been the moſt "eminent Sufferers; in which They renounced all former Animoſities, all "Memory of former Unkindneſſes, vowed all imaginable Good-Will and all "Confidence in each other." All which being preſſed with ſo much Inſtance by his Majeſty prevailed with them: And They then forthwith diſpatched that Bill; and the King as ſoon confirmed it, and would not ſtay a few Days, till other important Bills ſhould be likewiſe ready to be preſented to him.

The King ſtrenuouſly urges them to confirm it.

Whereupon They confirm it.

And there cannot be a greater Inſtance of their Deſire to pleaſe his Majeſty from thenceforth, than that before that Seſſion was concluded, notwithſtanding the Prejudice the Clergy had brought upon themſelves (as I ſaid before) upon their too much good Huſbandry in granting Leaſes, and though the Preſbyterian Party was not without an Intereſt in Both Houſes of Parliament; They paſſed a Bill for the Repeal of that Act of Parliament, by which the Biſhops were excluded from ſitting there. It was firſt propoſed in the Houſe of Commons by a Gentleman, who had been always taken to be of a Preſbyterian Family: And in that Houſe it found leſs Oppoſition than was looked for; all Men knowing, that beſides the Juſtice of it, and the Prudence to wipe out the Memory of ſo infamous an Act, as the Excluſion of them with all the Circumſtances was known to be, it would be grateful to the King.

The Commons paſs a Bill for reſtoring Biſhops to their Seats in Parliament.

But when it came into the Houſe of Peers, where all Men expected it would find a general Concurrence, it met with ſome Obſtruction; which made a Diſcovery of an Intrigue, that had not been ſuſpected. For though there were many Lords preſent, who had induſtriouſly laboured the paſſing the former Bill for the Excluſion, yet They had likewiſe been guilty of ſo many other ill Things, of which They were aſhamed, that it was believed that They would not willingly revive the Memory of the Whole, by perſevering in ſuch an odious Particular. Nor in Truth did They. But

when They saw that it would unavoidably pass (for the Number of that Party was not considerable), They either gave their Consents, as many of them did, or gave their Negative without Noise. The Obstruction came not from thence. The *Catholicks* less owned the Contradiction, nor were guilty of it, though They suffered in it. But the Truth is, it proceeded from the mercurial Brain of the Earl of *Bristol*, who much affected to be looked upon as the Head of the *Catholicks*; which They did so little desire that He should be thought, that They very rarely concurred with him. He well knew that the King desired (which his Majesty never dissembled) to give the *Roman Catholicks* Ease from all the sanguinary Laws; and that He did not desire that They should be liable to the other Penalties which the Law had made them subject to, whilst They should in all other Respects behave themselves like good Subjects. Nor had They since his Majesty's Return sustained the least Prejudice by their Religion, but enjoyed as much Liberty at Court and in the Country, as any other Men; and with which the wisest of them were abundantly satisfied, and did abhor the Activity of those of their own Party, whom They did believe more like to deprive them of the Liberty They enjoyed, than to enlarge it to them.

Which is obstructed in the House of Lords by the Earl of Bristol.

WHEN the Earl of *Bristol* saw this Bill brought into the House for restoring the Bishops to their Seats, He went to the King, and informed his Majesty, "that if this Bill should speedily pass, it would absolutely deprive the "*Catholicks* of all those Graces and Indulgence which He intended to them; "for that the Bishops, when They should sit in the House, whatever their "own Opinions or Inclinations were, would find themselves obliged, that "They might preserve their Reputation with the People, to contradict and "oppose whatsoever should look like Favour or Connivance towards the "*Catholicks:* And therefore, if his Majesty continued his former gracious In-"clination towards the *Roman Catholicks*, He must put some Stop (even for "the Bishops own Sakes) to the passing that Bill, till the other should be "more advanced, which He supposed might shortly be done;" there having been already some Overtures made to that Purpose, and a Committee appointed in the House of Lords to take a View of all the sanguinary Laws in Matters of Religion, and to present them to the House that it might consider farther of them. The King surprised with the Discourse from a Man who had often told him the Necessity of the restoring the Bishops, and that it could not be a perfect Parliament without their Presence, thought his Reason for the Delay to have Weight in it, and that the Delay for a few Days could be attended with no Prejudice to the Matter itself; and thereupon was willing the Bill should not be called for, and that when it should be under Commitment, it should be detained there for some Time; and that He might, the better to produce this Delay, tell some of his Friends, "that the King would be well pleased, that there should not be "overmuch Haste in the presenting that Bill for his Royal Assent."

THIS grew quickly to be taken Notice of in the House, that after the first Reading of that Bill, it had been put off for a second Reading longer than was usual, when the House was at so much Leisure; and that now it was under Commitment, it was obstructed there, notwithstanding all the Endeavours some Lords of the Committee could use for the Dispatch; the Bill containing very few Words, being only for the Repeal of a former Act, and the Expressions admitting, that is, giving little Cause for any Debate. The Chancellor desired to know how this came to pass, and was informed by one of the Lords of the Committee, "that They were assured that the "King would have a Stop put to it, till another Bill should be provided

"which his Majeſty looked for." Hereupon the Chancellor ſpake with his Majeſty, who told him all the Conference which the Earl of *Briſtol* had held with him, and what He had conſented ſhould be done. To which the other replied, "that He was ſorry that his Majeſty had been prevailed with "to give any Obſtruction to a Bill, which every Body knew his Majeſty's "Heart was ſo much ſet upon for Diſpatch; and that if the Reaſon were "known, it would quickly put an End to all the Pretences of the *Catho-* "*licks*; to which his Majeſty knew He was no Enemy." The King preſently concluded that the Reaſon was not ſufficient, and wiſhed "that the "Bill might be diſpatched as ſoon as was poſſible, that He might paſs it "that Seſſion;" which He had appointed to make an End of within few Days: And ſo the next Day the Report was called for and made, and the Bill ordered to be engroſſed againſt the next Morning; the Earl not being at that Time in the Houſe. But the next Morning, when the Chancellor had the Bill engroſſed in his Hand to preſent to the Houſe to be read the third Time, the Earl came to him to the Woolſack, and with great Diſpleaſure and Wrath in his Countenance told him, "that if that Bill were "read that Day, He would ſpeak againſt it;" to which the Chancellor gave him an Anſwer that did not pleaſe him: And the Bill was paſſed that Day. And from that Time the Earl of *Briſtol* was a more avowed and declared Enemy to him, than He had before profeſſed to be; though the Friendſhip that had been between them had been diſcontinued or broken, from the Time the Earl had changed his Religion.

But is at laſt paſſed.

The King within few Days came to the Parliament, to give his Royal Aſſent to thoſe Bills which were prepared for him; and then told them, "that "He did thank them with all his Heart, indeed as much as He could for "any Thing, for the Repeal of that Act which excluded the Biſhops from "ſitting in Parliament." He ſaid, "it was an unhappy Act in an unhappy "Time, paſſed with many unhappy Circumſtances, and attended with mi- "ſerable Events; and therefore He did again thank them for repealing it: "And that They had thereby reſtored Parliaments to their primitive Inſti- "tutions." This was upon the thirtieth of *July* 1661, when the Parliament was adjourned to the twentieth of *November* following.

The Parliament adjourned.

Because We have mentioned the gracious Purpoſes the King had to his Roman Catholick Subjects, of which afterwards much Uſe was made to his Diſſervice, to which the Vanity and Preſumption of many of that Profeſſion contributed very much; it may not be unſeaſonable in this Place to mention the Ground of that his Majeſty's Goodneſs, and the Reaſons why that Purpoſe of his was not proſecuted to the Purpoſe it was intended, after ſo fair a Riſe towards it, by the Appointment of that Committee in the Houſe of Peers, which is remembered above.

The true Ground of the King's Favour to the Roman Catholicks.

It is not to be wondered at, that the King, at the Age He was of when the Troubles began in *England*, and when He came out of *England*, knew very little of the Laws which had been long ſince made and were ſtill in Force againſt *Roman Catholicks*, and leſs of the Grounds and Motives which had introduced thoſe Laws. And from the Time that He was firſt beyond the Seas, He could not be without hearing very much ſpoken againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and more for extolling and magnifying the Religion of the Church of *Rome*; neither of which Diſcourſes made any Impreſſion upon him. After the Defeat at *Worceſter*, and his Eſcape from thence into *France*, the Queen his Mother (who had very punctually complied with the King her Huſband's Injunctions, in not ſuffering any Body to endeavour to pervert the Prince her Son in his Religion,

and when He came afterwards into *France* after He was King, continued the ſame Reſervation) uſed much more Sharpneſs in her Diſcourſe againſt the *Proteſtants*, than She had been accuſtomed to. The Liberty that his Majeſty formerly had in the *Louvre*, to have a Place ſet aſide for the Exerciſe of his Religion, was taken away: And continual Diſcourſes were made by the Queen in his Preſence, "that He had now no Hope ever to be reſtored "to his Dominions, but by the Help of the *Catholicks*; and therefore that "He muſt apply himſelf to them in ſuch a Way, as might induce them to "help him."

ABOUT this Time there was a ſhort Collection and Abridgment made of all the penal Laws, which had been made and which were ſtill in Force in *England* againſt the *Roman Catholicks*; "that all Prieſts for ſaying Maſs were to "be put to Death;" the great Penalties which They were to undergo, who entertained or harboured a Prieſt in their Houſe, or were preſent at Maſs, and the like; with all other envious Clauſes, which were in any Acts of Parliament, that had been enacted upon ſeveral Treaſons and Conſpiracies of the *Roman Catholicks*, in the Reigns of Queen *Elizabeth* and King *James*. And this Collection They cauſed to be tranſlated into *French* and into *Latin*, and ſcattered it abroad in all Places; after They had cauſed Copies of it to be preſented to the Queen Mother of *France*, and to the Cardinal: So that the King came into no Place where thoſe Papers were not ſhewed to him, and where He was not ſeriouſly aſked, "whether it "was a true Collection of the Laws of *England*," and "whether it was "poſſible, that any Chriſtian Kingdom could exerciſe ſo much Tyranny "againſt the Catholick Religion." The King, who had never heard of theſe Particulars, did really believe that the Paper was forged, and anſwered, "He "did not believe that there were ſuch Laws:" And when He came to his Lodgings, He gave the Chancellor the Paper, and bade him read it, and tell him "whether ſuch Laws were in Force in *England*." He had heard before of the ſcattering of thoſe Papers, and knew well who had made the Collection; who had been a Lawyer, and was a *Proteſtant*, but had too good an Opinion of the *Roman Catholicks*, and deſired too much to be grateful to them.

THE Chancellor found an Opportunity the next Day to enlarge upon the Paper to his Majeſty, and informed him of "the Seaſons in which, and "the Occaſions and Provocations upon which, thoſe Laws had been made; "of the frequent Treaſons and Conſpiracies which had been entered into by "ſome *Roman Catholicks*, always with the Privity and Approbation of their "Prieſts and Confeſſors, againſt the Perſon and Life of Queen *Elizabeth*; "and after her Death, of the infamous and deteſtable Gunpowder Treaſon "to have deſtroyed King *James* and his Poſterity, with the whole Nobility "of the Kingdom: So that in thoſe Times, the Pope having excommuni-"cated the whole Kingdom, and abſolved the Subjects from all their Oaths "of Fidelity, there ſeemed no Expedient to preſerve the Crown, but the "uſing theſe Severities againſt thoſe who were profeſſed Enemies to it. "But that ſince thoſe Times, that the *Roman Catholicks* had lived quietly, "that Rigour had not been uſed: And that the King his Father's Clemency "towards thoſe of that Profeſſion (which Clemency extended no farther "than the diſpenſing with the utmoſt Rigour of the Laws), was the "Ground of the Scandal of his being popiſhly affected, that contributed "as much to his Ruin, as any particular Malice in the worſt of his "Enemies."

The King hearkened attentively to all that was ſaid, and then anſwered, "that He could not doubt but there was ſome very extraordinary Reaſon "for the making ſuch ſtrange Laws: But whatever the Reaſon then was, "that it was at preſent and for many Years paſt very evident, that there "was no ſuch Malignity in the *Roman Catholicks*, that ſhould continue that "heavy Yoke upon their Necks. That He knew well enough, that if He "were in *England*, He had not in himſelf the Power to repeal any Act of "Parliament, without the Conſent of Parliament: But that He knew no "Reaſon why He might not profeſs, that He did not like thoſe Laws which "cauſed Men to be put to Death for their Religion; and that He would "do his beſt, if ever God reſtored him to his Kingdom, that thoſe bloody "Laws might be repealed. And that if there were no other Reaſon of State "than He could yet comprehend, againſt the taking away the other Penal-"ties, He ſhould be glad that all thoſe Diſtinctions between his Subjects "might be removed; and that whilſt They were all equally good Subjects, "They might equally enjoy his Protection." And his Majeſty did frequently, when He was in the Courts of Catholick Princes, and when He was ſure to hear the Sharpneſs of the Laws in *England* inveighed againſt, enlarge upon the ſame Diſcourſe: And it had been a very unſeaſonable Preſumption in any Man, who would have endeavoured to have diſſuaded him from entertaining that Candour in his Heart.

With this gracious Diſpoſition his Majeſty returned into *England*; and received his Catholick Subjects with the ſame Grace and Frankneſs, that He did his other: And They took all Opportunities to extol their own Sufferings, which They would have underſtood to have been for him. And ſome very noble Perſons there were, who had ſerved his Father very worthily in the War, and ſuffered as largely afterwards for having done ſo: But the Number of thoſe was not great, but much greater than of thoſe who ſhewed any Affection to him or for him, during the Time of his Abſence, and the Government of the Uſurper. Yet ſome few there were, even of thoſe who had ſuffered moſt for his Father, who did ſend him Supply when He was abroad, though They were hardly able to provide Neceſſaries for themſelves: And in his Eſcape from *Worceſter*, He received extraordinary Benefit, by the Fidelity of many poor People of that Religion; which his Majeſty was never reſerved in the Remembrance of. And this gracious Diſpoſition in him did not then appear ingrateful to any. And then, upon an Addreſs made to the Houſe of Peers in the Name of the *Roman Catholicks*, for ſome Relaxation of thoſe Laws which were ſtill in Force againſt them, the Houſe of Peers appointed that Committee which is mentioned before, to examine and report all thoſe penal Statutes, which reached to the taking away the Life of any *Roman Catholick*, Prieſt or Layman, for his Religion; there not appearing one Lord in the Houſe, who ſeemed to be unwilling that thoſe Laws ſhould be repealed. And after that Committee was appointed, the Roman Catholick Lords and their Friends for ſome Days diligently attended it, and made their Obſervations upon ſeveral Acts of Parliament, in which They deſired Eaſe. But on a ſudden this Committee was diſcontinued, and never after revived; the *Roman Catholicks* never afterwards being ſolicitous for it.

A Committee of the Lords for relaxing the penal Laws againſt the Roman Catholicks.

The Argument was now to be debated amongſt themſelves, that They might agree what would pleaſe them: And then there quickly appeared that Diſcord and Animoſity between them, that never was nor ever will be extinguiſhed; and of which the State might make much other Uſe than it hath done. The Lords and Men of Eſtates were not ſatisfied, in that

The Roman Catholicks *diſagree amongſt themſelves*

They obſerved the Good-Nature of the Houſe did not appear to extend farther, than the aboliſhing thoſe Laws which concerned the Lives of the Prieſts, which did not much affect them: For beſides that thoſe Spectacles were no longer grateful to the People, They were confident that They ſhould not be without Men to diſcharge thoſe Functions; and the Number of ſuch was more grievous to them than the Scarcity. That which They deſired was, the Removal of thoſe Laws, which being let looſe would deprive them of ſo much of their Eſtates, that the Remainder would not preſerve them from Poverty. This Indulgence would indeed be grateful to them; for the other They cared not. Nor were the Eccleſiaſticks at all pleaſed with what was propoſed for their Advantage, but looked upon themſelves as deprived of the Honour of Martyrdom by this Remiſſion, that They might undergo Reſtraints, which would be more grievous than Death itſelf: And They were very apprehenſive, that there would remain ſome Order of them excluded, as there was even a moſt univerſal Prejudice againſt the *Jeſuits*; or that there would be ſome Limitation of their Numbers, which They well knew the *Catholicks* in general would be very glad of, though They could not appear to deſire it.

THERE was a Committee choſen amongſt them of the Superiours of all Orders, and of the ſecular Clergy, that ſate at *Arundel-Houſe*, and conſulted together with ſome of the principal Lords and others of the prime Quality of that Religion, what They ſhould ſay or do in ſuch and ſuch Caſes which probably might fall out. They all concluded, at leaſt apprehended, that They ſhould never be diſpenſed with in Reſpect of the Oaths, which were enjoined to be taken by all Men, without their ſubmitting to take ſome other Oath, that might be an equal Security of and for their Fidelity to the King, and the Preſervation of the Peace of the Kingdom. And there had been lately ſcattered abroad ſome printed Papers, written by ſome Regular and Secular Clergy, with ſober Propoſitions to that Purpoſe, and even the Form of an Oath and Subſcription to be taken or made by all *Catholicks*; in which there was an abſolute Renunciation or Declaration againſt the temporal Authority of the Pope, which, in all common Diſcourſes amongſt the *Proteſtants*, all *Roman Catholicks* made no Scruple to renounce and diſclaim: But it coming now to be the Subject-Matter of the Debate in this Committee, the *Jeſuits* declared with much Warmth, "that They ought not, nor could They with a "good Conſcience as *Catholicks*, deprive the Pope of his temporal Authority, "which He hath in all Kingdoms granted to him by God himſelf," with very much to that Purpoſe; with which moſt of the temporal Lords, and very many of the Seculars and Regulars, were ſo much ſcandalized, that the Committee being broken up for that Time, They never attended it again; the wiſer and the more conſcientious Men diſcerning, that there was a Spirit in the reſt that was raiſed and governed by a Paſſion, of which They could not comprehend the Ground. And the Truth is, the *Jeſuits*, and They who adhered to them, had entertained great Hopes from the King's too much Grace to them, and from the great Liberty They enjoyed; and promiſed themſelves and their Friends another Kind of Indulgence, than They ſaw was intended to them by the Houſe of Peers. And this was the Reaſon that that Committee was no more looked after, nor any publick Addreſs was any farther proſecuted.

Upon which the Committee is diſcontinued.

AND from this Time there every Day appeared ſo much Inſolence and Indiſcretion amongſt the imprudent *Catholicks*, that They brought ſo many Scandals upon his Majeſty, and kindled ſo much Jealouſy in the Parliament, that there grew a general Averſion towards them. And the King's

Party remembered, with what Warineſs and Diſregard the *Roman Catholicks* had lived towards them in the whole Time of the Uſurpation; and how little Sorrow They made Show of upon the horrid Murder of the King (which was then exceedingly taken Notice of): And They who had been abroad with the King remembered, that his Majeſty had received leſs Regard and Reſpect from his Catholick Subjects, wherever He found them abroad, than from any foreign *Catholicks*; who always received him with all imaginable Duty, whilſt his own looked as if They had no Dependance upon him. And ſo We return to the Parliament after its Adjournment.

The Parliament meets again.

THE Parliament, that had been adjourned upon the thirtieth of *July*, met again upon the twentieth of *November*, with the ſame Zeal and Affection to advance the King's Service. And the King himſelf came to them upon the ſame Day They met, and told them, "that He knew that Viſit "was not of Courſe; yet if there were no more in it, it would not be "ſtrange, that He came to ſee what He and They had ſo long deſired to "ſee, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of *England*, "met together to conſult for the Peace and Safety of the Church and "State, by which Parliaments were reſtored to their primitive Luſtre "and Integrity:" His Majeſty ſaid, "He did heartily congratulate with "them for that Day." But He told them withal, "that He came thither "upon another Occaſion; which was to ſay ſomewhat to them on his own "Behalf, to aſk ſomewhat of them for himſelf, which was more than He "had done of them, or of thoſe who met before them, ſince his Coming "into *England*. Nor did He think, that what He had to ſay to them did "alone, or did moſt concern himſelf: If the uneaſy Condition He was in, "if the Streights and Neceſſities He was to ſtruggle with, did not manifeſtly "relate to the publick Peace and Safety, more than to his own Particular, "otherwiſe than as He was concerned in the Publick, He would not give "them that Trouble that Day; He could bear his Neceſſities which merely "related to himſelf, with Patience enough."

The King's Speech.

HE told them, "that He did not importune them to make more Haſte "in the ſettling the conſtant Revenue of the Crown, than was agreeable to "the Method They had propoſed to themſelves, nor to conſider the inſup-"portable Weight that lay upon it, the Obligations it lay under to provide "for the Intereſt, Honour and Security of the Nation, in another Pro-"portion than in any former Times it had been obliged to: His Majeſty "well knew, that They had very affectionately and worthily taken all that "into their Thoughts, and would proceed in it with Expedition: But that "He came to put them in Mind of the crying Debts which did every Day "call upon him, of ſome neceſſary Proviſions, which were to be made "without Delay for the very Safety of the Kingdom, of the great Sum of "Money that ſhould be ready to diſcharge the ſeveral Fleets when they "came Home, and for the neceſſary Preparations that were to be made for "the ſetting out new Fleets to Sea againſt the next Spring. Theſe were the "preſſing Occaſions which He was forced to recommend to them with all "poſſible Earneſtneſs, and He did conjure them to provide for as ſpeedily as "was poſſible, and in ſuch a Manner as might give them Security at Home, "and ſome Reputation abroad." His Majeſty ſaid, "that He made this "Diſcourſe to them with ſome Confidence, becauſe He was very willing "and deſirous that They ſhould thoroughly examine, whether thoſe Ne-"ceſſities which He mentioned were real or imaginary, or whether they "were fallen upon him by his own Fault, his own ill Managery, or Ex-

"ceſſes, and provide for them accordingly. He was very willing that They "ſhould make a full Inſpection into his Revenue, as well the Diſburſements "as Receipts; and if They ſhould find that it had been ill managed by "any Corruptions in the Officers He truſted, or by his own Unthriftineſs, "He ſhould take the Advice and Information They ſhould give him very "kindly."

HE told them, "that He was very ſorry that the general Temper and Af-"fections of the Nation were not ſo well compoſed, as He hoped they would "have been, after ſo ſignal Bleſſings from God Almighty upon them all, "and after ſo great Indulgence and Condeſcenſions from him towards all "Intereſts. But that there were many wicked Inſtruments ſtill as active as "ever, who laboured Night and Day to diſturb the publick Peace, and to "make all People jealous of each other: It would be worthy their Care "and Vigilance to provide proper Remedies for the Diſeaſes of that Kind; "and if They ſhould find new Diſeaſes, They muſt ſtudy new Remedies. "For thoſe Difficulties which concerned Matters in Religion," his Majeſty confeſſed to them, "that they were too hard for him; and therefore He "did recommend them to their Care and Diſcretion, which could beſt pro-"vide for them."

THE two Houſes were abundantly pleaſed with all that his Majeſty had ſaid to them, and immediately betook them to the Conſideration of thoſe Particulars, which He had principally recommended to them. And though for the preſent They looked upon that Clauſe of his Majeſty's Speech, wherein He referred to them to make an Inſpection into his Revenue and his Expenſes, but as a generous and princely Condeſcenſion, which would not become them to make Uſe of (nor indeed had They at that Time the leaſt Prejudice to or Jealouſy of any, who were of the neareſt Truſt about his Majeſty); yet four Years after, when the Expenſes had grown to be much greater, and it may be all Diſburſements not ſo warrantable, and when the Factions in Court and Parliament were at a great Height, and Men made Uſe of publick Pretences to ſatisfy their private Animoſities and Malice, They made Uſe of that frank Offer of his Majeſty, to entitle themſelves to make Inquiſition into publick and private Receipts and Diſburſements, in a very extraordinary Manner never practiſed before.

The Reaſons why the King's Debts were ſo great.

LET no Man wonder, that within ſo little Time as a Year and a Half or very little more after the King's Return, that is, from *May* to *November* in the next Year, and after ſo great Sums of Money raiſed by Acts of Parliament upon the People, his Majeſty's Debts could be ſo crying and importunate, as to diſturb him to that Degree as He expreſſed. It was never enough underſtood, that in all that Time He never received from the Parliament more than the ſeventy thouſand Pounds towards his Coronation; nor were the Debts which were now ſo grievous to him contracted by himſelf (though it cannot be ſuppoſed but that He had contracted Debts himſelf in that Time): All the Money that had been given and raiſed had been applied to the Payment of the Land and Sea Forces, and had done neither. Parliaments do ſeldom make their Computations right, but reckon what They give to be much more than is ever received, and what They are to pay to be as much leſs than in Truth They owe; ſo that when all the Money that was collected was paid, there remained ſtill very much due to the Soldiers, and much more to the Seamen: And the Clamour from Both reached the King's Ears, as if They had been levied by his Warrant and for his Service. And his Majeſty underſtood too well, by the Experience of the ill Huſbandry of the laſt Year, when both the

Army and the Ships were ſo long continued in Pay, for Want of Money to diſband and pay them off, what the Trouble and Charge would be, if the ſeveral Fleets ſhould return before Money was provided to diſcharge the Seamen; and for that the Clamour would be only upon him.

BUT there was an Expenſe that He had been engaged in from the Time of his Return, and by which He had contracted a great Debt, of which very few Men could take Notice; nor could the King think fit to diſcover it, till He had firſt provided againſt the Miſchief which might have attended the Diſcovery. It will hardly be believed, that in ſo warlike an Age, and when the Armies and Fleets of *England* had made more Noiſe in the World for twenty Years, had fought more Battles at Land and Sea, than all the World had done beſides, or any one People had done in any Age before; and when at his Majeſty's Return there remained a hundred Ships at Sea, and an Army of near threeſcore thouſand Men at Land; there ſhould not be in the *Tower* of *London*, and in all the Stores belonging to the Crown, Fire-Arms enough, nor indeed of any other Kind, to arm three thouſand Men; nor Powder and naval Proviſions enough to ſet out five Ships of War.

FROM the Death of *Cromwell*, no Care had been taken for Supplies of any of the Stores. And the Changes which enſued in the Government, and putting out and in new Officers; the Expeditions of *Lambert* againſt Sir *George Booth*, and afterwards into the *North*; and other Preparations for thoſe Factions and Parties which ſucceeded each other; and the continual Opportunities which the Officers had for Embezzlement; and laſtly, the ſetting out that Fleet which was ſent to attend upon the King for his Return; had ſo totally drained the Stores of all Kinds, that the Magazines were no better repleniſhed than is mentioned before: Which as ſoon as his Majeſty knew, as He could not be long ignorant of it, the firſt Care He took was to conceal it, that it might not be known abroad or at Home, in how ill a Poſture He was to defend himſelf againſt an Enemy. And then He committed the Care of that Province to a noble Perſon, whom He knew He could not truſt too much, and made Sir *William Compton* Maſter of the Ordnance, and made all the Shifts He could deviſe for Monies, that the Work might be begun. And hereby inſenſibly He had contracted a great Debt: And theſe were Part of the crying Debts, and the neceſſary Proviſions which were to be made without Delay for the very Safety of the Kingdom, which He told the Parliament. And in this He had laboured ſo effectually, that at the Time when the firſt *Dutch* War was entered into, all the Stores were more completely ſupplied and provided for, and the Ships and all naval Proviſions in greater Strength and Plenty, than they had ever been in the Reign of any former King, or in the Time of the Uſurper himſelf.

THAT Part of the King's Speech, of the Diſtempers in the Nation by the Differences in Religion, which He confeſſed were too hard for him, and recommended the compoſing them to their Care and Deliberation, gives me a ſeaſonable Opportunity to enter upon the Relation, how that Affair ſtood at that Time, and how far the Diſtractions of thoſe ſeveral Factions were from being reconciled, though Epiſcopacy ſeemed to be fully reſtored, and the Biſhops to their Votes in Parliament; which had been looked upon as the moſt ſovereign Remedy, to cure, reform or extinguiſh all thoſe Maladies. The Biſhops had ſpent the Vacation in making ſuch Alterations in the *Book of Common Prayer*, as They thought would make it more grateful to the *diſſenting Brethren*, for ſo the ſchiſmatical Party called themſelves;

An Account of the Reviſal of the Liturgy.

and ſuch Additions, as in their Judgments the Temper of the preſent Time and the paſt Miſcarriages required. It was neceſſarily to be preſented to the Convocation, which is the national Synod of the Church; and that did not ſit during the Receſs of the Parliament, and ſo came not together till the End of *November*: Where the Conſideration of it took up much Time; all Men offering ſuch Alterations and Additions, as were ſuitable to their own Fancies, and the Obſervations which They had made in the Time of Confuſion.

Some of the Biſhops are againſt all Alterations in the Liturgy.

THE Biſhops were not all of one Mind. Some of them, who had greateſt Experience and were in Truth wiſe Men, thought it beſt "to reſtore and "confirm the old *Book of Common Prayer*, without any Alterations and Additions; and that it would be the beſt Vindication the *Liturgy* and Government of the Church could receive, that after ſo many Scandals and "Reproaches caſt upon Both, and after a bloody Rebellion and a War of "twenty Years raiſed, as was pretended, principally againſt Both, and which "had prevailed and triumphed in the total Suppreſſion and Deſtruction of "Both, they ſhould now be reſtored to be in all Reſpects the ſame they "had been before. Whereas any Alterations and Additions (beſides the Advantage it might give to the common Adverſary, the *Papiſt*, who would "be apt to ſay that We had reformed and changed our Religion again), "would raiſe new Scruples in the factious and ſchiſmatical Party, that was "aſhamed of all the old Arguments, which had ſo often been anſwered, and "ſtood at preſent exploded in the Judgment of all ſober Men; but would "recover new Spirits to make new Objections, and complain that the Alterations and Additions are more grievous and burdenſome to the Liberty of their Conſcience, than thoſe of which They had formerly complained."

Others of them preſs earneſtly for ſome.

OTHERS, equally grave, of great Learning and unblemiſhed Reputation, preſſed earneſtly both for the Alterations and Additions; ſaid, "that it was "a common Reproach upon the Government of the Church, that it would "not depart from the leaſt unneceſſary Expreſſion or Word, nor explain "the moſt inſignificant Ceremony; which would quiet or remove the "Doubts and Jealouſies of many conſcientious Men, that they did in Truth "ſignify ſomewhat that was not intended: And therefore ſince ſome powerful Men of that troubleſome Party had made it their earneſt Requeſt, "that ſome ſuch Alterations and Additions might be made, and profeſſed "that it would give great Satisfaction to many very good Men; it would "be great Pity, now there was a fit Opportunity for it, which had not been "in former Times of Clamour, not to gratify them in thoſe ſmall Particulars, which did not make any important Difference from what was before." It may be there were ſome, who believed that the Victory and Triumph of the Church would be with the more Luſtre, if ſomewhat were inſerted, that might be underſtood to reflect upon the rude and rebellious Behaviour of the late Times, which had been regulated and conducted by that Clergy: And ſo both Additions and Alterations were made.

The former Opinion the more prudent.

BUT the Truth is, what Show of Reaſon ſoever and Appearance of Charity the latter Opinion ſeemed to carry with it, the former Advice was the more prudent, and would have prevented many Inconveniences which enſued. Whatever had been pretended or deſired, the Alterations which were made to pleaſe them did not reduce one of them to the Obedience of the Church; and the Additions raiſed the Clamour higher than it had been. And when it was evident that They ſhould not be left longer without a Li-

turgy, They cried aloud for the ſame They had before, though They had inveighed againſt it for near a hundred Years together.

The unhappy Policy of making Conceſſions to the Diſſenters.

It is an unhappy Policy, and always unhappily applied, to imagine that that *Claſſis* of Men can be recovered and reconciled by partial Conceſſions, or granting leſs than They demand. And if all were granted, They would have more to aſk, ſomewhat as a Security for the Enjoyment of what is granted, that ſhall preſerve their Power, and ſhake the whole Frame of the Government. Their Faction is their Religion: Nor are thoſe Combinations ever entered into upon real and ſubſtantial Motives of Conſcience how erroneous ſoever, but conſiſt of many glutinous Materials, of Will, and Humour, and Folly, and Knavery, and Ambition, and Malice, which make Men cling inſeparably together, till They have Satisfaction in all their Pretences, or till They are abſolutely broken and ſubdued, which may always be more eaſily done than the other. And if ſome few, how ſignal ſoever (which often deceives us), are ſeparated and divided from the Herd upon reaſonable Overtures, and ſecret Rewards which make the Overtures look the more reaſonable; They are but ſo many ſingle Men, and have no more Credit and Authority (whatever They have had) with their Companions, than if They had never known them, rather leſs; being leſs mad than They were makes them thought to be leſs fit to be believed. And They, whom You think You have recovered, carry always a Chagrin about them, which makes them good for Nothing, but for Inſtances to divert you from any more of that Kind of Traffick.

And it is very ſtrange, that the Clergy did not at this Time remember what had ſo lately befallen the poor Church of *Scotland*, upon the Tranſmiſſion of their *Liturgy*, which had been compoſed with this very Proſpect that now dazzled their Eyes. "To receive a Liturgy from *England* was "below the Dignity of that Nation, which were governed by their own "Laws, without Dependance upon any other. Beſides there were many "Errors in that Liturgy that They could never ſubmit to, and ſome De- "fects which ought to be ſupplied; and if ſuch a one ſhould be compiled, "in which all thoſe Exceptions, which were well enough known, might be "provided for, They would gladly receive it." All this was carefully performed; and what Reception it had afterwards is too well known, and will ever be remembered by the Scars which ſtill remain from thoſe Wounds. And then the great Objection that was moſt impudently urged was, "that "it differed from the Liturgy of the Church of *England*, which They were "ready to have received, and would have declared to the World, that the "two Nations had but one Religion; whereas the Book ſent to them would "have manifeſted the contrary, and was the Product of a few particular Men, "to whoſe Spirit and Humour They would not ſacrifice their native Liberty "of Conſcience."

None of the Diſſenters gained by the Conceſſions now made.

They of the ſame Fraternity in *England* at this preſent governed themſelves by the ſame Method, though, God be thanked, not yet with the ſame Succeſs. And there is great Reaſon to believe, that the very Men, who laboured ſo much for the Alterations which were made, and profeſſed to receive ſo much Satisfaction in them, did it for no other End, but to procure more Opportunity to continue and enlarge the Contentions; and to gain Excuſe and Credit to the ill Things They had done, by the Redreſs and Reparation that was given them in the Amendment of many Particulars, againſt which They had always complained. There was not one of them who had uſed that Importunity and made that Profeſſion, who af-

terwards was conformable to the Government of the Church, or frequented thoſe Churches where or when the *Liturgy* was uſed.

WHILST the Clergy was buſy and ſolicitous to prepare this Remedy for the preſent Diſtempers, the People of all the ſeveral Factions in Religion aſſumed more Licenſe than ever They had done. The *Preſbyterians* in all their Pulpits inveighed againſt the *Book of Common Prayer* that They expected, and took the ſame Liberty to inveigh againſt the Government of the Church, as They had been accuſtomed to before the Return of the King; with Reflections upon the Perſons of the Biſhops, as if They aſſumed a Juriſdiction that was yet at leaſt ſuſpended. And the other Factions in Religion, as if by Concert, took the ſame Liberty in their ſeveral Congregations. The *Anabaptiſts* and the *Quakers* made more Noiſe than ever, and aſſembled together in greater Numbers, and talked what Reformations They expected in all Particulars. Theſe Inſolencies offended the Parliament very much: And the Houſe of Commons expreſſed much Impatience, that the *Liturgy* was ſo long in Preparation, that the *Act of Uniformity* might without Delay be paſſed and publiſhed; not without ſome Inſinuations and Reflections, that his Majeſty's Candour, and Admiſſion of all Perſons to reſort to his Preſence, and his Condeſcenſion to confer with them, had raiſed their Spirits to an Inſolence inſupportable; and that Nothing could reduce them to the Temper of good Subjects, but the higheſt Severity.

The factious Preachers aſſume much Licenſe.

IT is very true, from the Time of his Majeſty's Coming into *England*, He had not been reſerved in the Admiſſion of thoſe who had been his greateſt Enemies, to his Preſence. The Preſbyterian Miniſters He received with Grace; and did believe that He ſhould work upon them by Perſuaſions, having been well acquainted with their common Arguments by the Converſation He had had in *Scotland*, and was very able to confute them. The *Independents* had as free Acceſs, both that He might hinder any Conjunction between the other Factions, and becauſe They ſeemed wholly to depend upon his Majeſty's Will and Pleaſure, without reſorting to the Parliament, in which They had no Confidence; and had rather that Epiſcopacy ſhould flouriſh again, than that the *Presbyterians* ſhould govern. The King had always admitted the *Quakers* for his Divertiſement and Mirth, becauſe He thought, that of all the Factions They were the moſt innocent, and had leaſt of Malice in their Natures againſt his Perſon and his Government: And it was now too late, though He had a worſe Opinion of them all, to reſtrain them from coming to him, till there ſhould be ſome Law made to puniſh them; and therefore He ſtill called upon the Biſhops, to cauſe the *Liturgy* to be expedited in the Convocation. And finding that thoſe Diſtempers had that Influence upon the Houſe of Commons, that the Diſpleaſure and Jealouſy which They conceived from thence did retard their Counſels, and made them leſs ſolicitous to advance his Service in the ſettling his Revenue, They having ſate near three Months after their coming together again upon their Adjournment, without making any conſiderable Progreſs in it; He ſent for the Speaker and the Houſe of Commons to attend him at *Whitehall*, where He ſpake unto them, though very graciouſly, in a Style that ſeemed to have more of Expoſtulation and Reprehenſion than They had been accuſtomed to.

The King ſends for the Houſe of Commons to attend him at Whitehall.

HE ſaid, "He ſpake his Heart to them when He told them, that He "did believe, that from the firſt Inſtitution of Parliaments to that Hour, "there had never been a Houſe of Commons fuller of Affection and Duty "to their King, than They were to him; never any that was more de- "ſirous and ſolicitous to gratify their King, than They were to oblige him;

His Speech to them.

"never a Houſe of Commons, in which there were fewer Perſons without "a full Meaſure of Zeal for the Honour and Welfare of the King and "Country, than there are in this: In a Word," He ſaid, "He knew moſt "of their Perſons and Names, and could never hope to find better Men in "their Places. Yet after all this He could not but lament and even complain, "that He and They and the Kingdom were yet without that preſent Fruit and "Advantage, which They might reaſonably promiſe themſelves from ſuch a "Harmony of Affections, and Unity in Reſolutions to advance the publick Ser-"vice, and to provide for the Peace and Security of the Kingdom; that They "did not expedite thoſe good Counſels, which were moſt neceſſary for Both. "He knew not how it came to paſs, but for many Weeks paſt, even ſince their "laſt Adjournment, private and particular Buſineſs had almoſt thruſt the "Conſideration of the publick out of Doors; and He did not know that "They were nearer the ſettling his Revenue, than They had been at *Chriſt-*"*mas*. He was ſure He had communicated his Condition to them without "Reſerve; what He had coming in, and what his neceſſary Diſburſements "were. And" He ſaid "He was exceedingly deceived, if whatever They "gave him were any otherwiſe given to him, than to be iſſued out for "their own Uſe and Benefit; and if They conſidered it well, They would "find that They were the richer by what They gave, ſince it was all to be "laid out that They might enjoy the reſt in Peace and Security."

He ſaid, "He need not put them in Mind of the miſerable Effects, that "had attended the Wants and Neceſſities of the Crown; that He needed "not to tell them, that there was a Republican Party ſtill in the Kingdom, "which had the Courage ſtill to promiſe themſelves another Revolution: "And He thought He had as little Need to tell them, that the only Way, "with God's Bleſſing, to diſappoint their Hopes, and indeed to reduce "them from thoſe extravagant Hopes and Deſires, was, to let them ſee "that They had ſo provided for the Crown, that it had wherewithal to ſup-"port itſelf, and to ſecure his People; which He was ſure was all He de-"ſired, and deſired only for their Preſervation. Therefore He conjured "them by all the Profeſſions of Affection which They had made to him, "by all the Kindneſs which He knew They had for him, that They would, "after all their Deliberations, betake themſelves to ſome ſpeedy Reſolutions, "and ſettle ſuch a real and ſubſtantial Revenue upon him, as might hold "ſome Proportion with the neceſſary Expenſes He was at for the Peace and "Benefit and Honour of the Kingdom; that They who looked for Trou-"bles at Home might deſpair of their Wiſhes; and that our Neighbours "abroad, by ſeeing that all is well at Home, might have that Eſteem and "Value of his Majeſty, as might ſecure the Honour and Intereſt of the "Nation, and make the Happineſs of the Kingdom and of that City once "more the Admiration and Envy of the World."

He told them, "that He heard that They were very zealous for the "Church, and very ſolicitous and even jealous that there was not Expedi-"tion enough uſed in that Affair: He thanked them for it, ſince He pre-"ſumed that it proceeded from a good Root of Piety and Devotion. But" He ſaid "that He muſt tell them, that He had the worſt Luck in the "World, if after all the Reproaches of being a *Papiſt* while He was abroad, "He was ſuſpected to be a *Presbyterian* now He was come Home. He knew "They would not take it unkindly, if He told them, that He was as "zealous for the Church of *England* as any of them could be, and was "enough acquainted with the Enemies of it on all Sides; that He was as "much in Love with the *Book of Common Prayer* as They could wiſh, and

"had Prejudice enough to thoſe who did not love it, who He hoped "in Time would be better informed, and ſo change their Minds; and "They might be confident, He did as much deſire to have an Uniformity "ſettled, as any Man amongſt them. He prayed them to truſt him in "that Affair, and promiſed them to haſten the Diſpatch of it with all con-"venient Speed; They might rely upon him in it." He ſaid, "He had "tranſmitted the *Book of Common Prayer*, with thoſe Alterations and Ad-"ditions which had been preſented to him by the Convocation, to the "Houſe of Peers with his Approbation, that the *Act of Uniformity* might "relate to it; ſo that He preſumed that it would ſhortly be diſpatched "there: And that when They had done all They could," He ſaid, "the "well ſettling that Affair would require great Prudence and Diſcretion, and "the Abſence of all Paſſion and Precipitation."

His Majeſty concluded with aſſuring them, "that He did promiſe him-"ſelf great Fruits from that Converſation He had with them, and that "They would juſtify the Confidence He had in their Affections, by letting "the World ſee, that They took his Concernments to Heart, and were "ready to do whatſoever He deſired for the Peace and Welfare of the "Kingdom."

The Liturgy preſented to the Houſe of Lords with the King's Confirmation.

When the *Book of Common Prayer* was, by the King's Command, preſented to the Houſe of Lords by the two Archbiſhops (for it had been approved by the Convocation of the Province of *York*, as well as by that of *Canterbury*) confirmed by his Majeſty under the Great Seal of *England*; the Book itſelf took up no Debate: Only the Earl of *Northumberland* propoſed, "that the old *Book of Common Prayer* might be confirmed with-"out any Alteration or Addition, and then the ſame *Act of Uniformity*, "that had been in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, would be likewiſe ap-"plied to it; whereas a new Act of Uniformity might take up much "Time and raiſe much Debate, all which would be avoided by adhering "to the old."

Whatever that Lord's Opinion was, He was known to be of the Preſbyterian Party. And it was anſwered, "that if that Propoſition had been heartily "made when the King came into *England*, it would have met with a ge-"neral Approbation, and prevented much Sharpneſs and Animoſity, which "had ſince riſen by thoſe who oppoſed that excellent Form. But after the "Clergy had ſo bitterly inveighed againſt many Parts thereof, and prevailed "with his Majeſty to ſuſpend the Uſe of it till it might be reviſed, as by "his Declaration of the five and twentieth of *October* He had done, and "thereupon had granted his Commiſſion under the Great Seal of *England* "to ſeveral Biſhops and other Divines, to review the *Book of Common Prayer*, "and to prepare ſuch Alterations and Additions as They thought fit to offer; "and that afterwards his Majeſty had been pleaſed to authorize the Convo-"cations of Both the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*, called and aſſem-"bled by his Majeſty's Authority, to review the ſaid *Book of Prayer*, and "the *Book of the Form and Manner of the making and conſecrating of Bi-"ſhops, Prieſts and Deacons*; and that now after the Biſhops and Clergy of "Both Provinces had, upon great Deliberation and upon reviewing thoſe "Books, prepared and conſented to ſome Alterations, and to the Addition "of ſeveral Prayers to be uſed upon emergent Occaſions, all which his Ma-"jeſty had already ratified and confirmed: It could not but be underſtood "Matter of great Levity and Offence, to reject this Book, that was now "with all this Ceremony and Solemnity preſented, for no other Reaſon but "becauſe They liked better the old Book, which had been for twenty Years

"diſcontinued and rejected." And therefore it was moved, "that there "might not be ſuch an Affront put upon the Convocation, and upon the "King himſelf." And ſo with little more publick Conteſt the Book itſelf was conſented and ſubmitted to.

And conſented to by them.

But then the *Act of Uniformity* depended long, and took up much Debate in Both Houſes. In the Houſe of Peers, where the Act firſt began, there were many Things inſerted, which had not been contained in the former *Act of Uniformity*, and ſo ſeemed to carry ſomewhat of Novelty in them. It admitted "no "Perſon to have any Cure of Souls or any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity in the Church "of *England*, but ſuch who had been or ſhould be ordained Prieſt or Deacon "by ſome Biſhop, that is, who had not Epiſcopal Ordination; excepting only "the Miniſters or Paſtors of the *French* and *Dutch* Churches in *London* and other "Places, allowed by the King, who ſhould enjoy the Privileges They had."

Debates there upon the Act of Uniformity.

This was new; for there had been many and at preſent there were ſome, who poſſeſſed Benefices with Cure of Souls, and other Eccleſiaſtical Promotions, who had never received Orders but in *France* or in *Holland*; and theſe Men muſt now receive new Ordination, which had been always held unlawful in the Church, or by this Act of Parliament muſt be deprived of their Livelihood, which They enjoyed in the moſt flouriſhing and peaceable Time of the Church. And therefore it was ſaid, "that this had "not been the Opinion of the Church of *England*; and that it would lay "a great Reproach upon all other Proteſtant Churches who had no Biſhops, as if They had no Miniſters, and conſequently were no Churches: "For that it was well known the Church of *England* did not allow Reordination, as the ancient Church never admited it; inſomuch as if any "Prieſt of the Church of *Rome* renounces the Communion thereof, his Ordination is not queſtioned, but He is as capable of any Preferment in this "Church, as if He had been ordained in it. And therefore the not admitting the Miniſters of other *Proteſtants* to have the ſame Privilege, "can proceed from no other Ground, than that They looked not upon "them as Miniſters, having no Ordination; which is a Judgment the "Church of *England* had not ever owned: And that it would be very imprudent to do it now."

Upon the Clauſe requiring Epiſcopal Ordination.

To this it was anſwered, "that the Church of *England* judged none but "her own Children, nor did determine that other Proteſtant Churches were "without Ordination. It is a Thing without her Cognizance: And moſt "of the learned Men of thoſe Churches had made Neceſſity the chief Pillar to ſupport that Ordination of theirs. That Neceſſity cannot be "pleaded here, where Ordination is given according to the unqueſtionable "Practice of the Church of Chriſt: If They who pretend foreign Ordination are his Majeſty's Subjects, They have no Excuſe of Neceſſity, for "They might in all Times have received Epiſcopal Ordination, and ſo "They did upon the Matter renounce their own Church; if They are "Strangers, and pretend to Preferment in this Church, They ought to "conform and to be ſubject to the Laws of the Kingdom, which concern only thoſe who deſire to live under the Protection thereof. For the "Argument of Reordination, there is no ſuch Thing required. Rebaptization is not allowed in or by any Church: Yet in all Churches where it "is doubted, as it may be often with very good Reaſon, whether the Perſon hath been baptized or no, or if it hath been baptized by a Midwife "or lay Perſon; without determining the Validity or Invalidity of ſuch "Baptiſm, there is an hypothetical Form, *If Thou haſt not been already "baptized, I do baptize*, &c. So in this Caſe of Ordination, the Form may

"be the ſame, *If Thou haſt not been already ordained, then I do* "*ordain*, &c. If his former Ordination were good, this is void; if "the other was invalid or defective, He hath Reaſon to be glad that it be "thus ſupplied." After much Debate, that Clauſe remained ſtill in the Act: And very many, who had received Preſbyterian Orders in the late Times, came very willingly to be ordained in the Manner aforeſaid by a Biſhop; and very few choſe to quit or loſe a Parſonage or Vicarage of any Value upon that Scruple.

THERE was another Clauſe in the Bill, that made very much more Noiſe afterwards, though for the preſent it took not up ſo much Time, and in Truth was little taken Notice of: That is, a Form of Subſcription that every Man was to make, who had received, or before He received, any Benefice or Preferment in the Church; which comprehended all the Governours, Superiours and Fellows, in all the Colleges and Halls of either Univerſity, and all Schoolmaſters and the like, who are ſubſervient towards Learning. Every ſuch Perſon was to declare "his unfeigned Aſſent and Conſent to all and every "Thing contained and preſcribed in and by the Book, entitled *The Book of* "*Common Prayer*, &c." The Subſcription was generally thought ſo reaſonable, that it ſcarce met with any Oppoſition in either Houſe. But when it came abroad, and was to be ſubmitted to, all the diſſenting Brethren cried out, "that it was a Snare to catch them, to ſay that which could not "conſiſt with their Conſciences." They took great Pains to diſtinguiſh and to make great Difference between *Aſſent* and *Conſent*: "They could be "content to read the Book in the Manner They were obliged to do, which "ſhewed their Conſent; but declaring their unfeigned Aſſent to every "Thing contained and preſcribed therein would imply, that They were ſo "fully convinced in their Judgments, as to think that it was ſo perfect, that "Nothing therein could be amended, which for their Part They thought "there might. That there were many Expreſſions in the *Rubrick*, which "They were not bound to read; yet by this Aſſent They declared their "Approbation thereof." But after many tedious Diſcourſes of this tyrannical Impoſition, They grew by Degrees aſhamed of it; and were perſuaded to think, that *Aſſent* and *Conſent* had ſo near the ſame Signification, that They could hardly conſent to do what They did not aſſent to: So that the chiefeſt amongſt them, to avoid a very little Inconvenience, ſubſcribed the ſame.

A Clamour afterwards raiſed about the Clauſe of Aſſent and Conſent.

BUT there was ſhortly after another Clauſe added, that gave them Trouble indeed. When the Bill had paſſed the Lords Houſe, it was ſent of Courſe to the Commons; where though all the Factions in Religion had too many Friends, for the moſt contrary and oppoſite one to another always were united and reconciled againſt the Church, yet They who were zealous for the Government, and who hated all the other Factions at leaſt enough, were very much ſuperiour in Number and in Reputation. And the Bill was no ſooner read there, than every Man according to his Paſſion thought of adding ſomewhat to it, that might make it more grievous to Somebody whom He did not love; which made the Diſcourſes tedious and vehement and full of Animoſity. And at laſt They agreed upon a Clauſe, which contained another Subſcription and Declaration, which every Man was to make before He could be admitted into any Benefice or Eccleſiaſtical Promotion, or to be a Governour or Fellow in either of the Univerſities. He muſt firſt declare, "that it is not lawful, upon any Pre-"tence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King; and that He doth ab-"hor that traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt his

The Bill paſſed by the Lords.

Amendments made by the Houſe of Commons.

"Perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him; and that He will "conform to the *Liturgy* of the Church of *England*, as it is now by Law eſta- "bliſhed." And He doth declare, "that He doth hold there lies no Obli- "gation upon him, or on any other Perſon, from the Oath commonly called "*The ſolemn League and Covenant*, to endeavour any Change or Alteration "of Government, either in Church or State; and that the ſame was in it- "ſelf an unlawful Oath, and impoſed upon the Subjects of this Realm, "againſt the known Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom;" with ſome other Clauſes, which need not be mentioned becauſe they were afterwards left out.

The Bill returned to the Lords.

And with this Addition, and ſome other Alterations, They returned the Bill again to the Lords for their Approbation.

THE framing and forming this Clauſe had taken up very much Time, and raiſed no leſs Paſſion in the Houſe of Commons: And now it came among the Lords, it was not leſs troubleſome. It added to the Diſpleaſure and Jealouſy againſt the Biſhops, by whom it was thought to be prepared, and commended to their Party in the lower Houſe. Many Lords, who had taken the *Covenant*, were not ſo much concerned that the Clergy (for whom only this Act was prepared) ſhould be obliged to make this Declaration; but apprehended more, that when ſuch a Clauſe ſhould be once paſſed in one Act of Parliament, it could not after be diſputed, and ſo would be inſerted into all other Acts which related to the Function of any other Offices, and ſo would in a ſhort Time be required of themſelves. And therefore They oppoſed it warmly "as a Thing unneceſſary, and which would "widen the Breach, inſtead of cloſing up the Wounds that had been made; "which the King had made it his Buſineſs to do, and the Parliament had "hitherto concurred with his Majeſty in that Endeavour. That many Men "would believe or fear (which in ſuch a Caſe is the ſame), that this Clauſe "might prove a Breach of the *Act of Indemnity*, which had not only pro- "vided againſt Indictments and Suits at Law and Penalties, but againſt Re- "proaches for what was paſt, which this Clauſe would be underſtood to "give new Life to. For what concerned the Conformity to the *Liturgy* "of the Church as it is now eſtabliſhed, it is provided for as fully "in the former Subſcription in this Act, and therefore is impertinent "in this Place. That the *Covenant* contained many good Things in it, "as defending the King's Perſon, and maintaining the Proteſtant Reli- "gion: And therefore to ſay that there lies no Obligation from it, would "neither be for the Service of the King or the Intereſt of the Church; "eſpecially ſince it was well known, that it had wrought upon the Con- "ſcience of many to ſerve the King in the late Revolution, from which "his Majeſty had received great Advantage. However it was now dead, "all Men were abſolved from taking it, nor could it be impoſed or offered "to any Man without Puniſhment; and They, who had in the ill Times "been forced to take it, did now inviolably and cheerfully perform all the "Duties of Allegiance and Fidelity to his Majeſty. If it had at any Time "produced any Good, that was an Excuſe for the Irregularity of it: It "could do no Miſchief for the future; and therefore that it was Time to "bury it in Oblivion."

Debates upon the Amendments made by the Commons.

MANY Men believed, that though They inſiſted principally on that Part which related to the *Covenant*, They were in Truth more afflicted with the firſt Part; in which it was declared, "that it was not lawful, upon "any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King; and that He "doth abhor that traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority "againſt his Perſon:" Which Concluſions had been the Principles which

ſupported their Rebellion, and by which They had impoſed upon the People, and got their Concurrence. They durſt not oppoſe this, becauſe the Parliament had already by a former Act declared the Law to be ſo in thoſe Particulars: Yet this went much nearer to them, that by their own particular Declaration (for They looked upon it as that which in a ſhort Time muſt be their own), They ſhould upon the Matter confeſs themſelves to have been Traitors, which They had not yet been declared to have been; and no Man could now juſtify the calling them ſo.

THEY who were moſt ſolicitous that the Houſe ſhould concur with the Commons in this Addition, had Fieldroom enough to expatiate upon the groſs Iniquity of the *Covenant*. They made themſelves very merry with the Allegation, "that the King's Safety and the Intereſt of the Church were "provided for by the *Covenant*, when it had been therefore entered into, to "fight againſt the King and to deſtroy the Church. That there was no "one lawful or honeſt Clauſe in the *Covenant*, that was not deſtroyed or "made of no Signification by the next that ſucceeded; and if it were not, "the ſame Obligation was better provided for by ſome other Oaths, which "the ſame Men had or ought to have taken, and which ought to have "reſtrained them from taking the *Covenant*: And therefore it may juſtly be "pronounced, that there is no Obligation upon any Man from thence. "That there was no Breach of the *Act of Indemnity*, nor any Reproach "upon any Man for having taken it, except what would reſult from his "own Conſcience. But that it was moſt abſolutely neceſſary for the Safety "of the King's Perſon, and the Peace of the Kingdom, that They who "had taken it ſhould declare, that They do not believe themſelves to be "bound by it: Otherwiſe They may ſtill think, that They may fight "againſt the King, and muſt conſpire the Deſtruction of the Church. And "They cannot take too much Care, or uſe too much Diligence, to diſcover who are of that Opinion; that They may be ſtrictly looked unto, "and reſtrained from doing that which They take themſelves obliged "to do. That the *Covenant* is not dead, as was alleged, but ſtill retains "great Vigour; was ſtill the Idol to which the *Presbyterians* ſacrificed: "And that there muſt and would always be a general Jealouſy of all thoſe "who had taken it, until They had declared that it did not bind them; "eſpecially of the Clergy, who had ſo often enlarged in their Pulpits, how "abſolutely and indiſpenſably all Men were obliged to proſecute the End "of it, which is to deſtroy the Church, whatever Danger it brings the "King's Perſon to. And therefore They of all Men ought to be glad of "this Opportunity, that was offered, to vindicate their Loyalty and Obedience; and if They were not ready to do ſo, They were not fit to be "truſted with the Charge and Care of the Souls of the King's Subjects."

The Lords conſent to moſt of the Amendments.

AND in Truth there were not any more importunate for the enjoining this Declaration, than many who had taken the *Covenant*. Many who had never taken it, and had always deteſted it, and paid ſoundly for being known to do ſo, were yet very ſorry that it was inſerted at this Time and in this Place; for They foreſaw it would make Diviſions, and keep up the ſeveral Factions, which would have been much weakened, and in a ſhort Time brought to Nothing, if the *Presbyterians* had been ſeparated from the reſt, who did perfectly hate and were as perfectly hated by all the reſt. But ſince it was brought upon the Stage, and it had been the Subject of ſo much Debate, They believed the Houſe of Lords could not now refuſe to concur with the Commons, without undergoing ſome Reproach and Scandal of not having an ill Opinion enough of the *Covenant*;

of which as They were in no Degree guilty, ſo They thought it to be of miſchievous Conſequence to be ſuſpected to be ſo. And therefore, after They had expunged ſome other Parts of that Subſcription which had been annexed to it, and mended ſome other Expreſſions in other Places, which might rather irritate than compoſe thoſe Humours which already boiled too much, They returned the Bill to the Houſe of Commons; which ſubmitted to all that They had done: And ſo it was preſented to the King, who could not well refuſe his Royal Aſſent, nor did in his own Judgment or Inclination diſlike what was offered to him.

The Commons agree with the Lords.

The King confirms the Bill.

By this *Act of Uniformity* there was an End put to all the Liberty and Licenſe, which had been practiſed in all Churches from the Time of his Majeſty's Return, and by his Declaration that He had emitted afterwards. The *Common Prayer* muſt now be conſtantly read in all Churches, and no other Form admitted: And what Clergyman ſoever did not fully conform to whatſoever was contained in that Book, or enjoined by the *Act of Uniformity*, by or before *St. Bartholomew-Day*, which was about three Months after the Act was publiſhed; He was *ipſo facto* deprived of his Benefice, or any other ſpiritual Promotion of which He ſtood poſſeſſed, and the Patron was to preſent another in his Place, as if He were dead: So that it was not in the King's Power to give any Diſpenſation to any Man, that could preſerve him againſt the Penalty in the *Act of Uniformity*.

This Act was no ſooner publiſhed (for I am willing to continue this Relation to the Execution of it, becauſe there were ſome intervening Accidents that were not underſtood), than all the Preſbyterian Miniſters expreſſed their Diſapprobation of it with all the Paſſion imaginable. They complained "that the King had violated his Promiſe made to them in his De- "claration from *Breda*," which was urged with great Uningenuity, and without any Shadow of Right; for his Majeſty had thereby referred the whole Settlement of all Things relating to Religion, to the Wiſdom of Parliament; and declared, "in the mean Time that Nobody ſhould be puniſhed or "queſtioned, for continuing the Exerciſe of his Religion in the Way He had been "accuſtomed to in the late Confuſions." And his Majeſty had continued this Indulgence by his Declaration after his Return, and thereby fully complied with his Promiſe from *Breda*; which He ſhould indeed have violated, if He had now refuſed to concur in the Settlement the Parliament had agreed upon, being in Truth no leſs obliged to concur with the Parliament in the Settlement that the Parliament ſhould propoſe to him, than He was not to cauſe any Man to be puniſhed for not obeying the former Laws, till a new Settlement ſhould be made. But how evident ſoever this Truth is, They would not acknowledge it; but armed their Proſelytes with confident Aſſertions, and unnatural Interpretations of the Words in the King's Declaration, as if the King were bound to grant Liberty of Conſcience, whatever the Parliament ſhould or ſhould not deſire, that is, to leave all Men to live according to their own Humours and Appetites, let what Laws ſoever be made to the contrary. They declared "that They could not with a good "Conſcience either ſubſcribe the one or the other Declaration: They could "not ſay that They did aſſent or conſent in the firſt, nor declare in the "ſecond that there remained no Obligation from the *Covenant*; and there- "fore that They were all reſolved to quit their Livings, and to depend upon "Providence for their Subſiſtence."

The Presbyterian Miniſters complain of the King's Violation of his Declaration.

There cannot be a better Evidence of the general Affection of the Kingdom, than that this Act of Parliament had ſo concurrent an Approbation of the two Houſes of Parliament, after a Suppreſſion of that Form

The Act in general well received.

of Devotion for near twenty Years, and the higheſt Diſcountenance and Oppreſſion of all thoſe who were known to be devoted or affected to it. And from the Time of the King's Return, when it was lawful to uſe it, though it was not enjoined, Perſons of all Conditions flocked to thoſe Churches where it was uſed. And it was by very many ſober Men believed, that if the *Presbyterians* and the other Factions in Religion had been only permitted to exerciſe their own Ways, without any Countenance from the Court; the Heart of all the Factions againſt the Church would have been broken, before the Parliament did ſo fully declare itſelf.

Reflections on the Behaviour of the Presbyterian Ministers.

AND there cannot be a greater Manifeſtation of the Diſtemper and Licenſe of the Time, than the Preſumption of thoſe Preſbyterian Miniſters, in the oppoſing and contradicting an Act of Parliament; when there was ſcarce a Man in that Number, who had not been ſo great a Promoter of the Rebellion, or contributed ſo much to it, that They had no other Title to their Lives but by the King's Mercy; and there were very few amongſt them, who had not come into the Poſſeſſion of the Churches They now held, by the Expulſion of the Orthodox Miniſters who were lawfully poſſeſſed of them, and who being by their Impriſonment, Poverty, and other Kinds of Oppreſſion and Contempt during ſo many Years, departed this Life, the Uſurpers remained undiſturbed in their Livings, and thought it now the higheſt Tyranny to be removed from them, though for offending the Law, and Diſobedience to the Government. That thoſe Men ſhould give themſelves an Act of Oblivion of all their Tranſgreſſions and Wickedneſs, and take upon them again to pretend a Liberty of Conſcience againſt the Government, which They had once overthrown upon their Pretences; was ſuch an Impudence, as could not have fallen into the Hearts even of thoſe Men from the Stock of their own Malice, without ſome great Defect in the Government, and Encouragement or Countenance from the higheſt Powers. The King's too gracious Diſpoſition and Eaſineſs of Acceſs, as hath been ſaid before, had from the Beginning raiſed their Hopes and diſpelled their Fears; whilſt his Majeſty promiſed himſelf a great Harveſt in their Converſion, by his Gentleneſs and Affability. And They inſinuated themſelves by a Profeſſion, "that it was more the Regard of his Service, "than any Obſtinacy in themſelves, which kept them from Conformity to "what the Law had enjoined; that They might ſtill preſerve their Credit "with their Pariſhioners, and by Degrees bring them to a perfect Obedience:" Whereas indeed all the Corruption was in the Clergy; and where a prudent and Orthodox Man was in the Pulpit, the People very willingly heard the *Common Prayer*.

They have too free Access to the King.

NOR did this Confidence leave them, after the paſſing and publiſhing this *Act of Uniformity*: But the *London* Miniſters, who had the Government of thoſe in the Country, prevailed with the General (who without any violent Inclinations of his own was always ready for his Wife's Sake) to bring them to the King, who always received them with too much Clemency, and diſmiſſed them with too much Hope. They lamented "the "Sadneſs of their Condition, which (after having done ſo much Service "to his Majeſty, and been ſo graciouſly promiſed by him his Protection) "muſt now be expoſed to all Miſery and Famine." They told him "what "a vaſt Number of Churches" (five Times more than was true) "would "become void by this Act, which would not prove for his Service; and "that They much feared, the People would not continue as quiet and peaceable as They had been under their Overſight." They uſed all the Arguments They thought might work upon him: And He ſeemed to be the

more moved, becauſe He knew that it was not in his Power to help them. He told them, "He had great Compaſſion for them; and was heartily "ſorry that the Parliament had been ſo ſevere towards them, which He "would remit, if it were in his Power; and therefore that They ſhould "adviſe with their Friends, and that if They found that it would be in his "Power to give them any Eaſe, They ſhould find him inclined to gratify "them in whatſoever They deſired:" Which gracious Expreſſions raiſed their Spirits as high as ever; and They reported to their Friends much more than in Truth the King had ſaid to them (which was no new Artifice with them), and adviſed their Friends in all Parts "to be firm to their Principles," and aſſured them, "that the Rigour of the Act of Parliament ſhould not "be preſſed againſt them."

It cannot be denied, that the King was too irreſolute, and apt to be ſhaken in thoſe Counſels which with the greateſt Deliberation He had concluded, by too eaſily permitting or at leaſt not reſtraining any Men who waited upon him, or were preſent with him in his Receſſes, to examine and cenſure what was reſolved; an Infirmity that brought him many Troubles, and expoſed his Miniſters to Ruin: Though in his Nature, Judgment and Inclinations He did deteſt the *Presbyterians*; and by the Experience He had of their Faculties, Pride and Inſolence in *Scotland*, had brought from thence ſuch an Abhorrence of them, that for their Sakes He thought better of any of the other Factions. Nor had He any Kindneſs for any Perſon whom He ſuſpected to adhere to them: For the Lord *Lautherdale* took all Pains to be thought no *Presbyterian*; and pleaſed himſelf better with no Humour, than laughing at that People, and telling ridiculous Stories of their Folly and foul Corruptions. Yet the King, from the Opinion He had of their great Power to do him Good or Harm, which was oftentimes unſkilfully inſinuated to him by Men who He knew were not of their Party, but were really deceived themſelves by a wrong Computation and Eſtimate of their Intereſt, was not willing to be thought an Enemy to them. And there were too many bold Speakers about the Court too often admitted into his Preſence, who being without any Senſe of Religion, thought all rather ought to be permitted, than to undergo any Trouble and Diſturbance on the Behalf of any one.

The continued Addreſs and Importunity of theſe Miniſters, as *St. Bartholomew's* Day approached nearer, more diſquieted the King. They enlarged with many Words "on the great Joy that They and all their "Friends had received, from the Compaſſion his Majeſty ſo graciouſly had "expreſſed on their Behalf, which They would never forget, or forfeit by "any undutiful Carriage." They confeſſed "that They found, upon Con-"ference with their Friends who wiſhed them well, and upon Peruſal of "the Act of Parliament, that it was not in his Majeſty's Power to give "them ſo much Protection againſt the Penalty of the Act of Parliament, "as They had hoped, and as his great Goodneſs was inclined to give them. "But that it would be an unſpeakable Comfort to them, if his Majeſty's "Grace towards them were ſo manifeſted, that the People might diſcern that "this extreme Rigour was not grateful to him, but that He could be well "content if it were for ſome Time ſuſpended; and therefore They were "humble Suitors to him, that He would by his Letters to the Biſhops, or by "a Proclamation, or an Act of Council, or any other Way his Majeſty "ſhould think fit, publiſh his Deſire that the Execution of the *Act of "Uniformity*, as to all but the Reading of the *Liturgy*, which They would "conform to, might be ſuſpended for three Months; and that He would

"take it well from the Biſhops or any of the Patrons, who would ſo far "comply with his Deſire, as not to take any Advantage of thoſe Clauſes in "the Statute, which gave them Authority to preſent as in a Vacancy. "They doubted not there would be many, who would willingly ſubmit to "his Majeſty's Pleaſure: But whatever the Effect ſhould be, They would "pay the ſame humble Acknowledgments to his Majeſty, as if it had pro- "duced all that They deſired."

WHETHER his Majeſty thought it would do them no Good, and therefore that it was no Matter if He granted it; or that He thought it no Prejudice to the Church, if the Act were ſuſpended for three Months; or that He was willing to redeem himſelf from the preſent Importunity (an Infirmity He was too often guilty of): True it is, He did make them a poſitive Promiſe, "that He would do what They deſired;" with which They were abundantly ſatisfied, and renewed their Encouragement to their Friends "to perſevere to the End." And this Promiſe was ſolemnly given to them in the Preſence of the General, who was to ſolicit the King's Diſpatch, that his Pleaſure might be known in due Time. It was now the long Vacation, and few of the Council were then in Town, or of the Biſhops, with whom his Majeſty too late thought it neceſſary to confer, that ſuch an Inſtrument might be prepared as was fit for the Affair. Hereupon the King told the Chancellor (who was not thought Friend enough to the *Presbyterians* to be ſooner communicated with) all that had paſſed, what the Miniſters had deſired, and what He had promiſed; and bade him "to "think of the beſt Way of doing it." *The King promiſes to ſuſpend the Execution of the Act.*

THE Chancellor was one of thoſe, who would have been glad that the Act had not been clogged with many of thoſe Clauſes, which He foreſaw might produce ſome Inconveniences; but when it was paſſed, He thought it abſolutely neceſſary to ſee Obedience paid to it without any Connivance: And therefore, as He had always diſſuaded the King from giving ſo much Countenance to thoſe Applications, which He always knew publiſhed more to be ſaid than in Truth was ever ſpoken, and was the more troubled for this Progreſs They had made with the King; He told his Majeſty, "that "it was not in his Power to preſerve thoſe Men, who did not ſubmit to "do all that was to be done by the Act, from Deprivation." He gave many Reaſons which occurred, why "ſuch a Declaration as was deſired "would prove ineffectual to the End for which it was deſired, and what Incon- "veniences would reſult from attempting it." His Majeſty alleged many Reaſons for the doing it, which He had received from thoſe who deſired it, and ſeemed ſorry that they were no better; however concluded, "that He "had engaged his Word, and that He would perform what He had pro- "miſed;" and required him not to oppoſe it. The Chancellor had always been very tender of his Honour; and adviſed him "to be very wary in "making any Promiſe, but when He had made it, to perform it though "to his Diſadvantage:" And it was no new Thing to him, to be reproached for oppoſing the reſolving to do ſuch or ſuch a Thing, and then to be reproached again for purſuing the Reſolution.

THE King was at *Hampton-Court*, and ſent for the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London* and of *Winchester*, to attend him, with the Chief Juſtice *Bridgman*, and the Attorney General: There were likewiſe the Chancellor, the General, the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Secretaries. His Majeſty acquainted them with "the Importunities uſed by the *London* "Miniſters, and the Reaſons They had offered why a further Time ſhould "be given to them to conſider of what was ſo new to them; and what

"Anſwer He had given to them; and how They had renewed their Im-
"portunity with a Deſire of ſuch a Declaration from him as is mentioned
"before, in which He thought there was no Inconvenience, and therefore
He endeavours to fulfil his Promiſe. "had promiſed to do it, and called them now together to adviſe of the beſt
"Way of doing it." The Biſhops were very much troubled, that thoſe Fellows ſhould ſtill preſume to give his Majeſty ſo much Vexation, and that They ſhould have ſuch Acceſs to him. They gave ſuch Arguments againſt the doing what was deſired, as could not be anſwered; and for themſelves, They deſired "to be excuſed for not conniving in any Degree at the
"Breach of the Act of Parliament, either by not preſenting a Clerk where
"themſelves were Patrons, or deferring to give Inſtitution upon the Preſen-
"tation of others: And that his Majeſty's giving ſuch a Declaration or Re-
"commendation would be the greateſt Wound to the Church, and to the
"Government thereof, that it could receive."

The Chancellor, who did really believe that the King and his Service would ſuffer more by the Breach of his Word and Promiſe, than either could do from doing the Thing deſired, confeſſed "that He believed it
"would do them little Good, which would not be imputed to his Majeſty,
"when He had done all He could do; and that it would be a greater
"Conformity, if the Miniſters generally performed what They offered
"to do, in reading all the Service of the Church, than had been theſe
"many Years; and that once having done what was known to be ſo con-
"trary to their Inclinations, would be an Engagement upon them in a
"ſhort Time to comply with the reſt of their Obligations: And therefore," He ſaid, "He ſhould not diſſuade his Majeſty from doing what He had
"promiſed;" which indeed He had good Reaſon to think He was reſolved to do, whatever He was adviſed to the contrary. The King demanded the Judgment of the Lawyers, "whether He could legally diſpenſe with the
But finds it not in his Power. "Obſervation of the Act for three Months;" who anſwered, "that notwith-
"ſtanding any Thing He could do in their Favour, the Patrons might pre-
"ſent their Clerk as if the Incumbents were dead, upon their Not-perform-
"ance of what They were enjoined." Upon the whole Matter the King was converted; and with great Bitterneſs againſt that People in general, and againſt the particular Perſons whom He had always received too graciouſly, concluded that He would not do what was deſired, and that the Connivance ſhould not be given to any of them.

The Biſhops departed full of Satisfaction with the King's Reſolution, and as unſatisfied with their Friend the Chancellor's Inclination to gratify that People, not knowing the Engagement that was upon him. And this Jealouſy produced a greater Coldneſs from ſome of them towards him, and a greater Reſentment from him, who thought He had deſerved better from their Function and their Perſons, than was in a long Time, if ever, perfectly reconciled. Yet He never declined in the leaſt Degree his Zeal for the Government of the Church, or the Intereſt of thoſe Perſons; nor
The great Diſingenuity of the Preſbyterian Miniſters. thought They could be blamed for their Severity againſt thoſe Miniſters, who were ſurely the proudeſt Malefactors, and the moſt incapable of being gently treated, of any Men living. For if any of the Biſhops uſed them kindly, and endeavoured to perſuade them to Conformity, They reported
"that They had been careſſed and flattered by the Biſhops, and offered great
"Preferments, which They had bravely refuſed to accept for the Preſervation
"of a good Conſcience:" And in Reports of this Kind, few of them ever obſerved any Rules of Ingenuity or Sincerity.

WHEN They saw that They were to expect and undergo the worſt, They agreed upon a Method to be obſerved by them in the leaving and parting with their Pulpits: And the laſt Sunday They were to preach, They endeavoured to infuſe Murmur, Jealouſy and Sedition into the Hearts of their ſeveral Auditories; and to prepare them "to expect and bear with "Patience and Courage all the Perſecutions which were like to follow, now "the Light of the Goſpel was ſo near being extinguiſhed." And all thoſe Sermons They called their Farewel Sermons, and cauſed to be printed together, with every one of the Preachers Pictures before their Sermons; which in Truth contained all the Vanity and Oſtentation with Reference to themſelves, and all the Inſinuations to Mutiny and Rebellion, that could be warily couched in Words which could not be brought within Penalty of Law, though their Meaning was well underſtood. *They endeavour to raiſe Diſcontents in the People.*

WHEN the Time was expired, better Men were put into their Churches, though with much murmuring of ſome of their Pariſhes for a Time, increaſed by their loud Clamour, "that They had been betrayed by the "King's Promiſe that They ſhould have three Months longer Time:" Which drew the like Clamour upon them by thoſe, who had hearkened to their Advice in continuing their Obſtinacy in Confidence of a Diſpenſation; whereas otherwiſe They would have conformed, as very many of their Party did. And many of the other who were cozened by them, and ſo loſt the Livings They had, made all the Haſte They could to make themſelves capable of getting others, by as full Subſcriptions and Conformity as the *Act of Uniformity* required. And the greateſt of them, after ſome Time, and after They found that the private Bounty and Donatives, which at firſt flowed in upon them in Compaſſion of their Sufferings and to keep up their Courages, every Day begun to ſlacken, and would in the End expire, ſubſcribed to thoſe very Declarations, which They had urged as the greateſt Motives to their Nonconformity. And the Number was very ſmall, and of very weak and inconſiderable Men, that continued refractory, and received no Charge in the Church: Though it may without Breach of Charity be believed, that many who did ſubſcribe had the ſame Malignity to the Church, and to the Government of it; and it may be did more Harm, than if They had continued in their Inconformity. *At length moſt of them conform.*

THE long Time ſpent in Both Houſes upon the *Act of Uniformity* had made the Progreſs of all other publick Buſineſs much the ſlower; or rather, the Multitude of private Bills which depended there (and with which former Parliaments had been very rarely troubled), and the Bitterneſs and Animoſities which aroſe from thence, exceedingly diſquieted and diſcompoſed the Houſe; every Man being ſo much concerned for the Intereſt of his Friends or Allies, that He was more ſolicitous for the Diſpatch of thoſe, than of any which related to the King and the Publick, which He knew would by a general Concurrence be all paſſed before the Seſſion ſhould be made; whereas if the other ſhould be deferred, the Seſſion would quickly follow (which the King by frequent Meſſages deſired to haſten, having received News already of the Queen's having being at Sea many Days), and the Benefit of thoſe Pretences would be loſt, and with greater Difficulty be recovered in a ſucceeding Seſſion. Then as thoſe private Bills were for the particular Benefit and Advantage of ſome Perſons, which engaged all their Friends to be very ſolicitous for their Diſpatch; ſo for the moſt Part they were to the Loſs and Damage of other Perſons, who likewiſe called in Aid of all their Friends to prevent the Houſes Conſent: And by this Means ſo many Factions were kindled in Both Houſes, between thoſe who drove on *Great Animoſities in Parliament about private Bills.*

the Intereſt of their own or of their Relations, who mutually looked upon one another as Enemies, and againſt thoſe who for Juſtice and the Dignity of Parliament would have rejected all or moſt of the Addreſſes of that Kind; that in moſt Debates which related to neither, the Cuſtom of Contradiction, and the Averſion to Perſons, very much diſturbed and prolonged all Diſpatch.

It cannot be denied, that after a civil War of ſo many Years, proſecuted with that Height of Malice and Revenge, ſo many Houſes plundered and ſo many burned, in which the Evidences of many Eſtates were totally deſtroyed, and as many by the unſkilful Providence of others, who in Order to preſerve them had buried their Writings ſo unwarily under Ground, that they were taken up ſo defaced or rotted, that they could not be pleaded in any Court of Juſtice; many who had followed the King in the War, and ſo made themſelves liable to thoſe Penalties which the Parliament had prepared for them and ſubjected them to, had made many feigned Conveyances, with ſuch Limitations and ſo abſolutely (that no Truſt might be diſcovered by thoſe who had Power to avoid it) that they were indeed too abſolute to be avoided by themſelves, and their Eſtates become ſo much out of their own Diſpoſal, that They could neither apply them to the Payment of their juſt Debts, or to the Proviſion for their Children: I ſay, there were many ſuch Caſes, which could be no other Way provided for but by an Act of Parliament, and to which an Act of Parliament without too much Severity and Rigour could not be denied. And againſt any of thoſe there appeared none or very little Oppoſition to be made.

But the Example and Precedent of ſuch drew with them a World of unreaſonable Pretences; and They, who were not in a Condition to receive Relief in any Court of Juſtice, thought They had a Ground to appeal to Parliament. They who had been compelled, for raiſing the Money They were forced to pay for their Delinquency, to ſell Land, and could not ſell it but at a very low Value (for it was one Species of the Oppreſſion of that Time, that when a powerful Man had an Aſpect upon the Land of any Man who was to compound, and ſo in View like to ſell it, no other Man would offer any Money for it, ſo that He was ſure at laſt to have it upon his own Price); now all that monſtrous Power was vaniſhed, They who had made thoſe unthrifty Bargains and Sales, though with all the Formalities of Law, by Fines and Recoveries and the like (which is all the Security that can be given upon a Purchaſe), eſpecially if the Purchaſer was of an ill Name, came with all imaginable Confidence to the Parliament, to have their Land reſtored to them. Every Man had raiſed an Equity in his own Imagination, that He thought ought to prevail againſt any Deſcent, Teſtament or Act of Law; and that whatever any Man had been brought to do, which common Reaſon would make manifeſt that He would never have done if He could have choſen, was Argument ſufficient of ſuch a Force, and ought to find Relief in Parliament, from the unbounded Equity They were Maſters of and could diſpenſe, whatever Formalities of Law had preceded or accompanied the Tranſaction. And whoever oppoſed thoſe extravagant Notions, which ſometimes deprived Men of the Benefit of the *Act of Oblivion*, was thought to be without Juſtice, or which to them was worſe, to be without any Kindneſs to the King's Party. And without Queſtion, upon thoſe Motives or others as unreaſonable, many Acts were paſſed of very ill Example, and which many Men were ſcandalized at in the preſent, and Poſterity will more cenſure hereafter, when Infants who were then unborn ſhall find themſelves diſinherited of thoſe Eſtates, which

their Anceſtors had carefully provided ſhould deſcend to them; upon which Irregularities the King made Reflection when He made the Seſſion.

BUT notwithſtanding all theſe Incongruities, and the Indiſpoſitions which attended them, They performed all thoſe Reſpects towards the King, which He did or could expect from them; there being ſcarce a Man, who oppoſed the granting any Thing that was propoſed for the Benefit of his Majeſty, or the Greatneſs of the Crown: And though ſome of the Particulars mentioned before did ſometimes intervene, to hinder and defer the preſent Reſolutions and Concluſions in thoſe Counſels, the Reſolutions and Concluſions in a ſhort Time after ſucceeded according to the King's Wiſh. The Militia and many other Regalities were declared and ſettled according to the original Senſe of the Law, and the Authority of the Crown vindicated to the Height it had been at upon the Heads of the greateſt Kings who had ever reigned in the Nation. Monies were raiſed by ſeveral Bills, ſufficient as They conceived to have paid all the Debts the King or the Kingdom owed; for in their Computations They comprehended the Debts that were owing before his Majeſty's Return, and for which the publick Faith had been engaged: And if as much had been paid as They conceived They had given, probably it might have been enough to have diſcharged all thoſe. They ſettled a conſtant Revenue upon the Crown, which according to the Eſtimate They made would amount to the yearly Revenue of twelve hundred thouſand Pounds, a Proportion double to what it was in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and it may be of any King preceding; and declared, "that if it did not amount to that full Value, They would ſupply it at "another Meeting." And though it hath not in Truth amounted to that Sum in his Majeſty's Receipts, the Parliament hath imputed it rather to ill Managery, and letting Farms at too eaſy Rates, than to an Error in their Computation. For the preſent, it was looked upon by the King and by his Miniſters as anſwerable to his Expectation. And ſo, upon Notice of the Queen's being upon the Coaſt, and afterwards of her Arrival at *Portſmouth*, the King appointed the Houſes to preſent all their Bills to him upon the nineteenth of *May* for his Royal Aſſent, it being few Days above a Year from the Time of their being firſt convened.

The Parliament proceeds with great Duty towards the King.

WHEN the King came to the Parliament, and They had preſented the great Number of Bills which They had prepared, and after He had given his Royal Aſſent to moſt of them, his Majeſty told them, "that He thought "there had been very few Seſſions of Parliament, in which there had been "ſo many Bills, as He had paſſed that Day: He was confident, never ſo "many private Bills, which He hoped They would not draw into Exam-"ple. It was true," He ſaid, "the late ill Times had driven Men into "great Streights, and might have obliged them to make Conveyances "colourably, to avoid Inconveniences, and yet not afterwards to be avoided; "and Men had gotten Eſtates by new and greater Frauds than had been "heretofore practiſed; and therefore in this Conjuncture extraordinary "Remedies might be neceſſary, which had induced him to comply with "their Advice in paſſing thoſe Bills; but He prayed them that this ſhould "be rarely done hereafter: That the good old Rules of the Law are the beſt "Security;" and He wiſhed "that Men might not have too much Cauſe "to fear, that the Settlements which They make of their Eſtates ſhall be "too eaſily unſettled when They are dead by the Power of Parliament."

The King's Speech to the Parliament.

HE ſaid, "They had too much obliged him, not only in the Matter of "thoſe Bills which concerned his Revenue, but in the Manner of paſſing "them, with ſo great Affection and Kindneſs, that He knew not how to

"thank them enough. He did aſſure them, and prayed them to aſſure "their Friends in the Country, that He would apply all that They had "given to him, to the utmoſt Improvement of the Peace and Happineſs of "the Kingdom; and that He would, with the beſt Advice and good Huſ-"bandry He could, bring his own Expenſes within a narrower Compaſs." And He ſaid, "now He was ſpeaking to them of his own good Huſbandry, "He muſt tell them, that would not be enough; He could not but ob-"ſerve, that the whole Nation ſeemed to him a little corrupted in their "Exceſs of Living. All Men ſpend much more in their Cloaths, in their "Diet, in all their Expenſes, than They had uſed to do. He hoped it "had only been the Exceſs of Joy after ſo long Sufferings, that had tran-"ſported him and them to thoſe other Exceſſes; but," He deſired them, "that They might all take Heed that the Continuance of them did not "indeed corrupt their Natures. He did believe that He had been that "Way very faulty himſelf: He promiſed that He would reform, and that "if They would join with him in their ſeveral Capacities, They would by "their Examples do more Good both in City and Country, than any new "Laws would do." He ſaid many other good Things that pleaſed them, and no Doubt He intended all He ſaid; but the Ways and Expedients towards good Huſbandry were no where purſued.

The Chancellor's Speech.

The Chancellor, by the King's Command, enlarged upon "the general "Murmurs upon the Expenſe, and that it ſhould ſo much exceed all "former Times." He put them in Mind, "how the Crown had been "uſed ſince thoſe Times, how the King had found it at his bleſſed Return: "That as ſoon as He came hither, beſides the infinite Sums that He for-"gave, He gave more Money to the People than He had ſince received "from them" (He meant I ſuppoſe the Releaſe of all the Rents, Debts and Receipts which were due to him); "that at leaſt two Parts of three that They "had ſince given him had iſſued for the diſbanding of Armies never raiſed "by him, and for Payment of Fleets never ſent out by him, and of Debts "never incurred by him." He put them in Mind "of the vaſt Diſparity "between the former Times and theſe in which They now lived, and con-"ſequently of the Diſproportion in the Expenſe the Crown was now at, for "the Protection and Benefit of the Subject, to what it formerly underwent. "How great a Difference there was in the preſent Greatneſs and Power of "the two Crowns, and what they had been then poſſeſſed of, was evident "to all Men; and if the Greatneſs and Power of the Crown of *England* "ſhould not be in ſome Proportion improved too, it might be liable to In-"conveniencies it would not undergo alone. How our Neighbours and our "Rivals, who court one and the ſame Miſtreſs, Trade and Commerce, "with all the World, are advanced in Shipping, Power, and an immode-"rate Deſire to engroſs the whole Traffick of the Univerſe, was notorious "enough; and that this unruly Appetite would not be reſtrained or diſap-"pointed, nor the Trade of the Nation be ſupported and maintained, with "the ſame Fleets and Forces which had been maintained in the happy "Times of Queen *Elizabeth*. He needed not ſpeak of the naval Power "of the *Turks*, who inſtead of ſculking abroad in poor ſingle Ships as They "were wont to do, domineer now on the Ocean in ſtrong Fleets, make "naval Fights, and had brought ſome *Chriſtians* to a better Correſpondence, "and another Kind of Commerce and Traffick with them, than was ex-"pected" (for at that Time the *Dutch* had made a low and diſhonourable Peace with the Pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis*): "Inſomuch as They appre-"hend no Enemy upon the Sea, but what They find in the King of

"*England's* Ships, which had indeed brought no ſmall Damage upon "them, with no ſmall Charge to the King, but a great Reputation to the "Nation."

"HE did aſſure them, that the Charge the Crown was then at, by Sea "and Land, for the Peace and Security and Wealth and Honour of the "Nation, amounted to no leſs than eight hundred thouſand Pounds in "the Year; all which did not coſt the Crown before the late Troubles "fourſcore thouſand Pounds the Year: And therefore that Nobody could "blame them for any Supply They had given, or Addition They had "made to the Revenue of the Crown." He told them, "that the new "Acquiſitions of *Dunkirk*, *Mardike*, *Tangier*, *Jamaica*, and *Bombayne*, "ought to be looked upon as Jewels of an immenſe Magnitude in the "Royal Diadem; and though they were of preſent Expenſe, they were like "in a ſhort Time, with God's Bleſſing, to bring vaſt Advantages to the "Trade, Navigation, Wealth and Honour of the King and Kingdom. His "Majeſty had enough expreſſed his Deſire to live in a perfect Peace and "Amity with all his Neigbours; nor was it an ill Ingredient towards the "Firmneſs and Stability of that Peace and Amity which his Royal An-"ceſtors had held with them, that He hath ſome Advantages in Caſe of a "War, which They were without." The ſame Day the Parliament was prorogued to the eighteenth Day of *February* following. *The Parliament prorogued.*

IT was about the End of *May*, when the Queen came to *Hampton-Court*. The Earl of *Sandwich*, after He had reduced thoſe of *Algiers* and *Tunis* to good Conditions, went to *Tangier*, which was to be delivered to him before He was to go to *Liſbon* for the Reception of the Queen: And delivered to him it was, though by an Accident that might have cauſed it to be delivered into another Hand. There was never the leaſt Doubt, but that the Queen Regent did reſolve religiouſly to perform all the Conditions on the Part of *Portugal*; and the Government was yet in her Hands. But the King growing towards his Majority, and of a Nature not like to comply long with his Mother's Advice; Factions began likewiſe to grow in that Court. The Delivery of *Tangier*, and into the Hands of Hereticks, was much murmured at; as like more to irritate the Pope, who did already carry himſelf towards them very unlike a common Father, notwithſtanding the powerful Interpoſition of *France*, which, upon the Peace lately made between the two Crowns, was already ceaſed: So that They now apprehended, that this new Provocation would give ſome Excuſe to the Court of *Rome*, to comply more ſeverely with the Importunities from *Spain*, which likewiſe upon this Occaſion They were ſure would be renewed with all poſſible Inſtance. And though the Queen had lately ſent a Governour to *Tangier*, whom She therefore made Choice of, as a Man devoted to her, and who would obey her Commands in the Delivery of this Place; yet it is certain, He went thither with a contrary Reſolution. *The Earl of* Sandwich *takes Poſſeſſion of* Tangier.

VERY few Days before the Earl of *Sandwich* came thither, the Governour marched out with all the Horſe and above Half the Foot of the Garriſon into the Country, and fell into an Ambuſh of the *Moors*, who being much more numerous cut off the whole Party: And ſo the Governour with ſo many of the chief Officers and Soldiers being killed, the Town was left ſo weak, that if the *Moors* had purſued their Advantage with ſuch Numbers as They might, and did intend within few Days to bring with them, They would have been able to have made little Reſiſtance. And the Earl of *Sandwich* coming happily thither in that Conjuncture, it was delivered into his Hands, who convoyed the Remainder of the Gar- *A Deſign of not giving it up to him.*

riſon into *Portugal*, where They were like to be ſtoned by the People; and then, having put a good Garriſon of Horſe and Foot which were ſent from *England* into it, He delivered it up to the Earl of *Peterborough*, who had a Commiſſion from the King to be Governour thereof; and himſelf with the Fleet ſailed to *Lisbon*, where He had been long expected, and found his Houſe and Equipage ready, He being then to appear in the Quality of Extraordinary Ambaſſadour to demand the Queen.

He comes to Lisbon in a critical Conjuncture.

His Arrival there happened likewiſe in a very happy Conjuncture; for the *Spaniſh* Army, ſtronger than it had been before, was upon its March to beſiege a Seaport Town, which lay ſo near *Lisbon*, that being in the Enemies Hands it would very much have infeſted their whole Trade, and was not ſtrong enough long to have reſiſted ſo powerful an Enemy. But upon the Fame of the *Engliſh* Fleet's Arrival, the *Spaniard* gave over that Deſign, and retired: Since as it was impoſſible that They ſhould be able to take that Place, which the Fleet was ſo ready to relieve; ſo They knew not but that the *Engliſh* might make a Deſcent into their own Quarters, which kept them from engaging before any other Town. But the Alarum the March of that Army had given had ſo much diſturbed *Portugal*, which never keep their whole Forces on Foot, but draw them together upon ſuch emergent Occaſions; that They were compelled to make Uſe of moſt of that Money, which They ſaid had been laid up and ſhould be kept for the Payment of the Queen's Portion, which was to be tranſported with her into *England*.

Whereupon, after the Ambaſſadour had been received with all poſſible Demonſtration of Reſpect and publick Joy, and had had his ſolemn Audience from the King and from the Queen Regent and the Queen his Miſtreſs; and ſome *Engliſh* Gentlemen of Quality, who were ſent by the King, were admitted to thoſe Places of Attendance about the Queen, to which his Majeſty had aſſigned them: The Queen Mother with infinite Apologies told the Ambaſſadour, "that the Streights and Poverty of the "Kingdom were ſo great upon the late Advance of the *Spaniſh* Army, that "there could at this preſent be only paid one Half of the Queen's Portion, "and that the other Half ſhould infallibly be paid within a Year, with "which She hoped the King her Brother would be ſatisfied; and that for "the better doing it, She reſolved to ſend back the ſame Ambaſſadour, "who had brought ſo good a Work with God's Bleſſing to ſo good an "End, with her Daughter to the King."

The Portugueſe not able to pay the Queen's Portion.

The Earl of *Sandwich* was much perplexed, nor did eaſily reſolve what He was to do. His Inſtructions were to receive the whole Portion, which He knew the King expected, and which They were not able to pay. He had already received *Tangier*, and left a ſtrong Garriſon in it, and had neither Authority to reſtore it, nor wherewithal to carry back the Men. And at laſt, after He had uſed all the Means to have the Whole paid, and was ſo fully informed, that He did in Truth believe that They could do no more, He reſolved that He would receive the Queen aboard the Fleet. That which They were ready to deliver for Half the Portion, was not in Money, but to be made up by Jewels, Sugar and other Commodities, which ſhould not be overvalued. The Ambaſſadour was contented to give his Receipt for the ſeveral Species of the Money They would deliver, leaving the Value to be computed in *England*; but expreſſly refuſed to accept the Jewels, Sugar and Merchandiſes at any Rates or Prices; but was contented to receive them on Board the Ships, and to deliver them *in Specie* at *London* to any Perſon who ſhould be appointed by them to receive them, who

ſhould

ſhould be obliged to pay the Money they were valued at, and to make up the whole Sum that ſhould be paid to the King for the Moiety. In Concluſion, all Things were delivered on Board the Ships; and *Diego Silvas*, a Jew of great Wealth and full Credit at *Amſterdam*, was ſent with it, and obliged to make even the Account with the King's Miniſters at *London*, and to pay what ſhould remain due. And a new Obligation was entered into by the Crown of *Portugal*, for the Payment of the other Moiety within the Space of a Year. And the Queen with all her Court and Retinue were embarked on Board the Fleet; and without any ill Accidents her Majeſty arrived ſafely at *Portſmouth*: And having reſted only three or four Days there, to recover the Indiſpoſition contracted in ſo long a Voyage at Sea, her Majeſty together with the King came to *Hampton-Court* at the Time mentioned before, the twenty ninth of *May*, the King's Birthday, full two Years after his Majeſty's Return and entering *London*.

The Queen arrives in England.

HOWEVER the publick Joy of the Kingdom was very manifeſt upon this Conjunction, yet in a ſhort Time there appeared not that Serenity in the Court that was expected. They who had formerly endeavoured to prevent it, uſed ever after all the ill Arts They could to make it diſagreeable, and to alienate the King's Affection from the Queen to ſuch a Degree, that it might never be in her Power to prevail with him to their Diſadvantage; an Effect They had Reaſon to expect from any notable Intereſt She might gain in his Affections, ſince She could not be uninformed by the Ambaſſadour of the Diſſervice They had formerly endeavoured to do her.

Endeavours uſed to alienate the King's Affection from the Queen.

THERE was a Lady of Youth and Beauty, with whom the King had lived in great and notorious Familiarity from the Time of his Coming into *England*, and who, at the Time of the Queen's Coming or a little before, had been delivered of a Son whom the King owned. And as that Amour had been generally taken Notice of, to the leſſening of the good Reputation the King had with the People; ſo it underwent the leſs Reproach from the King's being young, vigorous, and in his full Strength; and upon a full Preſumption that when He ſhould be married, He would contain himſelf within the ſtrict Bounds of Virtue and Conſcience. And that his Majeſty himſelf had that firm Reſolution, there want not many Arguments, as well from the excellent Temper and Juſtice of his own Nature, as from the Profeſſions He had made with ſome Solemnity to Perſons who were believed to have much Credit, and who had not failed to do their Duty, in putting him in Mind "of the infinite Obligations He had to God Almighty, and that He ex- "pected another Kind of Return from him, in the Purity of Mind and In- "tegrity of Life:" Of which his Majeſty was piouſly ſenſible, albeit there was all poſſible Pains taken by that Company which were admitted to his Hours of Pleaſure, to divert and corrupt all thoſe Impreſſions and Principles, which his own Conſcience and reverent Eſteem of Providence did ſuggeſt to him; turning all Diſcourſe and Mention of Religion into Ridicule, as if it were only an Invention of Divines to impoſe upon Men of Parts, and to reſtrain them from the Liberty and Uſe of thoſe Faculties which God and Nature had given them, that They might be ſubject to their Reproofs and Determinations; which Kind of Licenſe was not grateful to the King, and therefore warily and accidentally uſed by thoſe who had pleaſant Wit, and in whoſe Company He took too much Delight.

Some Circumſtances that contribute towards a Miſunderſtanding between them.

THE Queen had Beauty and Wit enough to make herſelf very agreeable to him; and it is very certain, that at their firſt Meeting and for ſome Time after the King had very good Satisfaction in her, and without Doubt made very good Reſolutions within himſelf, and promiſed himſelf a happy and an innocent

Life in her Company, without any ſuch Uxorioufneſs, as might draw the Reputation upon him of being governed by his Wife, of which He had obſerved or been too largely informed of ſome inconvenient Effects in the Fortune of ſome of his neareſt Friends, and had long proteſted againſt ſuch a Reſignation; though They who knew him well, did not think him ſo much ſuperiour to ſuch a Condeſcenſion, but that if the Queen had had that Craft and Addreſs and Dexterity that ſome former Queens had, She might have prevailed as far by Degrees as They had done. But the Truth is, though She was of Years enough to have had more Experience of the World, and of as much Wit as could be wiſhed, and of a Humour very agreeable at ſome Seaſons; yet She had been bred, according to the Mode and Diſcipline of her Country, in a Monaſtery, where She had only ſeen the Women who attended her, and converſed with the Religious who reſided there, and without Doubt in her Inclinations was enough diſpoſed to have been one of that Number. And from this Reſtraint She was called out to be a great Queen, and to a free Converſation in a Court that was to be upon the Matter new formed, and reduced from the Manners of a licentious Age to the old Rules and Limits which had been obſerved in better Times; and to which regular and decent Conformity the preſent Diſpoſition of Men or Women was not enough inclined to ſubmit, nor the King enough diſpoſed to exact.

THERE was a numerous Family of Men and Women that were ſent from *Portugal*, the moſt improper to promote that Conformity in the Queen that was neceſſary for her Condition and future Happineſs, that could be choſen: The Women for the moſt Part old and ugly and proud, incapable of any Converſation with Perſons of Quality and a liberal Education. And They deſired and indeed had conſpired ſo far to poſſeſs the Queen themſelves, that She ſhould neither learn the *Engliſh* Language, nor uſe their Habit, nor depart from the Manners and Faſhions of her own Country in any Particulars; "which Reſolution" They told her "would be for the "Dignity of *Portugal*, and would quickly induce the *Engliſh* Ladies to "conform to her Majeſty's Practice:" And this Imagination had made that Impreſſion, that the Taylor who had been ſent into *Portugal* to make her Cloaths, could never be admitted to ſee her or receive any Employment. Nor when She came to *Portſmouth*, and found there ſeveral Ladies of Honour and prime Quality to attend her in the Places to which They were aſſigned by the King, did She receive any of them, till the King himſelf came; nor then with any Grace, or the Liberty that belonged to their Places and Offices. She could not be perſuaded to be dreſſed out of the Wardrobe that the King had ſent to her, but would wear the Cloaths which She had brought, until She found that the King was diſpleaſed, and would be obeyed: Whereupon She conformed againſt the Advice of her Women, who continued their Opiniatrety, without any one of them receding from their own Mode, which expoſed them the more to Reproach.

WHEN the Queen came to *Hampton-Court*, She brought with her a formed Reſolution, that She would never ſuffer the Lady who was ſo much ſpoken of to be in her Preſence: And afterwards to thoſe She would truſt She ſaid, "her Mother had enjoined her ſo to do." On the other Hand, the King thought that He had ſo well prepared her to give her a civil Reception, that within a Day or two after her Majeſty's being there, himſelf led her into her Chamber, and preſented her to the Queen, who received her with the ſame Grace as She had done the reſt; there being many Lords

and other Ladies at the ſame Time there. But whether her Majeſty in the Inſtant knew who She was, or upon Recollection found it afterwards, She was no ſooner ſate in her Chair, but her Colour changed, and Tears guſhed out of her Eyes, and her Noſe bled, and She fainted; ſo that She was forthwith removed into another Room, and all the Company retired out of that where She was before. And this falling out ſo notoriouſly when ſo many Perſons were preſent, the King looked upon it with wonderful Indignation, and as an Earneſt of Defiance for the Deciſion of the Supremacy and who ſhould govern, upon which Point He was the moſt jealous and the moſt reſolute of any Man; and the Anſwer He received from the Queen, which kept up the Obſtinacy, diſpleaſed him more. Now the Breach of the Conditions grew Matter of Reproach; the Payment of but Half the Portion was objected to the Ambaſſadour, who would have been very glad that the Quarrel had been upon no other Point. He knew not what to ſay or do; the King being offended with him for having ſaid ſo much in *Portugal* to provoke the Queen, and not inſtructed her enough to make her unconcerned in what had been before her Time, and in which She could not reaſonably be concerned; and the Queen with more Indignation reproaching him with the Character He had given of the King, of his Virtue and good Nature: Whilſt the poor Man, not able to endure the Tempeſt of ſo much Injuſtice from Both, thought it beſt to ſatisfy Both by dying; and from the extreme Affliction of Mind which He underwent, He ſuſtained ſuch a Fever as brought him to the Brink of his Grave, till ſome Grace from Both their Majeſties contributed much to the Recovery of his Spirits.

In the mean Time the King forbore her Majeſty's Company, and ſought Eaſe and Refreſhment in that jolly Company, to which in the Evenings He grew every Day more indulgent, and in which there were ſome, who deſired rather to inflame than pacify his Diſcontent. And They found an Expedient to vindicate his Royal Juriſdiction, and to make it manifeſt to the World, that He would not be governed; which could never without much Artifice have got Entrance into his Princely Breaſt, which always entertained the moſt tender Affections; nor was ever any Man's Nature more remote from Thoughts of Roughneſs or Hardheartedneſs. They magnified the Temper and Conſtitution of his Grandfather, who indeed to all other Purpoſes was a glorious Example: "That when He was enamoured, and found a "Return anſwerable to his Merit, He did not diſſemble his Paſſion, nor "ſuffered it to be Matter of Reproach to the Perſons whom He loved; but "made all others pay them that Reſpect which He thought them worthy "of; brought them to the Court, and obliged his own Wife the Queen to "treat them with Grace and Favour; gave them the higheſt Titles of Ho-"nour, to draw Reverence and Application to them from all the Court and "all the Kingdom; raiſed the Children He had by them to the Reputa-"tion, State and Degree of Princes of the Blood, and conferred Fortunes "and Offices upon them accordingly. That his Majeſty, who inherited "the ſame Paſſions, was without the Gratitude and noble Inclination to "make Returns proportionable to the Obligations He received. That He "had, by the Charms of his Perſon and of his Profeſſions, prevailed upon "the Affections and Heart of a young and beautiful Lady of a noble Ex-"traction, whoſe Father had loſt his Life in the Service of the Crown. "That She had provoked the Jealouſy and Rage of her Huſband to that "Degree, that He had ſeparated himſelf from her: And now the Queen's "Indignation had made the Matter ſo notorious to the World, that the

"diſconſolate Lady had no Place of Retreat left, but muſt be made an Ob-
"ject of Infamy and Contempt to all her Sex, and to the whole World."

THOSE Diſcourſes, together with a little Book newly printed at *Paris*, according to the Licenſe of that Nation, of the Amours of *Henry* IV. which was by them preſented to him, and too concernedly read by him, made that Impreſſion upon his Mind, that He reſolved to raiſe the Quality and Degree of that Lady, who was married to a private Gentleman of a competent Fortune, that had not the Ambition to be a better Man than He was born. And that He might do ſo, He made her Huſband an Earl of *Ireland*, who knew too well the Conſideration that He paid for it, and abhorred the Brand of ſuch a Nobility, and did not in a long Time aſſume the Title. The Lady thus qualified was now made fit for higher Preferment: And the King reſolved, for the Vindication of her Honour and Innocence, that She ſhould be admitted of the Bedchamber of the Queen, as the only Means to convince the World, that all Aſperſions upon her had been without Ground. The King uſed all the Ways He could, by treating the Queen with all Careſſes, to diſpoſe her to gratify him in this Particular, as a Matter in which his Honour was concerned and engaged; and proteſted unto her, which at that Time He did intend to obſerve, "that He had "not had the leaſt Familiarity with her ſince her Majeſty's Arrival, nor "would ever after be guilty of it again, but would live always with her "Majeſty in all Fidelity for Conſcience Sake." The Queen, who was naturally more tranſported with Choler than her Countenance declared her to be, had not the Temper to entertain him with thoſe Diſcourſes, which the Vivacity of her Wit could very plentifully have ſuggeſted to her; but brake out into a Torrent of Rage, which increaſed the former Prejudice, confirmed the King in the Reſolution He had taken, gave ill People more Credit to mention her diſreſpectfully, and more increaſed his Averſion from her Company, and which was worſe, his Delight in thoſe, who meant that He ſhould neither love his Wife or his Buſineſs, or any Thing but their Converſation.

THESE domeſtick Indiſpoſitions and Diſtempers, and the Impreſſion they made of ſeveral Kinds upon the King's Spirit and his Humour, exceedingly diſcompoſed the Minds of the graveſt and moſt ſerious Men; gave the People generally Occaſion of ſpeaking loudly, and with a Licenſe that the Magiſtrates knew not how to puniſh, for the Publication of the Scandal: And the wiſeſt Men deſpaired of finding Remedies to apply to the Diſſoluteneſs and Debauchery of the Time, which viſibly increaſed. No Man appeared to ſuffer or likely to ſuffer more than the Chancellor, againſt whom though no particular Perſon owned a Malignity, the Congregation of the witty Men for the Evening Converſation were enough united againſt his Intereſt; and thought his Influence upon the King's Actions and Counſels would be too much augmented, if the Queen came to have any Power, who had a very good Opinion of him: And it is very probable, that even that Apprehenſion increaſed the Combination againſt her Majeſty.

THE Lady had Reaſon to hate him mortally, well knowing that there had been an inviolable Friendſhip between her Father and him to his Death, which had been notorious to all Men; and that He was an implacable Enemy to the Power and Intereſt She had with the King, and had uſed all the Endeavours He could to deſtroy it. Yet neither She nor any of the other adventured to ſpeak ill of him to the King, who at that Time would not have borne it; except for Wit's Sake They ſometimes reflected upon ſomewhat He had ſaid, or acted ſome of his Poſtures and Manner of

ſpeaking (the Skill in Mimickry being the beſt Faculty in Wit many of them had); which Licenſe They practiſed often towards the King himſelf, and therefore his Majeſty thought it to be the more free from Malice. But by theſe Liberties, which at firſt only raiſed Laughter, They by Degrees got the Hardineſs to cenſure both the Perſons, Counſels and Actions, of thoſe who were neareſt his Majeſty's Truſt, with the higheſt Malice and Preſumption; and too often ſuſpended or totally diſappointed ſome Reſolutions, which had been taken upon very mature Deliberation, and which ought to have been purſued. But (as hath been ſaid before) this Preſumption had not yet come to this Length.

THE King imparted the Trouble and Unquietneſs of his Mind to Nobody with equal Freedom, as He did to the Chancellor: To him He complained of all the Queen's Perverſeneſs and ill Humours, and informed him of all that paſſed between them, and obliged him to confer and adviſe the Queen, who, He knew, looked upon him as a Man devoted to her Service, and that He would ſpeak very confidently to her whatſoever He thought; and therefore gave him Leave to take Notice to her of any Thing He had told him. It was too delicate a Province for ſo plaindealing a Man as He was to undertake: And yet He knew not how to refuſe it, nor indeed did deſpair totally of being able to do ſome Good, ſince the Queen was not yet more acquainted with any Man than with him, nor ſpake ſo much with any Man as with him; and He believed, that He might hereby have Opportunity to ſpeak ſometimes to the King of ſome Particulars with more Freedom, than otherwiſe He could well do, at leaſt more effectually.

The Chancellor endeavours to reconcile their Majeſties.

HE had never heard before of the Honour the King had done that Lady, nor of the Purpoſe He had to make her of his Wife's Bedchamber. He ſpake with great Boldneſs to him upon Both; and did not believe that the firſt was proceeded in beyond Revocation, becauſe it had not come to the Great Seal, and gave him many Arguments againſt it, which He thought of Weight. But upon the other Point He took more Liberty, and ſpake "of the Hardheartedneſs and Cruelty in laying ſuch a Command upon "the Queen, which Fleſh and Blood could not comply with." He put him in Mind of what He heard his Majeſty himſelf ſay, upon the like Exceſs which a neighbour King had lately uſed, in making his Miſtreſs to live in the Court, and in the Preſence of the Queen: That his Majeſty had then ſaid, "*that it was ſuch a Piece of Illnature, that He could* "*never be guilty of*; *and if ever He ſhould be guilty of having a Miſtreſs* "*after He had a Wife, which He hoped He ſhould never be, She ſhould* "*never come where his Wife was: He would never add that to the Vexation,* "*of which She would have enough without it.*" And yet He told him, "that ſuch Friendſhips were not new in that other Court, nor ſcandalous "in that Kingdom; whereas in this it was ſo unheard of and ſo odious, "that a Woman who proſtituted herſelf to the King was equally infamous "to all Women of Honour, and muſt expect the ſame Contempt from "them, as if She were common to Mankind: And that no Enemy He "had could adviſe him a more ſure Way to loſe the Hearts and Affections "of the People, of which He was now ſo abundantly poſſeſſed, than the "indulging to himſelf that Liberty, now it had pleaſed God to give him a "Wife worthy of him. That the Exceſs He had already uſed in that "and other Ways had loſt him ſome Ground; but that the Continuance "in them would break the Hearts of all his Friends, and be only grateful to thoſe who wiſhed the Deſtruction of Monarchy:" And concluded with "aſking his Pardon for ſpeaking ſo plainly," and beſought his Ma-

jeſty to remember "the wonderful Things which God had done for him, "and for which He expected other Returns than He had yet received."

The King heard him with Patience enough, yet with thoſe little Interruptions which were natural to him, eſpecially to that Part where He had levelled the Miſtreſſes of Kings and Princes with other lewd Women, at which He expreſſed ſome Indignation, being an Argument often debated before him by thoſe, who would have them looked upon above any other Mens Wives. He did not appear diſpleaſed with the Liberty He had taken, but ſaid, "He knew it proceeded from the Affection He had for him;" and then proceeded upon the ſeveral Parts of what He had ſaid, more volubly than He uſed to do, as upon Points in which He was converſant, and had heard well debated.

To the firſt, He begun with the Story of an Accident that had fallen out the Day before; He ſaid, "the Lady had then told him, *that She did* "*hope that the Chancellor was not ſo much her Enemy, as He was generally* "*reported to be, for She was ſure He was not guilty of one Diſcourteſy of* "*which He had been accuſed to her, and therefore might be as innocent in* "*others*; and then told his Majeſty, *that the Day before, the Earl of* "Briſtol" (who was never without ſome Reaſon to engage himſelf in ſuch Intrigues, and had been a principal Promoter of all thoſe late Reſolutions) "*came to her, and aſked her whether the Patent was not yet paſſed*; *She an-* "*ſwered, No*; *He aſked if She knew the Reaſon, which She ſeeming not to* "*do, He told her that He came in Confidence to tell her, and that if She* "*did not quickly curb and overrule ſuch Preſumption, She would often* "*meet it to her Prejudice*; *then told her a long Relation, how the Patent had* "*been carried to the Chancellor prepared for the Seal, and that He ac-* "*cording to his Cuſtom had ſuperciliouſly ſaid, that He would firſt ſpeak with* "*the King of it, and that in the mean Time it ſhould not paſs*; *and that if* "*She did not make the King very ſenſible of this his Inſolence, his Majeſty* "*ſhould never be Judge of his own Bounty.* And then the Lady laughed, and "made ſharp Reflections upon the Principles of the Earl of *Briſtol*" (who had throughout his Life the rare good Fortune of being exceedingly beloved and exceedingly hated by the ſame Perſons, in the Space of one Month; and now finding that there was a Stop of the Patent, made a very natural Gueſs where it muſt be, and gratified his own Appetite in the Concluſion), "and pulled the Warrant out of her Pocket, *where* She ſaid *it had remained* "*ever ſince it was ſigned, and She believed the Chancellor had never heard* "*of it: She was ſure there was no Patent prepared, and therefore He could* "*not ſtop it at the Seal.*"

The Truth is: Though according to the Cuſtom She had aſſumed the Title as ſoon as She had the Warrant, that the other Pretence might be proſecuted, She made not Haſte to paſs the Patent, leſt her Huſband might ſtop it; and after long Deliberation was not ſo confident of the Chancellor, as to tranſmit it to the Seal that was in his Cuſtody, but, the Honour being *Iriſh*, ſent it into that Kingdom to paſs the Great Seal there, where She was ſure it could meet no Interruption.

When the King had made this Relation, and added ſome ſharp Remarks upon the Earl of *Briſtol*, as a Man very particularly known and underſtood by him; He ſaid, "that He had undone this Lady, and ruined her Repu- "tation, which had been fair and untainted till her Friendſhip for him; "and that He was obliged in Conſcience and Honour to repair her to the "utmoſt of his Power. That He would always avow to have a great "Friendſhip for her, which He owed as well to the Memory of her Fa-

"ther as to her own Perſon; and that He would look upon it as the "higheſt Diſreſpect to him, in any Body who ſhould treat her otherwiſe "than was due to her own Birth, and the Dignity to which He had raiſed "her. That He liked her Company and Converſation, from which He "would not be reſtrained, becauſe He knew there was and ſhould be all "Innocence in it: And that his Wife ſhould never have Cauſe to complain "that He brake his Vows to her, if She would live towards him as a good "Wife ought to do, in rendering herſelf grateful and acceptable to him, "which it was in her Power to do; but if She would continue uneaſy to "him, He could not anſwer for himſelf, that He ſhould not endeavour to "ſeek Content in other Company. That He had proceeded ſo far in the "Buſineſs that concerned the Lady, and was ſo deeply engaged in it, that "She would not only be expoſed to all imaginable Contempt, if it ſuc-"ceeded not; but his own Honour would ſuffer ſo much, that He ſhould "become ridiculous to the World, and be thought too in Pupilage under "a Governour; and therefore He would expect and exact a Confor-"mity from his Wife herein, which ſhould be the only hard Thing "He would ever require from her, and which She herſelf might make "very eaſy, for the Lady would behave herſelf with all poſſible Duty and "Humility unto her, which if She ſhould fail to do in the leaſt Degree, "She ſhould never ſee the King's Face again: And that He would never "be engaged to put any other Servant about her, without firſt conſulting "with her, and receiving her Conſent and Approbation. Upon the Whole," He ſaid, "He would never recede from any Part of the Reſolution He "had taken and expreſſed to him: And therefore He required him to uſe "all thoſe Arguments to the Queen, which were neceſſary to induce her to "a full Compliance with what the King deſired."

THE Chancellor addreſſed himſelf to the Queen with as full Liberty and Plainneſs as He had preſumed to uſe to his Majeſty, but could not proceed ſo far at a Time, nor hold ſo long Conferences at once. When He firſt lamented the Miſintelligence He obſerved to be between their Majeſties, and She perceived the King had told him ſome Particulars, She proteſted her own Innocence, but with ſo much Paſſion and ſuch a Torrent of Tears, that there was Nothing left for him to do, but to retire, and tell her, "that He would wait upon her in a fitter Seaſon, and when She ſhould be "more capable of receiving humble Advice from her Servants, who wiſhed "her well;" and ſo departed.

THE next Day He waited upon her again at the Hour aſſigned by her, and found her much better compoſed than He had left her. She vouch-ſafed to excuſe the Paſſion She had been in, and confeſſed "She looked "upon him as one of the few Friends She had, and from whom She would "moſt willingly at all Times receive Counſel: But that She hoped He "would not wonder or blame her, if having greater Misfortunes upon her, "and being to ſtruggle with more Difficulties, than any Woman had ever "been put to of her Condition, She ſometimes gave Vent to that Paſſion "that was ready to break her Heart." He told her, "He was deſirous in-"deed to ſerve her, of which He would not make great or many Proteſ-"tations, ſince She could not but believe it, except She thought him to be "a Fool or mad, ſince Nothing could contribute ſo much to his Happi-"neſs, as an eminent Sympathy between the King and her in all Things: "And He could not give her a greater Evidence of his Devotion, than in "always ſaying that to her which was fit for her to hear, though it did

"not pleaſe her; and He would obſerve no other Rule towards her, "though it ſhould render him ungracious to her."

She ſeemed well ſatisfied with what He ſaid, and told him "He ſhould "never be more welcome to her, than when He told her of her Faults:" To which He replied, "that it was the Province He was accuſed of uſurping "with Reference to all his Friends." He told her, "that He doubted She "was little beholden to her Education, that had given her no better In- "formation of the Follies and Iniquities of Mankind, of which He pre- "ſumed the Climate from whence She came could have given more In- "ſtances, than this cold Region would afford;" though at that Time it was indeed very hot. He ſaid, "if her Majeſty had been fairly dealt with in "that Particular, She could never have thought herſelf ſo miſerable, and her "Condition ſo inſupportable as She ſeemed to think it to be; the Ground "of which heavy Complaint He could not comprehend." Whereupon with ſome bluſhing and Confuſion and ſome Tears She ſaid, "She did not think "that She ſhould have found the King engaged in his Affection to another "Lady;" and then was able to ſay no more: Which gave the Chan- cellor Opportunity to ſay, "that He knew well, that She had been very "little acquainted with or informed of the World; yet He could not be- "lieve that She was ſo utterly ignorant, as to expect that the King her Huſ- "band, in the full Strength and Vigour of his Youth, was of ſo innocent a "Conſtitution, as to be reſerved for her whom He had never ſeen, and to "have had no Acquaintance or Familiarity with the Sex;" and aſked "whether "She believed, when it ſhould pleaſe God to ſend a Queen to *Portugal*, She "ſhould find that Court ſo full of chaſte Affection." Upon which her Majeſty ſmiled, and ſpake pleaſantly enough, but as if She thought it did not concern her Caſe, and as if the King's Affection had not wandered, but remained fixed.

Upon which the Chancellor replied with ſome Warmth, "that He "came to her with a Meſſage from the King, which if She received as "She ought to do and as He hoped She would, She would be the happieſt "Queen in the World. That whatever Correſpondencies the King had en- "tertained with any other Ladies, before He ſaw her Majeſty, concerned "not her; nor ought She to enquire more into them or after them, than "into what other Exceſſes He had uſed in his Youth in *France*, *Holland* "or *Germany*. That He had Authority to aſſure her, that all former Ap- "petites were expired, and that He dedicated himſelf entirely and without "Reſerve to her; and that if She met his Affection with that Warmth and "Spirit and good Humour, which She well knew how to expreſs, She "would live a Life of the greateſt Delight imaginable. That her good "Fortune, and all the Joy She could have in this World, was in her own "Power, and that She only ſtrove to drive it from her." She heard all this with apparent Pleaſure, and infinite Expreſſions of her Acknowledg- ments of the King's Bounty; thanked the Chancellor more than enough, and deſired him "to help in returning her Thanks to his Majeſty, and in "obtaining his Pardon for any Paſſion or Peeviſhneſs She might have been "guilty of, and in aſſuring him of all future Obedience and Duty."

Upon this good Temper He approached to the other Part of his Meſſage, "how neceſſary it would be that her Majeſty ſhould gratify this good Re- "ſolution and Juſtice and Tenderneſs in the King, by meeting it with a "proportionable Submiſſion and Reſignation on her Part to whatſoever his "Majeſty ſhould deſire of her;" and then inſinuated what would be accept- able with Reference to the Lady. But this was no ſooner mentioned, than

it raiſed all the Rage and Fury of Yeſterday, with fewer Tears, the Fire appearing in her Eyes, where the Water was. She ſaid, "that the King's "inſiſting upon that Particular could proceed from no other Ground but his "Hatred of her Perſon, and to expoſe her to the Contempt of the World, "who would think her worthy of ſuch an Affront, if She ſubmitted to "it; which before She would do, She would put herſelf on Board any "little Veſſel, and ſo be tranſported to *Liſbon*:" With many other extravagant Expreſſions, which her Paſſion ſuggeſted in Spite of her Underſtanding; and which He interrupted with a very ill Countenance, and told her "that She had not the Diſpoſal of her own Perſon, nor could go out "of the Houſe where She was without the King's Leave;" and therefore adviſed her "not to ſpeak any more of *Portugal*, where there were enough who "would wiſh her to be." He told her, "that He would find ſome fitter "Time to ſpeak with her, and till then only deſired that She would make "Shew of no ſuch Paſſion to the King; and that whatever She thought "fit to deny that the King propoſed to her, She ſhould deny in ſuch "a Manner, as ſhould look rather like a Deferring than an utter Re-"fuſal, that his Majeſty might not be provoked to enter into the ſame "Paſſion, which would be ſuperiour to hers."

THE Chancellor made the more Haſte to inform the King of all that had paſſed, that He might prevail with him to ſuſpend for ſome little Time the proſecuting that Argument farther with the Queen. He gave him an Account of all the good and kind Things She had ſaid with Reference to his Majeſty, of the Profeſſions She had made of all Duty and Obedience to him throughout the whole Courſe of her Life; "that her Unwillingneſs to "obey him in this one Particular proceeded only from the great Paſſion of "Love which She had for him, that tranſported her beyond the Limits of "her Reaſon." He confeſſed, "He had not diſcourſed it ſo fully with "her Majeſty as He reſolved to have done, becauſe a ſudden Paſſion had "ſeized upon her, which She muſt have ſome Time to overrule;" and therefore He entreated his Majeſty "for a Day or two to forbear preſſing "the Queen in that Matter, till He had once more waited upon her, by "which He hoped He might in ſome Degree diſpoſe her Majeſty to give "him Satisfaction." And though He was in no Degree pleaſed with the Account, yet the other did think, that He would for a little have reſpited the farther Diſcourſe of it.

BUT the King quickly found other Counſellors, who told him, "that "the Thing He contended for was not of ſo much Importance as the Man-"ner of obtaining it; that the Contention now was, who ſhould govern; "and if He ſuffered himſelf to be diſputed with, He muſt reſolve hereafter "to do all Things *precariò*." And as this Advice was more ſuitable to his preſent Paſſion and Purpoſe, ſo it was embraced greedily and reſolutely. The Fire flamed that Night higher than ever: The King reproached the Queen with Stubbornneſs and Want of Duty, and She him with Tyranny and Want of Affection; He uſed Threats and Menaces, which He never intended to put in Execution, and She talked loudly "how ill She was "treated, and that She would return again to *Portugal*." He replied, "that She ſhould do well firſt to know whether her Mother would receive "her: And He would give her a fit Opportunity to know that, by ſending "to their Home all her *Portugueſe* Servants; and that He would forthwith "give Order for the Diſcharge of them all, ſince They behaved themſelves "ſo ill, for to them and their Counſels He imputed all her Perverſeneſs."

THE Paſſion and Noiſe of the Night reached too many Ears to be a Secret the next Day; and the whole Court was full of that, which ought to have been known to Nobody. And the mutual Carriage and Behaviour between their Majeſties confirmed all that They had heard or could imagine: They ſpake not, hardly looked on one another. Every Body was glad that They were ſo far from the Town (for They were ſtill at *Hampton-Court*), and that there were ſo few Witneſſes of all that paſſed. The Queen ſate melancholick in her Chamber in Tears, except when She drove them away by a more violent Paſſion in cholerick Diſcourſe: And the King ſought his Divertiſements in that Company that ſaid and did all Things to pleaſe him; and there He ſpent all the Nights, and in the Morning came to the Queen's Chamber, for He never ſlept in any other Place. Nobody knew how to interpoſe, or indeed how to behave themſelves, the Court being far from one Mind; with this Difference, that the young and frolick People of either Sex talked loudly all that They thought the King would like and be pleaſed with, whilſt the other more grave and ſerious People did in their Souls pity the Queen, and thought that She was put to bear more than her Strength could ſuſtain.

THE Chancellor came not to the Court in two or three Days; and when He did come thither, He forbore to ſee the Queen, till the King ſent him again to her. His Majeſty informed him at large, and with more than his natural Paſſion, of all that had paſſed; and "of the fooliſh "Extravagancy" (as He called it) "of returning to *Portugal*; and of the "poſitive Reſolution He had taken, and the Orders He had given, for "the preſent ſending away all the *Portugueſes*, to whom He did impute "all his Wife's Frowardneſs." He renewed his former Declaration, "that "He would gain his Point, and never depart from that Reſolution;" yet was content to be blamed by the Chancellor, for having proceeded with ſo much Choler and Precipitation, and ſeemed to think that He had done better, if He had followed his former Advice. But then He added, "that "beſides the Uneaſineſs and Pain within himſelf, the Thing was more "ſpoken of in all Places, and more to his Diſadvantage, whilſt it was in "this Suſpenſe, than it would be when it was once executed; which would "put a final End to all Debates, and all would be forgotten."

THE Chancellor deſired his Majeſty to believe, "that He would en-"deavour, by all the Ways He could deviſe, to perſuade the Queen to ſub-"mit to his Pleaſure, becauſe it is his Pleaſure; and that He would urge "ſome Arguments to her, which He could not himſelf anſwer; and there-"fore He was not without Hope that they might prevail. But He deſired "him likewiſe to believe, that He had much rather ſpend his Pains in en-"deavouring to convert his Majeſty from purſuing his Reſolution, which "He did in his Conſcience believe to be unjuſt, than in perſuading her "Majeſty to comply with it, which yet He would very heartily do." He deſired him "to give him Leave to put him in Mind of a Diſcourſe his "Majeſty had held with him many Years ago, upon an Occaſion that "He had adminiſtered by telling him what his Father, the late King, "had ſaid to him: *That He had great Reaſon to acknowledge it due to God's "immediate Bleſſing, and in Truth to his Inſpiration, that He continued "firm in his Religion: For though his Father had always taken Pains him-"ſelf to inform and inſtruct him, yet He had been ſo much deceived by "others that He put about him when He was young, a Company of the ar-"ranteſt Knaves and Puritans*" (they were his own Words) "*that could be "found in the two Kingdoms*; whereof He named two or three, who were

"Enemies to the Church, and uſed to deride all Religion. That when "He had related this Diſcourſe accidentally of his late Majeſty, the King "replied, *that if it ſhould pleaſe God ever to give him a Wife and Children,* "*He would make Choice of ſuch People to be about Both in all Places of near* "*Truſt, who in their Natures and Manners, and if it were poſſible in their* "*very Humours, were ſuch as He wiſhed his Wife and Children ſhould be;* "*for He did believe that moſt young People (and it may be elder) were* "*upon the Matter formed by thoſe, whom They ſaw continually and could* "*not but obſerve.*" The King anſwered with ſome Quickneſs, "that He "remembered the Diſcourſe very well, and ſhould think of it; but that "the Buſineſs which He had commended to him muſt be done, and "without Delay."

WHEN the Chancellor was admitted to the Queen, He preſumed with all Plainneſs to blame her "for the illimited Paſſion with which She had treated "the King, and thereby provoked him to greater Indignation than She could "imagine or in Truth ſuſtain;" and begged, "that for her own Sake She would "decline and ſuppreſs ſuch Diſtempers, which could have no other Effect, "than in making the Wound incurable; which it would do, in a very little "Time more, inevitably, and reduce all her faithful Servants to an Incapa- "city of ſerving her." She acknowledged with Tears, "that She had been "in too much Paſſion, and ſaid ſomewhat She ought not to have ſaid, "and for which She would willingly aſk the King's Pardon upon her "Knees; though his Manner of treating her had wonderfully ſurpriſed her, "and might be ſome Excuſe for more than ordinary Commotion. That "She prayed to God to give her Patience, and hoped She ſhould be no "more tranſported with the like Paſſion upon what Provocation ſoever."

THEN He entreated, "that He might find ſome Effect of that her "good Reſolution, in permitting him to enlarge upon the Argument He "was obliged to diſcourſe to her; and that if He offered any humble Ad- "vice, it ſhould be ſuch as He was moſt confident would prove for her "Benefit, and ſuch as He would himſelf ſubmit to if He were in her "Condition." He told her, "He came not to juſtify and defend the Pro- "poſition that had been made to her concerning the Lady, as a juſt or a "reaſonable Propoſition; He had not diſſembled his own Opinion as to "either, and when He ſhould now inſiſt upon it again, which He muſt "do, He could not but confeſs that it was a very hard Injunction, not to "be yielded to without ſome Reluctancy:" But He beſought her to tell him, "whether She thought it in her Power to divert it; or that it was "not in the King's Power to impoſe it upon her."

SHE anſwered, "She knew it was in her own Power to conſent or not to "conſent to it; and that She could not deſpair, but that the King's Juſtice and "Goodneſs might divert him from the Proſecution of a Command ſo un- "reaſonable in him, and ſo diſhonourable to her. She would not diſpute "the King's Power, what it might impoſe, being ſure that She could not "reſcue herſelf from it: But," She ſaid, "Nobody knew better than He, "whether the King was obliged to leave the Choice of her own Servants to "herſelf; and if it were otherwiſe, She had been deceived."

HE told her, "that She had and would always enjoy that Privilege: But "that it was always underſtood in Conditions of that Nature, that as the "Huſband would not impoſe a Servant, againſt whom juſt Exceptions "could be made; ſo it was preſumed, that no Wife would refuſe to re- "ceive a Servant, that was eſteemed and commended by her Huſband. "That He did aſſure her, upon as much Knowledge as He was capable to

"have in Affairs of ſuch a Nature, that the King would exact an entire "Conformity to his Pleaſure in this Particular; and then the Queſtion "would only be, whether it would be better that She conform herſelf with "Alacrity to an Obedience, with thoſe Circumſtances which might be "obliging and meritorious on her Part; or that it ſhould be done with-"out her Conſent, and with all the Repugnancy She could expreſs, which "could only be in angry Words and ungracious Circumſtances, which "would have a more bitter Operation in her own Breaſt and Thoughts, "than any where elſe: And therefore He did very importunately adviſe "her to ſubmit to that cheerfully, that She could not reſiſt; which if She "ſhould not do, and do out of Hand, She would too late repent."

To which She replied with great Calmneſs, "that it may be worſe "could not fall out than She expected; but why She ſhould repent the "not giving her Conſent, She could not apprehend, ſince her Conſcience "would not give her Leave to conſent:" Which when She ſaw him receive with a Face of Trouble and Wonder, which it was his Misfortune and Weakneſs never to be able to conceal or diſſemble, She continued her Diſcourſe and ſaid, "She could not conceive how any Body could, with a "good Conſcience, conſent to what She could not but ſuppoſe would be an "Occaſion and Opportunity of Sin." To which He ſuddenly replied, "that "He now underſtood her; and that She ought to have no ſuch Apprehen-"ſion, but to believe the Profeſſions the King made, of the Sincerity "whereof She would hereby become a Witneſs; and if there ſhould be any "Tergiverſation, the Opportunity, which She fancied, would be more fre-"quent at a Diſtance than by ſuch a Relation, which Nothing but a re-"ſolved Innocence could make deſirable by either Party." To which He added, "that He thought her Majeſty had too mean and low an Opinion "of her Perſon and her Parts, if She thought it could be in the Power "of any other Lady to deprive her of the Intereſt She had a Right to, "if She did all that became her to retain it; and which in that Caſe "She could not loſe but by the higheſt Fraud and Perjury, which She could "not juſtly entertain the Suſpicion of."

THERE cannot be a greater Patience and Intentneſs of hearing, than the Queen manifeſted during the Time of his Diſcourſe, ſometimes ſeeming not diſpleaſed, but oftener by a Smile declaring that She did not believe what He ſaid: And in Concluſion, in few Words declared, "that the "King might do what He pleaſed, but that She would not conſent to it;" and pronounced it with a Countenance, as if She both hoped and believed, that her Obſtinacy would in the End prevail over the King's Importunity: And it is very probable, that She had Advice given her to that Purpoſe. The Chancellor concluded with telling her, "that He would give her no "more Trouble upon this Particular: That He was ſorry He had not "Credit enough to prevail with her Majeſty in a Point that would have "turned ſo much to her Benefit; and that She would hereafter be ſorry "for her Refuſal." And when He had given the King a faithful Account of all that had paſſed; and "that He believed them Both to be very much "to blame, and that that Party would be moſt excuſable who yielded "firſt;" He made it his humble Suit, "that He might be no more con-"ſulted with, nor employed in an Affair in which He had been ſo un-"ſucceſsful."

His Endeavours prove unſucceſsful.

THE King came ſeldom into the Queen's Company, and when He did He ſpake not to her; but ſpent his Time in other Divertiſements, and in the Company of thoſe who made it their Buſineſs to laugh at all the

World, and who were as bold with God Almighty as with any of his Creatures. He perſevered in all his Reſolutions without any Remorſe; directed a Day for all the *Portugueſes* to be embarked, without aſſigning any conſiderable Thing of Bounty to any of them, or vouchſafing to write any Letter to the King or Queen of *Portugal* of the Cauſe of the Diſmiſſion of them. And this Rigour prevailed upon the great Heart of the Queen, who had not received any Money to enable her to be liberal to any of thoſe, who had attended her out of their own Country, and promiſed themſelves Places of great Advantage in her Family: And She earneſtly deſired the King, "that She might retain ſome few of thoſe who were known to her, "and of moſt Uſe, that She might not be wholly left in the Hands of Stran- "gers;" and employed others to make the ſame Suit to the King on her Behalf. Whereupon the Counteſs of *Penalva*, who had been bred with her from a Child, and who, by the Infirmity of her Eyes and other Indiſpoſition of Health, ſcarce ſtirred out of her Chamber, was permitted to remain in the Court: And ſome few inferiour Servants in her Kitchen and in the loweſt Offices, beſides thoſe who were neceſſary to her Devotions, were left here. All the reſt were tranſported to *Portugal*.

THE Officers of the Revenue were required to uſe all Strictneſs in the Receipt of that Part of the Portion that was brought over with the Fleet; and not to allow any of thoſe Demands which were made upon Computation of the Value of Money, and other Allowances, upon the Account: And *Diego de Silva*, who was deſigned in *Portugal* without any good Reaſon to be the Queen's Treaſurer, and upon that Expectation had undertaken that troubleſome Province to ſee the Money paid in *London* by what was aſſigned to that Purpoſe, was committed to Priſon for not making Haſte enough in the Payment and in finiſhing the Account; and his Commitment went very near the Queen, as an Affront done to herſelf. The *Portugal* Ambaſſadour, who was a very honeſt Man, and ſo deſirous to ſerve the King that He had upon the Matter loſt the Queen, was heartbroken; and after a long Sickneſs, which all Men believed would have killed him, as ſoon as He was able to endure the Air, left *Hampton-Court*, and retired to his own Houſe in the City.

IN all this Time the King purſued his Point; the Lady came to the Court, was lodged there, was every Day in the Queen's Preſence, and the King in continual Conference with her; whilſt the Queen ſate untaken Notice of: And if her Majeſty roſe at the Indignity and retired into her Chamber, it may be one or two attended her, but all the Company remained in the Room She left, and too often ſaid thoſe Things aloud which Nobody ought to have whiſpered. The King (who had in the Beginning of this Conflict appeared ſtill with a Countenance of Trouble and Sadneſs, which had been manifeſt to every Body, and no Doubt was really afflicted, and ſometimes wiſhed that He had not proceeded ſo far, until He was again new chafed with the Reproach of being governed, which He received with the moſt ſenſible Indignation, and was commonly provoked with it moſt by thoſe who intended moſt to govern him) had now vanquiſhed or ſuppreſſed all thoſe Tenderneſſes and Reluctancies, and appeared every Day more gay and pleaſant, without any Clouds in his Face, and full of good Humour; ſaving that the cloſe Obſervers thought it more feigned and affected than of a natural Growth. However to the Queen it appeared very real, and made her the more ſenſible, that She alone was left out in all Jollities, and not ſuffered to have any Part of thoſe pleaſant Applications and Careſſes, which She ſaw made

almoſt to every Body elſe; an univerſal Mirth in all Company but in hers, and in all Places but in her Chamber; her own Servants ſhewing more Reſpect and more Diligence to the Perſon of the Lady, than towards their own Miſtreſs, who They found could do them leſs Good. The nightly Meeting continued with the ſame or more Licenſe; and the Diſcourſes which paſſed there, of what Argument ſoever, were the Diſcourſe of the whole Court and of the Town the Day following: Whilſt the Queen had the King's Company thoſe few Hours which remained of the preceding Night, and which were too little for Sleep.

ALL theſe Mortifications were too heavy to be borne: So that at laſt, when it was leaſt expected or ſuſpected, the Queen on a ſudden let herſelf fall firſt to Converſation and then to Familiarity, and even in the ſame Inſtant to a Confidence with the Lady; was merry with her in publick, talked kindly of her, and in private uſed Nobody more friendly. This Exceſs of Condeſcenſion, without any Provocation or Invitation, except by Multiplication of Injuries and Neglect, and after all Friendſhips were renewed, and Indulgence yielded to new Liberty, did the Queen leſs Good than her former Reſoluteneſs had done. Very many looked upon her with much Compaſſion, commended the Greatneſs of her Spirit, deteſted the Barbarity of the Affronts She underwent, and cenſured them as loudly as They durſt; not without aſſuming the Liberty ſometimes of inſinuating to the King himſelf, "how much "his own Honour ſuffered in the Neglect and Diſreſpect of her own "Servants, who ought at leaſt in publick to manifeſt ſome Duty and "Reverence towards her Majeſty; and how much He loſt in the general "Affections of his Subjects: And that, beſides the Diſpleaſure of God Al-"mighty, He could not reaſonably hope for Children by the Queen, which "was the great if not the only Bleſſing of which He ſtood in Need, whilſt "her Heart was ſo full of Grief, and whilſt She was continually exerciſed "with ſuch inſupportable Afflictions." And many, who were not wholly unconverſant with the King, nor Strangers to his Temper and Conſtitution, did believe that He grew weary of the Struggle, and even ready to avoid the Scandal that was ſo notorious, by the Lady's withdrawing from the Verge of the Court and being no longer ſeen there, how firmly ſoever the Friendſhip might be eſtabliſhed. But this ſudden Downfal and total abandoning her own Greatneſs, this low Demeanour and even Application to a Perſon She had juſtly abhorred and worthily contemned, made all Men conclude, that it was a hard Matter to know her, and conſequently to ſerve her. And the King himſelf was ſo far from being reconciled by it, that the Eſteem, which He could not hitherto but retain in his Heart for her, grew now much leſs. He concluded that all her former Averſion expreſſed in thoſe lively Paſſions, which ſeemed not capable of Diſſimulation, was all Fiction, and purely acted to the Life by a Nature crafty, perverſe and inconſtant. He congratulated his own illnatured Perſeverance, by which He had diſcovered how He was to behave himſelf hereafter, and what Remedies He was to apply to all future Indiſpoſitions: Nor had He ever after the ſame Value of her Wit, Judgment and Underſtanding, which He had formerly; and was well enough pleaſed to obſerve, that the Reverence others had for all three was ſomewhat diminiſhed.

The Parliament meets.

THE Parliament aſſembled together at the ſame Time in *February* to which They had been adjourned or prorogued, and continued together till the End of *July* following. They brought the ſame Affection and Duty with them towards the King, which They had formerly; but were much

troubled at what They had heard and what They had obſerved of the Diviſions in Court. They had the ſame Fidelity for the King's Service, but not the ſame Alacrity in it: The Diſpatch was much ſlower in all Matters depending, than it had uſed to be. The Truth is; the Houſe of Commons was upon the Matter not the ſame: Three Years ſitting, for it was very near ſo long ſince They had been firſt aſſembled, had conſumed very many of their Members; and in the Places of thoſe who died, great Pains were taken to have ſome of the King's menial Servants choſen; ſo that there was a very great Number of Men in all Stations in the Court, as well below Stairs as above, who were Members of the Houſe of Commons. And there were very few of them, who did not think themſelves qualified to reform whatſoever was amiſs in Church or State, and to procure whatſoever Supply the King would require.

THEY, who either out of their own Modeſty, or in Regard of their diſtant Relation to his Service, had ſeldom had Acceſs to his Preſence, never had preſumed to ſpeak to him; now by the Privilege of Parliament every Day reſorted to him, and had as much Conference with him as They deſired. They, according to the Comprehenſion They had of Affairs, repreſented their Advice to him for the conducting his Affairs; according to their ſeveral Opinions and Obſervations repreſented thoſe and thoſe Men as well affected to his Service, and others, much better than They, who did not pay them ſo much Reſpect, to be ill affected and to want Duty for his Majeſty. They brought thoſe, who appeared to them to be moſt zealous for his Service, becauſe They profeſſed to be ready to do any Thing He pleaſed to preſcribe, to receive his Majeſty's Thanks, and from himſelf his immediate Directions how to behave themſelves in the Houſe; when the Men were capable of no other Inſtruction, than to follow the Example of ſome diſcreet Man in whatſoever He ſhould vote, and behave themſelves accordingly.

TO this Time, the King had been content to refer the Conduct of his Affairs in the Parliament to the Chancellor and the Treaſurer; who had every Day Conference with ſome ſelect Perſons of the Houſe of Commons, who had always ſerved the King, and upon that Account had great Intereſt in that Aſſembly, and in Regard of the Experience They had and their good Parts were hearkened to with Reverence. And with thoſe They conſulted in what Method to proceed in diſpoſing the Houſe, ſometimes to propoſe ſometimes to conſent to what ſhould be moſt neceſſary for the Publick; and by them to aſſign Parts to other Men, whom They found diſpoſed and willing to concur in what was to be deſired: And all this without any Noiſe, or bringing many together to deſign, which ever was and ever will be ingrateful to Parliaments, and however it may ſucceed for a little Time, will in the End be attended with Prejudice.

Characters of two leading Men in the Houſe of Commons.

BUT there were two Perſons now introduced to act upon that Stage, who diſdained to receive Orders, or to have any Method preſcribed to them; who took upon them to judge of other Mens Defects, and thought their own Abilities beyond Exception.

Of Sir Henry Bennet.

THE one was Sir *Harry Bennet*, who had procured himſelf to be ſent Agent or Envoy into *Spain*, as ſoon as the King came from *Bruſſels*; being a Man very well known to the King, and for his pleaſant and agreeable Humour acceptable to him: And He remained there at much Eaſe till the King returned to *England*, having waited upon his Majeſty at *Fuentarabia* in the Cloſe of the Treaty between the two Crowns, and there appeared by his Dexterity to have gained good Credit in the Court of *Spain*,

and particularly with *Don Lewis de Haro*; and by that ſhort Negotiation He renewed and confirmed the former good Inclinations of his Maſter to him. He had been obliged always to correſpond with the Chancellor, by whom his Inſtructions had been drawn, and to receive the King's Pleaſure by his Signification; which He had always done, and profeſſed much Reſpect and Submiſſion to him: Though whatever Orders He received, and how poſitive ſoever, in Particulars which highly concerned the King's Honour and Dignity, He obſerved them ſo far and no farther than his own Humour diſpoſed him; and in ſome Caſes flatly diſobeyed what the King enjoined, and did directly the contrary, as in the Caſe of the *Jeſuit Peter Talbot*; who having carried himſelf with notorious Inſolence towards the King in *Flanders*, had tranſported himſelf into *England*, offered his Service to *Cromwell*, and after his Death was employed by the ruling Powers into *Spain*, upon his undertaking to procure Orders, by which the King ſhould not be ſuffered longer to reſide in *Flanders*; of all which his Majeſty having received full Advertiſement, He made Haſte to ſend Orders into *Spain* to Sir *Harry Bennet*, "that "He ſhould prepare *Don Lewis* for his Reception by letting him know, that "though that *Jeſuit* was his natural Subject, He had ſo miſbehaved himſelf, "that He looked upon him as a moſt inveterate Enemy and a Traitor; and "therefore his Majeſty deſired, that He might receive no Countenance there, "being as He well knew ſent by the greateſt Rebels to do him Prejudice."

THIS was received by Sir *Harry Bennet* before the Arrival of the Man, who found no Inconvenience by it; and inſtead of making any Complaint concerning him, He writ Word, "that *Talbot* had more Credit than He in "that Court, that He profeſſed to have great Devotion for the King; and "therefore his Advice was, that the King would have a better Opinion of "him, and employ him in his Service:" And himſelf received him into his full Confidence, and conſulted with no Man ſo much as with him; which made all Men believe that He was a *Roman Catholick*, who did believe that He had any Religion. But He had made his full Excuſe and Defence for all this at the Interview at *Fuentarabia*, from whence the King returned with marvellous Satisfaction in his Diſcretion as well as in his Affection. And until, contrary to all his Expectation, He heard of the King's Return into *England*, all his Thoughts were employed how to make Benefit of the Duke of *York's* coming into *Spain* to be Admiral of the Gallies; which He writ to haſten all that might be.

THOUGH He continued his formal Correſpondence with the Chancellor, which He could not decline; yet He held a more ſecret Intelligence with *Daniel ONeile* of the Bedchamber, with whom He had a long Friendſhip. As ſoon as the King arrived in *England*, He truſted *ONeile* to procure any Direction from the King immediately in thoſe Particulars which himſelf adviſed. And ſo He obtained the King's Conſent, for his conſenting to the old League that had been made between *England* and *Spain* in the Time of the late King, and which *Spain* had expreſsly refuſed to renew after the Death of that King (which was ſuddenly proclaimed in *Spain*, without ever being conſulted in *England*); and preſently after Leave to return into *England* without any Letter of Revocation: Both which were procured or rather ſignified by *ONeile*, without the Privity of the Chancellor or of either of the Secretaries of State; nor did either of them know that He was from *Madrid*, till They heard He was in *Paris*, from whence He arrived in *London* in a very ſhort Time after. So far the Chancellor was from that powerful Intereſt or Influence, when his Credit was at higheſt.

BUT He was very well received by the King, in whoſe Affections He had a very good Place: And ſhortly after his Arrival, though not ſo ſoon as He thought his high Merit deſerved, his Majeſty conferred the only Place then void (and that had been long promiſed to a noble Perſon, who had behaved himſelf very well towards his Majeſty and his bleſſed Father) upon him, which was the Office of Privy Purſe; received him into great Familiarity, and into the nightly Meeting, in which He filled a principal Place to all Intents and Purpoſes. The King very much deſired to have him elected a Member in the Houſe of Commons, and commanded the Chancellor to uſe his Credit to obtain it upon the firſt Opportunity: And in Obedience to that Command, He did procure him to be choſen about the Time we are now ſpeaking of, when the Parliament aſſembled in *February*.

Of Mr. William Coventry.

THE other Perſon was Mr. *William Coventry*, the youngeſt Son to a very wiſe Father, the Lord *Coventry*, who had been Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England* for many Years with an univerſal Reputation. This Gentleman was young whilſt the War continued: Yet He had put himſelf before the End of it into the Army, and had the Command of a Foot Company, and ſhortly after travelled into *France*; where He remained whilſt there was any Hope of getting another Army for the King, or that either of the other Crowns would engage in his Quarrel. But when all Thoughts of that were deſperate, He returned into *England*: Where He remained for many Years without the leaſt Correſpondence with any of his Friends beyond the Seas, and with ſo little Reputation of caring much for the King's Reſtoration, that ſome of his own Family, who were moſt zealous for his Majeſty's Service, and had always ſome ſignal Part in any reaſonable Deſign, took Care of Nothing more, than that Nothing They did ſhould come to his Knowledge; and gave the ſame Advice to thoſe about the King, with whom They correſponded, to uſe the ſame Caution. Not that any Body ſuſpected his being inclined to the Rebels, or to do any Act of Treachery; but that the Pride and Cenſoriouſneſs of his Nature made him unconverſable, and his Deſpair that any Thing could be effectually done made him incompetent to conſult the Ways of doing it. Nor had He any Converſation with any of the King's Party, nor They with him, till the King was proclaimed in *London*; and then He came over with the reſt to offer his Service to his Majeſty at the *Hague*, and had the good Fortune to find the Duke of *York* without a Secretary. For though He had a *Walloon* that was, in Reſpect of the Languages of which He was Maſter, fit for that Function in the Army, and had diſcharged it very well for ſome Years; yet for the Province the Duke was now to govern, having the Office of High Admiral of *England*, He was without any fit Perſon to diſcharge the Office of Secretary with any tolerable Sufficiency: So that Mr. *Coventry* no ſooner offered his Service to the Duke, but He was received into that Employment, very honourable under ſuch a Maſter, and in itſelf of the greateſt Profit next the Secretaries of State, if they in that Reſpect be to be preferred.

HE had been well known to the King and Duke in *France*, and had a Brother whom the King loved well and had promiſed to take into his Bedchamber, as He ſhortly after did, *Harry Coventry*, who was beloved by every Body, which made them glad of the Preferment of the other; whilſt They who knew the worſt of him, yet knew him able to diſcharge that Office, and ſo contributed to the Duke's receiving him. He was a ſullen, illnatured, proud Man, whoſe Ambition had no Limits, nor could be contained within any. His Parts were very good, if He had not thought them better than any other Man's; and He had Diligence and In-

duſtry, which Men of good Parts are too often without, which made him quickly to have at leaſt Credit and Power enough with the Duke; and He was without thoſe Vices which were too much in Requeſt, and which make Men moſt unfit for Buſineſs and the Truſt that cannot be ſeparated from it.

He had ſate a Member in the Houſe of Commons, from the Beginning of the Parliament, with very much Reputation of an able Man. He ſpake pertinently, and was always very acceptable and well heard; and was one of thoſe with whom They, who were truſted by the King in conducting his Affairs in the lower Houſe, conſulted very frequently; but not ſo much, nor relied equally upon his Advice, as upon ſome few others who had much more Experience, which He thought was of Uſe only to ignorant and dull Men, and that Men of Sagacity could ſee and determine at a little Light, and ought rather to perſuade and engage Men to do that which They judged fit, than conſider what themſelves were inclined to do: And ſo did not think himſelf to be enough valued and relied upon, and only to be made Uſe of to the celebrating the Deſigns and Contrivance of other Men, without being ſignal in the Managery, which He aſpired to be. Nor did any Man envy him the Province, if He could indeed have governed it, and that others who had more uſeful Talents would have been ruled by him. However being a Man who naturally loved Faction and Contradiction, He often made Experiments how far He could prevail in the Houſe, by declining the Method that was preſcribed, and propoſing ſomewhat to the Houſe that was either beſide or contrary to it, and which the others would not oppoſe, believing, in Regard of his Relation, that He had received newer Directions: And then if it ſucceeded well (as ſometimes it did), He had Argument enough to cenſure and inveigh againſt the Chancellor, for having taken ſo ill Meaſures of the Temper and Affections of the Houſe; for He did not diſſemble in his private Converſation (though his outward Carriage was very fair) that He had no Kindneſs for him, which in Gratitude He ought to have had; nor had He any Thing to complain of from him, but that He wiſhed well and did all He could to defend and ſupport a very worthy Perſon, who had deſerved very well from the King, againſt whom He manifeſted a great and cauſeleſs Animoſity, and deſired to oppreſs for his own Profit, of which He had an immoderate Appetite.

When thoſe two Perſons, Sir *Harry Bennet* and Mr. *Coventry*, (between whom there had been as great a League of Friendſhip, as can be between two very proud Men equally illnatured) came now to ſit together in the Houſe of Commons; though the former of them knew no more of the Conſtitution and Laws of *England* than He did of *China*, nor had in Truth a Care or Tenderneſs for Church or State, but believed *France* was the beſt Pattern in the World; They thought They ſhould have the greateſt Wrong imaginable, if They did not entirely govern it, and if the King took his Meaſures of what ſhould be done there from any Body but themſelves. They made Friendſhips with ſome young Men, who ſpake confidently and often, and upon ſome Occaſions ſeemed to have Credit in the Houſe. And upon a little Converſation with thoſe Men, who being Country Gentlemen of ordinary Condition and mean Fortunes were deſirous to have Intereſt in ſuch a Perſon as Sir *Harry Bennet*, who was believed to have great Credit with the King; He believed He underſtood the Houſe and what was to be done there, as well as any Man in *England*.

He recommended thoſe Men to the King "as Perſons of ſublime Parts, "worthy of his Majeſty's careſſing: That He would undertake to fix them

"to his Service; and when They were his own, He might carry what He "would in the Houſe of Commons." The Men had Parts indeed and good Affections, and often had reſorted to the Chancellor, received Advice from him, and thought themſelves beholden to him; being at that Time entirely governed by Sir *Hugh Pollard*, who was himſelf ſtill adviſed by the Chancellor (with whom He had a long and faſt Friendſhip) how He ſhould direct his Friends, having indeed a greater Party in the Houſe of Commons willing to be diſpoſed of by him, than any Man that ever ſate there in my Time. But now theſe Gentlemen had got a better Patron; the new Courtier had raiſed their Value, and talked in another Dialect to them, of Recompenſes and Rewards, than They had heard formerly. He carried them to the King, and told his Majeſty in their own Hearing, "what Men "of Parts They were, what Services They had done for him, and how "much greater They could do:" And his Majeſty received and conferred with them very graciouſly, and diſmiſſed them with Promiſes which made them rich already.

THE two Friends before mentioned agreed ſo well between themſelves, that whether They ſpake together or apart to the King, They ſaid always the ſame Things, gave the ſame Information, and took Care that Both their Maſters might have the ſame Opinions and Judgments. They magnified the Affections of the Houſe of Commons, "which were ſo great and united, "that They would do whatſoever his Majeſty would require. That there "were many worthy and able Men, of whoſe Wiſdom the Houſe was ſo "well perſuaded, that They commonly conſented to whatſoever They pro-"poſed: And that theſe Men complained, *that They had no Directions given "to them which Way They might beſt ſerve the King; They knew not what "He deſired, which when They ſhould do, it would quickly appear how much "They were at the King's Diſpoſal, and all Things which now depended long "would be hereafter diſpatched in Half the Time.*"

THE King wondered very much, "that his Friends in the Houſe were "no better informed, of which He had never heard any Complaint before, "and wiſhed them to ſpeak with the Chancellor:" For neither of theſe Men were yet arrived at the Confidence to inſinuate in the leaſt Degree any Ill-Will or Prejudice to him, though They were not united in any one Thing more than the Deſire of his Ruin, and the Reſolution to compaſs it by all the ill Arts and Devices They could uſe; but till it ſhould be more ſeaſonable, They diſſembled to Both their Maſters to have a high Eſteem of him, having not yet Credit enough with either to do him Harm. They ſaid, "They would very willingly repair to him, and be directed by "him: But They deſired that his Majeſty himſelf would firſt ſpeak to him "(becauſe it would not ſo well become them) to call thoſe Perſons, whom "They had recommended to him, to meet together with the reſt with "whom He uſed to adviſe; which the Perſons They named They were "ſure would be very glad of, having all of them a great Eſteem of the "Chancellor, and being well known to him," as indeed They were, and moſt of them obliged by him.

THE King willingly undertook it: And being ſhortly after attended by the Chancellor, his Majeſty told him all that the other two had ſaid to him, and did not forget to let him know the great Good-Will They had Both profeſſed towards him. He aſked him "what He thought of ſuch and "ſuch Men," and particularly named Mr. *Clifford* and Mr. *Churchill*, and ſome other Men of better Quality and much more Intereſt, "who" He ſaid "took it ill that They were not particularly informed what the

"King desired, and which Way They might best serve him;" and bade him, "that at the next Meeting of the rest, these Men might likewise have "Notice to be present, together with Sir *Harry Bennet* and Mr. *William Co-*"*ventry*;" for *Harry Coventry* (who was a much wiser Man than his Brother, and had a much better Reputation with wise Men) was constantly in those Councils.

THE Chancellor told him, "that great and notorious Meetings and Ca-"bals in Parliament had been always odious in Parliament: And though "they might produce some Success in one or two Particulars till they "were discovered, they had always ended unluckily; until they were "introduced in the late ill Times by so great a Combination, that they "could not receive any Discountenance. Yet that They, who compassed "all their wicked Designs by those Cabals, were so jealous that They might "be overmatched by the like Practices, that when They discovered any "three or four of those, who were used to concur with them, to have any "private Meetings, They accused them to conspire against the Parliament. "That when his Majesty returned, and all the World was full of Joy and "Delight to serve him, and Persons were willing and importunate to receive "Direction how They might do it in that Convention; Care had been "taken without any Noise, or bringing any Prejudice upon those who were "willing to be Instruments towards the procuring what was desirable, and "to prevent what would be ingrateful, that little Notice might be taken of "them, which had good Success."

"THAT since this Parliament the Lord Treasurer and He had, by his Ma-"jesty's Direction, made Choice of some Persons eminent for their Affection "to the Crown, of great Experience and known Abilities, to confer with "for the better preparing and conducting what was to be done in the "House of Commons: But the Number of them was not so great as to "give any Umbrage. Nor did They meet oftner together with them, "than upon Accidents and Contingencies was absolutely necessary; but ap-"pointed those few who had a mutual Confidence in each other, and every "one of which had an Influence upon others and advised them what to "do, to meet by themselves, either at the Lord *Bridgman's* or Mr. At-"torney's Chambers, who still gave Notice to the other two of what was "necessary, and received Advice. That there were very few of any "notable Consideration, who did not frequently repair to Both of them, "either to dine with them or to perform some Office of Civility; with every "one of whom They conferred, and said what was necessary to inform "them what was fit for them to do."

"THAT two of those who were named by his Majesty, Mr. *Clifford* and "Mr. *Churchill*, were honest Gentlemen, and received the Advice They "were to follow from Sir *Hugh Pollard*, who had in Truth a very parti-"cular Influence upon all the *Cornish* and *Devonshire* Men. And that his "Majesty might know that He had not been well informed, *that the others* "*named by him took it unkindly that They did not know his Pleasure,* "*who were leading Men*, as indeed They were; He assured his Majesty "that there was not one of those, who was not particularly consulted "with, and advertised by some Person who was chosen by every one of "them for that Purpose; and that They would by no Means resort to "any Meeting, fearing to undergo the odious Name of *Undertakers*, which "in all Parliaments hath been a Brand: But as They had never opposed "any Thing that related to his Service, so upon any private Insinuation "They had been ready to propose any Thing which would not have

"been ſo acceptable from any, who had been known to have Relation to his "Service, or to depend upon thoſe who had."

HE beſought his Majeſty to conſider, "whether any Thing had hitherto, "in near three Years, fallen out amiſs or ſhort of what He had expected, "in the wary Adminiſtration that had been in that Affair;" and did not conceal his own Fears, "that putting it into a more open and wider "Channel, his Majeſty's own too publick ſpeaking with the Members of "Parliament, and believing what every Man who was preſent told him paſſed "in Debates, and who for Want of Comprehenſion as well as Memory "committed many Miſtakes in their Relations, would be attended with "ſome Inconveniences not eaſy to be remedied." The King was not diſſatisfied with the Diſcourſe, but ſeemed to approve it: However He would have Sir *Harry Bennet*, Mr. *Clifford* and *Churchill*, called to the next Meeting; and becauſe They were to be introduced into Company They had not uſed to converſe with, that it ſhould be at the Chancellor's Chamber, who ſhould let the reſt know the good Opinion his Majeſty had of thoſe who were added to the Number.

An Alteration in the Management of the Houſe of Commons.

BY this Means and with theſe Circumſtances this Alteration was made in the Conduct of the King's Service in the Parliament; upon which many other Alterations followed by Degrees, though not at once. Yet preſently it appeared, that this Introduction of new Confidents was not acceptable to thoſe, who thought They had very well diſcharged their Truſt. Sir *Harry Bennet* was utterly unknown to them, a Man unverſed in any Buſineſs, who never had nor ever was like to ſpeak in the Houſe, except in his Ear who ſate next him to the Diſadvantage of ſome who had ſpoken, and had not the Faculties to get himſelf beloved, and was thought by all Men to be a *Roman Catholick*, for which They had not any other Reaſon but from his Indifference in all Things which concerned the Church.

WHEN They met firſt at the Chancellor's Chamber, as the King had directed, They conferred freely together with little Difference of Opinion: Though it appeared that They, who had uſed to be together before, did not uſe the ſame Freedom as formerly in delivering their particular Judgments, not having Confidence enough in the new Comers, who in their private Meetings afterwards took more upon them, rather to direct than to adviſe; ſo that the other grew unſatisfied in their Converſation. And though the Meetings continued at one of the Places before mentioned, ſome always diſcontinued their Attendance; ſo that by Degrees there were leſs Reſolutions taken than had been formerly: Nor was there ſo cheerful a Concurrence, or ſo ſpeedy a Diſpatch of the Buſineſs depending in the Houſe, as had been.

HOWEVER, there appeared Nothing of Diſunion in the Parliament, but the ſame Zeal and Concurrence in all Things which related to the King. The Murmurs and Diſcontents were moſt in the Country, where the People began to talk with more Licenſe and leſs Reverence of the Court and of the King himſelf, and to reproach the Parliament for their raiſing ſo much Money, and increaſing of the Impoſitions upon the Kingdom, without having done any Thing for the Redreſs of any Grievance that lay upon the People. The Licenſe with Reference to Religion grew every Day greater, the Conventicles more frequent and more inſolent, which diſturbed the Country exceedingly; but not ſo much as the Liberty the *Papiſts* aſſumed, who behaved themſelves with Indiſcretion, and bragged as if They had a Toleration and cared not what the Magiſtrates could do. The Parliament had a Deſire to have provided againſt thoſe Evils with the ſame

Rigour: But though there would have been a general Conſent in any Proviſion that could be made againſt the *Fanaticks* and the Conventicles, yet there would not be the like Concurrence againſt the *Papiſts*; and it was not poſſible to carry on the one without the other. And therefore the Court, that They might be ſure to prevent the laſt, interrupted all that was propoſed againſt the former, which They wiſhed provided againſt, and choſe to have neither out of Fear of Both; which increaſed the Diſorders in the Country, and cauſed more Reflections upon the Court: So that this Seſſion of Parliament produced leſs of Moment than any other.

And the King, after They had given him four Subſidies, which was all the Money They could be drawn to give, that He might part as kindly with them as He uſed to do, and upon Diſcovery of ſeveral ſeditious Meetings amongſt the Officers of the diſbanded Army, which He could beſt ſuppreſs when He had moſt Leiſure, He reſolved to prorogue the Parliament. 1663. And ſo ſending for them upon the 27th of *July*, He thanked them for the Preſent which They had made to him of the four Subſidies, "which" He told them "He would not have received from them, if it were not abſolutely "neceſſary for their Peace and Quiet as well as his: And that it would yet "do him very little Good, if He did not improve it by very good Huſ"bandry of his own; and by retrenching thoſe very Expenſes, which in "many Reſpects might be thought neceſſary enough. But They ſhould "ſee that He would much rather impoſe upon himſelf, than upon his Sub"jects; and that if all Men would follow his Example in retrenching their "Expenſes (which poſſibly They might do with much more Convenience "than He could do his) the Kingdom would in ſhort Time gain what They "had given him that Day." He told them, "He was very glad that They "were going into their ſeveral Countries, where their Preſence would do "much Good: And He hoped their Vigilance and Authority would pre"vent thoſe Diſturbances, which the reſtleſs Spirits of ill and unquiet Men "would be always contriving, and of which his Majeſty did aſſure them "They promiſed themſelves ſome Effects that Summer. And that there had "been more Pains and unuſual Ways taken to kindle the old fatal Fears "and Jealouſies, than He thought He ſhould ever have lived to have ſeen, "at leaſt to have ſeen ſo countenanced."

The King's Speech at the Prorogation of the Parliament.

He told them, "that He had expected to have had ſome Bills "preſented to him againſt the ſeveral Diſtempers in Religion, againſt "ſeditious Conventicles, and againſt the Growth of Popery: But that it "might be They had been in ſome Fear of reconciling thoſe Contradic"tions in Religion into ſome Conſpiracy againſt the publick Peace, to "which himſelf doubted Men of the moſt contrary Motives in Conſcience "were inclinable enough. He did promiſe them that He would lay that "Buſineſs to Heart, and the Miſchiefs which might flow from thoſe Li"cenſes; and if He lived to meet with them again, as He hoped He "ſhould, He would himſelf take Care to preſent two Bills to them to that "End. And that, as He had already given it in Charge to the Judges, in "their ſeveral Circuits, to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to prevent and pu"niſh the ſcandalous and ſeditious Meetings of *Sectaries*, and to convict the "*Papiſts*; ſo He would be as watchful, and take all the Pains He could, "that neither the one or the other ſhould diſturb the Peace of the King"dom." And adding many gracious Expreſſions of his Eſteem and Confidence in their Affections, He cauſed them to be prorogued towards the End of *March*, which would be the Beginning of the Year 1664.

The

THE King had an Intention at that Time to have prepared against the next Meeting two such Bills as He mentioned to them, and was well enough content that the Parliament had not presented such to him, which He well foresaw would not have been such as He should have been pleased with. He would have liked the most rigorous Acts against all the other Factions in Religion, but did not think the *Papists* had deserved the same Severities, which would have been provided against them with the other, it being very apparent, that the Kingdom generally had resumed their old Jealousies of them, provoked by the very unwary Behaviour of that People, who bragged of more Credit in the Court than They could justify, though most Men thought They had too much: And that was the Reason that He had commanded the Chancellor to require the Judges, who were then beginning their Circuits, to cause the *Roman Catholicks* to be convicted, which He believed would allay much of the Jealousies in the Country, as for the present it did. And then He resolved to cause two such Bills to be prepared for several Reasons, of which the principal was, that He might divide them into two Bills; presuming that when He had sent one against either, They would not affect reducing Both into one, which was that which the Catholick Party most apprehended.

The King intends to prepare two Bills against the Papists and Sectaries.

HIS Majesty was himself very unsatisfied with the imprudent Carriage of the *Catholicks*, and thought They did affect too much to appear as if They stood upon the Level with all other Subjects: And He received very particular and unquestionable Information, that some Priests had made it an Argument to some whom They endeavoured to make their Proselytes, "that "the King was of their Religion in his Heart, and would shortly declare "it to all the World;" with which his Majesty was marvellously offended, and did heartily desire that any of those indiscreet Persons might be proceeded against with Severity. Yet He had no Mind that any Man should be put to Death, which could hardly be avoided if any Man should be brought to Trial in the Case aforesaid, except He had granted his Pardon, which with these Circumstances would have carried Scandal in it. Besides He did think the wisest of that Party had not carried themselves with Modesty enough, with what was good for themselves and for his Majesty's Honour. And therefore He had, without imparting it to any Friends of theirs, given that Direction to the Judges for convicting them, as the best Means to reclaim them to a better Temper: And He had a Purpose, that the Bill He meant should be prepared should more effectually perform that Part, without exposing them to any notable Inconveniences in their Persons or their Fortunes, if They behaved themselves well and warily.

Imprudent Behaviour of the Papists.

HE did believe, that it was necessary for his Service that They should be all convicted, that it might be evident to himself what their Numbers consisted of and amounted to, which He believed would be found much inferiour to what they were generally computed, and then the Danger from their Power would not be thought so formidable: And it could be no Prejudice to them without a further Proceeding upon their Conviction, which He was resolved to restrain, as He well might, and had done hitherto; resolving within himself, that no Man should suffer under those penal Laws which had been made against them in the Age before, if They lived like good Subjects, and administered no Occasion of Scandal. And as He was not reserved in declaring that his gracious Purpose towards them (as hath been said before); so hitherto it had not been attended by any Murmurs: And yet He was not without a Purpose of keeping such a Power over them, as might make them wholly depend upon him.

The King designs to have the Papists convicted.

His Majeſty did in his Judgment and Inclination put a great Difference between thoſe *Roman Catholicks*, who being of antient Extraction had continued of the ſame Religion from Father to Son, without having ever been *Proteſtant*, amongſt whom there were very few who had not behaved themſelves very worthily; and thoſe, who ſince the late Troubles had apoſtatized from the Church of *England* to that of the *Roman*, without any ſuch Evidence of Conſcience, as might not adminiſter juſt Reaſon to ſuſpect, that their Inducements had been from worldly Temptations. And He did reſolve in his Bill to make a Diſtinction between thoſe Claſſes, and to prevent or at leaſt to diſcourage thoſe Lapſes which fell out too frequently in the Court; nor did Men believe that They need make any Apology for it, but appeared the more confidently in all Places. He did reſolve likewiſe to contract and leſſen the Number of the Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, who upon Miſſions reſorted hither as to an Infidel Nation (which was and is a Grievance that the *Catholicks* would be glad to be eaſed in), and to reduce them into ſuch an Order and Method by this Bill, that He might himſelf know the Names of all Prieſts remaining in the Kingdom, and their ſeveral Stations where They reſided; which muſt have produced ſuch a Security to thoſe who ſtayed, and to thoſe with whom They ſtayed, as would have ſet them free from any Apprehenſion of any Penalties impoſed by preceding Parliaments.

Meaſures taken to fruſtrate his Deſign.

But this Deſign (which comprehended many other Particulars) vaniſhed as ſoon as it was diſcovered. The King's own Diſcourſe of a Bill that He would cauſe to be drawn againſt the *Roman Catholicks* awakened great Jealouſies; nor did They want Inſtruments or Opportunities to diſcover what the Meaning of it could be. Nor was the King reſerved in the Argument, but communicated it with thoſe who He knew were well affected to that Party, and to one or two of themſelves who were reputed to be moderate Men, and to deſire Nothing but the Exerciſe of their Religion with the greateſt Secrecy and Caution, and who often informed him and complained "of the Folly and Vanity of ſome of their Friends, and more "particularly of the Preſumption of the *Jeſuits*." And ſuch Kind of Factions and Diviſions there are amongſt them, which might be cultivated to very happy Productions: But ſuch Ingenuity, as to be contented with what might gratify all their own Pretences, there is not amongſt them.

These moderate Men complained already, "that the King was de-"ceived by their Enemy the Chancellor," who indeed was generally very odious to them, for no other Reaſon, but becauſe They knew He was irreconcilable to their Profeſſion; not that They thought He deſired that the Laws ſhould be put in Execution againſt them; and ſome of the chief of them believed him to be much their Friend, and had Obligations to him. But They all lamented this Direction given to the Judges for their Conviction, "which" They informed the King "was the neceſſary Preamble "to the higheſt Perſecution the Law had prepared againſt them. That till "They were convicted They were in the ſame Predicament with the reſt of "his Subjects; but as ſoon as They were convicted" (which the Judges now cauſed to be proſecuted throughout the Kingdom), "They were liable to all "the other Penalties, which his Majeſty was inclined to protect them from." They preſented to him a ſhort Memorial of the Diſadvantages which were conſequent to a Conviction, in which They alleged ſome Particulars which were not clear in the Law, at leaſt had never been practiſed in the ſevereſt Times.

THOUGH the King had well weighed all He had done before He did it, and well knew, after all their Inſinuations and Allegations, that none of thoſe Inconveniences could enſue to them, if He reſtrained any further Proſecution, which He always had intended to do; yet They wrought ſo far upon him, that He was even ſorry that He had proceeded ſo far: And though it was not fit to revoke any Part of it, yet He cared not how little it was advanced. And for the Bill He meant to preſent in the next Seſſion, They ſaid "all their Security and Quiet They had enjoyed ſince his Ma-"jeſty's happy Return depended wholly upon the general Opinion, that "He had Favour for them, and Satisfaction in their Duty and Obedience "as good Subjects, and their Readineſs to do him any Service, which "They would all make good with their Lives and all that They had. "But if He ſhould now diſcover any Jealouſy of their Fidelities, and "that there was Need of a new Law againſt them, which his Purpoſe "of providing a Bill implied, what Mitigation ſoever his Majeſty intended "in it, it would not be in his Majeſty's Power to reſtrain the Paſſion of "other Men; but all thoſe Animoſities which had been hitherto covered "and concealed, as grateful to him, would upon this Occaſion break "out to their Deſtruction: And therefore They hoped, that whatever Bit-"terneſs the Parliament might expreſs againſt them when They came toge-"ther, They ſhould receive no Invitation or Encouragement by any Jea-"louſy or Diſpleaſure his Majeſty ſhould manifeſt to have towards them."

THESE and the like Arguments, or the Credit of thoſe who urged them, made that Impreſſion, that He declined any further Thought of that Bill; nor was there ever after Mention of it. The *Catholicks* grew bolder in all Places, and converſant in thoſe Rooms of the Court into which the King's Chaplains never preſumed to enter; and to crown all their Hopes, the Lady declared herſelf of that Faith, and inveighed ſharply againſt the Church She had been bred in. *The King gives over his Purpoſe.*

DURING the Interval of the Parliament, there was not ſuch a Vacation from Trouble and Anxiety as was expected. The domeſtick Unquietneſs in the Court made every Day more Noiſe abroad: Infinite Scandals and Calumnies were ſcattered amongſt the People; and They expreſſed their Diſcontents upon the great Taxes and Impoſitions which They were compelled to pay, and publickly reproached the Parliament; when They were in Truth vexed and grieved at Heart for that which They durſt not avow, and did really believe that God was angry with the Nation, and reſolved to exerciſe it under greater Tribulation than He had ſo lately freed them from. The general Want of Money was complained of, and a great Decay of Trade; ſo that the native Commodities of the Kingdom were not tranſported. Yet Both theſe were but Pretences, and reſulted from Combinations rather than from Reaſon. For it appeared by the Cuſtoms, that the Trade was greater than it had ever been, though ſome of our native Commodities, eſpecially Cloth, ſeemed for ſome Time to be at a Stand; which proceeded rather from the preſent Glut, which in the general Licenſe the Interlopers had irregularly tranſported in great Quantities, by which the Prices were brought low, and could only be recovered by a Reſtraint for ſome Time, which the *Merchant Adventurers* put upon themſelves, and would have put upon the Interlopers, who were at laſt too hard for them, even upon the Matter to the ſuppreſſing the Company, that had ſtood in great Reputation for very many Years, and had advanced that Manufacture to a great Height; and whether it deſerved that Diſcountenance, Time muſt decide. How unreaſonable the other Diſcourſe was of Want of Money, there *Diſcontents in the Country.*

needs no other Argument, but the great Purchaſes which were every Day made of great Eſtates; nor was any conſiderable Parcel of Land in any Part of *England* offered to be ſold, but there was a Purchaſer at Hand ready to buy it.

HOWEVER theſe Pretences, together with the ſudden bringing up all the Money, that was collected for the King, *in Specie* to *London*, which proceeded from the Bankers advancing ſo much preſent Money for the emergent Occaſions, for which They had thoſe Aſſignments upon the Money of the Country, did really produce ſuch a ſudden Fall of the Rents throughout the Kingdom, as had never been known before: So that Men were compelled to abate generally a fourth Part of their annual Rents at the leaſt, or to take their Lands into their own Hands, for which They were as ill provided. All this Miſchief fell upon the Nobility and greateſt Gentry, who were Owners of the greateſt Eſtates, every Body whoſe Eſtate lay in Land undergoing a Share in the Suffering, which made the Diſcontent general; which They thought the beſt Way to remedy would be to raiſe no more Taxes, which They took to be the Cauſe why the Rents fell. In the mean Time the Expenſes of the Court, and of all who depended upon it, grew ſtill higher, and the King himſelf leſs intent upon his Buſineſs, and more loved his Pleaſures, to which He preſcribed no Limits, nor to the Expenſes which could not but accompany them.

A ſudden Fall of Rents.

Danger of an Inſurrection.

THERE was Cauſe enough to be jealous of the publick Peace; there being every Day Diſcoveries made of private Meetings and Conferences between Officers of the old Army; and that Correſpondencies were ſettled between them throughout the Kingdom in a wonderful Method; and that They had a grand Committee reſiding in *London*, who had the ſupreme Power, and which ſent Orders to all the reſt, who were to riſe in one Day and meet at ſeveral Rendezvouſes. Hereupon ſeveral Perſons were apprehended and committed to Priſon; and the King himſelf often took the Pains to examine them; and They confeſſed commonly more to his Majeſty himſelf than upon any other Examination. Proclamations iſſued often for the baniſhing all Officers who had ever borne Arms againſt the King twenty Miles from *London*, which did more publiſh the Apprehenſion of new Troubles.

THERE can be no Doubt, but that there were many ſeditious Purpoſes amongſt that People, of which there often appeared ſo full Evidence, that many were executed for High Treaſon, who were tried and condemned by the Judges at their general Seſſions at *Newgate:* Yet there was often Cauſe to believe that many Men were committed, who in Truth had not been more faulty, than in keeping ill Company and in hearing idle Diſcourſes. Informing was grown a Trade, which many affected to get Money by: And as the King's Miniſters could not reject in a Time of ſo much Jealouſy, ſo the receiving them gave them great Trouble; for few of them were willing to be produced as Evidence againſt thoſe They accuſed, pretending, ſometimes with Reaſon, "that if They were known They ſhould be ren-"dered uſeleſs for the future, whereas They were yet unſuſpected and ad-"mitted into all Councils." All the Sects in Religion ſpake with more Boldneſs in their Meetings, and met more frequently, than they had uſed to do in the Times that Sir *Richard Browne* and Sir *John Robinſon* had been Lord Mayors; and the Officers who ſucceeded them proved leſs vigilant. A general Deſpondency ſeemed to poſſeſs the Minds of Men, as if They little cared what came to paſs; which did not proceed ſo much from Malice, as from the Diſeaſe of murmuring, which had been contracting above

twenty Years, and became almoſt incorporated into the Nature of the Nation.

THERE happened about this Time an Alteration in the Court, that produced afterwards many other Alterations which were not then ſuſpected, yet even at that Time was not liked in the Court itſelf, and leſs out of it. The Keeper of the Privy Purſe, who was more fit for that Province than for any other to which He could be applied, did not think himſelf yet preferred to a Station worthy of his Merit and great Qualifications. Some Promiſes the King had made to him when He was at *Fuentarabia*, and had long much Kindneſs for his Perſon and much Delight in his Company: So that his Friend, Mr. *ONeile*, who was ſtill ready to put his Majeſty in Mind of all his Services, had Nothing hard to do but to find a Vacancy that might give Opportunity for his Advancement; and He was dexterous in making Opportunities which He could not find, and made no Scruple to inſinuate to the King, "that the Abilities of neither of his Secretaries "were ſo great but that He might be better ſerved." Indeed his Majeſty, who did not naturally love old Men, had not ſo much Eſteem of them as their Parts and Induſtry and Integrity deſerved, and would not have been ſorry if either or Both of them had died. *An Intrigue in the Court to advance Sir H. Bennet.*

SECRETARY *Nicholas* had ſerved the Crown very many Years with a very good Acceptation, was made Secretary of State by the late King, and loved and truſted by him in his neareſt Concernments to his Death: Nor had any Man, who ſerved him, a more general Reputation of Virtue and Piety and unqueſtionable Integrity throughout the Kingdom. He was a Man to whom the Rebels had been always irreconcilable; and from the End of the War lived in Baniſhment beyond the Seas, was with his Majeſty from the Time He left *France* (for whilſt the King was in *France* with his Mother, to whom the Secretary was not gracious, He remained at a Diſtance; but from the Time that his Majeſty came into *Germany* He was always with him) in the Exerciſe of the ſame Function He had under his Father, and returned into *England* with him, with Hope to repair his Fortune by the juſt Perquiſites of his Office, which had been very much impaired by his long Sufferings and Baniſhment. He had never been in his Youth a Man of quick and ſudden Parts, but full of Induſtry and Application (which it may be is the better Compoſition), and always verſed in Buſineſs and all the Forms of Diſpatch. He was now ſome Years above ſeventy, yet truly performed his Office with Punctuality, and to the Satisfaction of all Men who repaired to him: And the King thought it an envious as well as an illnatured Thing, to diſcharge ſuch an Officer becauſe He had lived too long. *Character of Secretary Nicholas.*

THE other Secretary was Secretary *Morrice*, whoſe Merit had been his having tranſacted all that had been between the King and the General, which was thought to be much more than it was. Yet He had behaved himſelf very well, and as much diſpoſed the General as He was capable of being diſpoſed; and his Majeſty had preferred him to that Office purely to gratify and oblige the General; and He had behaved himſelf very honeſtly and diligently in the King's Service, and had a good Reputation in the Houſe of Commons, and did the Buſineſs of his Office without Reproach. He had lived moſt Part of his Time in the Country, with the Repute of a wiſe Man and a very good Scholar, as indeed He was both in the *Latin* and *Greek* Learning; but being without any Knowledge in the modern Languages, He gave the King often Occaſion to laugh at his unſkilful Pronunciation of many Words. In the *Latin* Diſpatches, *Of Secretary Morrice.*

which concern all the Northern Parts, He was ready, and treated with thoſe Ambaſſadours fluently and elegantly; and for all domeſtick Affairs no Man doubted his Sufficiency, except in the Garb and Mode and Humour of the Court.

And the Inducement that brought him in made it unfit to remove him, leſt it might grieve the General, whoſe Friend and Kinſman He was: So that there was no Expedient to provide for Sir *Harry Bennet*, but by removing Secretary *Nicholas* by his own Conſent; for the King would not do it otherwiſe to ſo old and faithful a Servant. And his Majeſty was the more inclined to it, becauſe it would give him the Opportunity to bring another Perſon into the Office of the Privy Purſe, of whom He was lately grown very fond, and towards whom He had, when He came into *England*, a greater Averſion than to any Gentleman who had been abroad with him, and that was Sir *Charles Berkley*, who was then Captain of the Duke of *York's* Guard, and much in the good Grace of his Royal Highneſs.

Whilst this Intrigue was contriving and depending, great Care was taken that it might not come to the Notice of the Chancellor, leſt if He could not divert the King from deſiring it, which They believed He would not attempt, He might diſſuade his old Friend the Secretary, with whom He had held a long and particular Friendſhip, from hearkening to any Propoſition, or accepting any Compoſition; which They believed not unreaſonably that the other would be very ſolicitous in, as well to keep a Man in, whom He could entirely truſt, as to keep another out, of whoſe Abilities He had no Eſteem, and in whoſe Affection He had no Confidence: And it was thought by many, that the ſame Apprehenſion prevailed with the good old Man himſelf to cheriſh the Secrecy. Certain it is, that the whole Matter was reſolved and conſented to, before ever the Chancellor had a Suſpicion of it.

ONeile, who had always the Skill to bring that to paſs by others which He could not barefaced appear in himſelf, inſinuated to Mr. *Aſhburnham*, who pretended and I think had much Friendſhip for the Secretary, "that "the King thought the Secretary too old to take ſo much Pains, and often "wiſhed that his Friends would perſuade him to retire, that there might be "a younger Man in the Office, who could attend upon his Majeſty at all "Hours and in all Journies; but that his Majeſty always ſpake kindly of "him, and as if He reſolved to give him an ample Recompenſe:" And in Confidence told him, "that the King had an impatient Deſire to have Sir "*Harry Bennet* Secretary of State." *Aſhburnham* was well verſed in the Artifices of Court too; and thought He might very well perform the Office of a Friend to his old Confident, and at the ſame Time find a new and more uſeful Friend for himſelf, by having a Hand in procuring a large Satisfaction for the old, and likewiſe facilitating the Way for the Introduction of a new Secretary, who could not forget the Obligation. So He told *ONeile*, "that all the World knew that He had for many Years profeſſed a great "Friendſhip for Secretary *Nicholas*" (They had been Both Servants at the ſame Time to the Duke of *Buckingham*, when He was killed), "and that "He ſhould be much troubled to ſee him diſplaced in his old Age with "Contempt; but if his Majeſty would diſmiſs him with Honour and Reward, "that He might be able to provide for his Wife and Children, He would "make no Scruple to perſuade him to quit his Employment." *ONeile* had all He looked for, and only enjoined him Secrecy, "that it might not come "to the King's Ear that He had communicated this Secret to any Man; and

"He did preſume, that before any Reſolution was taken in it, his Majeſty "would ſpeak of it to the Chancellor."

WITHIN a Day or two the King ſent for *Aſhburnham* and told him, "He knew He was a Friend to the Secretary, who was now grown old, "and not able to take the Pains He had done; that He had ſerved his Fa- "ther and himſelf very faithfully, and had ſpent his Fortune in his Service; "that if He were willing to retire, for without his Conſent He would do "Nothing, He would give him ten thouſand Pounds, or any other Recom- "penſe He ſhould chooſe," implying a Title of Honour: But intimated, though He referred all to his own Will, "that He wiſhed, and that it "would be acceptable to him, that the Office might be vacant and at his "Majeſty's Diſpoſal."

HE undertook the Employment very cheerfully, and quickly imparted all that had paſſed from the King, and all that He knew before, to the Secretary; who was not fond of the Court, and thought He had lived long enough there, having ſeen and obſerved much that He was grieved at Heart to ſee. He conſidered, that though this Meſſage was very gracious, and offered a noble Reward for his Service, it did withal appear that the King did deſire He ſhould be gone; and having deſigned a Succeſſour to him, who had already much Credit with him, if He ſhould ſeem ſullen or unwilling, He might in a ſhort Time be put out without any Conſideration, or at moſt with the Promiſe of one. Thereupon He wiſhed his Friend "to "aſſure the King, that He would very readily do whatſoever his Majeſty "thought neceſſary for his Service; but He hoped, that after above forty "Years ſpent in the Service of the Crown, He ſhould not be expoſed to "Diſgrace and Contempt. That He had a Wife and Children, who had "all ſuffered with him in Exile till his Majeſty's Return, and for whom He "could not make a competent Proviſion without his Majeſty's Bounty; and "therefore He hoped, that before his Majeſty required the Signet, He would "cauſe the Recompenſe He deſigned to be more than what He had men- "tioned, and to be firſt paid."

THIS Province could not be put into a fitter Hand, for it was managed with notable Skill. And as ſoon as it was known that the Secretary would willingly reſign, which was feared, and that only a better Recompenſe was expected, every Body was willing that the King ſhould make the Act look as graciouſly as might be, that the Succeſſor might be attended with the leſs Envy. And Mr. *Aſhburnham* cultivated their Impatience ſo ſkilfully, that it coſt the King, in preſent Money and Land or Leaſe, very little leſs than twenty thouſand Pounds, to bring in a Servant whom very few cared for, in the Place of an old Servant whom every Body loved: And He received all that was promiſed, before He reſigned his Place. And if the Change had been as good for the King, as it was for the good old Secretary, every Body would have been glad. And thus Sir *Harry Bennet* was at the King's Charge accommodated, even to the Satisfaction of his own Ambition: And his Majeſty was as well pleaſed, that He had gotten Sir *Charles Berkley* into the other Office about his Perſon, whom He every Day loved with more Paſſion, for what Reaſon no Man knew nor could imagine.

Secretary Nicholas *reſigns.*

Sir H. Bennet *made Secretary of State and Sir* Charles Berkley *Privy Purſe.*

AND from this Time They who ſtood at any near Diſtance could not but diſcern, that the Chancellor's Intereſt and Credit with the King manifeſtly declined: Not that either of theſe two pretended to be his Rival, or appeared to croſs any Thing in Council that He propoſed or adviſed; on the contrary, They Both profeſſed great Reſpect towards him. One of

The Chancellor's Intereſt declines.

them, being no Privy Counſellor, made great Profeſſions and Addreſſes to him by himſelf, and by ſome Friends who had much Credit with him; proteſted "againſt meddling at all in Buſineſs, and that He only hoped to "gain a Fortune by his Majeſty's Favour, upon which He might be able to "live;" nor did it appear afterwards, that He did to his Death wiſh that the Chancellor's Power ſhould be leſſened: And the other made all the Profeſſions imaginable of Affection and Reſpect to him, and repaired upon Occaſions to him for Advice and for Direction. Nor in Truth could either of them have done him any Prejudice at that Time with the King by pretending to do it; but by pretending the contrary by Degrees got Power to do it.

The King ſtill continues his Favour to him.

His Majeſty did not in the leaſt Degree withdraw his Favour from him, heard him as willingly, came as often to him, was as little reſerved in any Thing; only in one Particular He did with ſome Solemnity conjure him never to mention it to him again, in which He did not yet punctually obey him, nor avoid ſeaſonably ſaying any Thing to him which He believed to be his Duty, and which his Majeſty never ſeemed to take ill. And whenever He ſpake to him of either of the other two Gentlemen, which He frequently did with much Kindneſs, He always added ſomewhat of Both their Reſpects and Eſteem for him, as a Thing that pleaſed him well; and ſaid once, "that it concerned them, for whenever He ſhould diſcern it to be other-"wiſe, He ſhould make them repent it." Yet notwithſtanding all this, from that Time Counſels were not ſo ſecret, and greater Liberty was taken to talk of the publick Affairs in the Evening Converſation, than had been before, when they happened ſometimes to be ſhortly mentioned in the Production of ſome Wit or Jeſt; but now they were often taken into Debate, and cenſured with too much Liberty with Reference to Things and Perſons; and the King himſelf was leſs fixed and more irreſolute in his Counſels; and inconvenient Grants came every Day to the Seal for the Benefit of particular Perſons, againſt which the King had particularly reſolved, and at laſt by Importunity would have paſſed. Laſtly, Both theſe Perſons were moſt devoted to the Lady, and much depended upon her Intereſt, and conſequently were ready to do any Thing that would be grateful to her.

The firſt Riſe of the Dutch War.

There was another Miſchief contrived about this Time, that had a much worſe Influence upon the Publick, except We ſhall call it the ſame, becauſe it did in Truth proceed from it. Though the publick State of Affairs, in Reſpect of the Diſtempers and Diſcompoſures which are mentioned before, and that the Expenſes exceeded what was aſſigned to ſupport it, whereby the great Debt was little diminiſhed, yielded little Delight to thoſe who were moſt truſted to manage and provide for them, and who had a melancholick and dreadful Apprehenſion of Conſequences: Yet whilſt the Nation continued in Peace, and without any Danger from any foreign Enemy, the Proſpect was ſo pleaſant, eſpecially to thoſe who ſtood at a Diſtance, that They ſaw Nothing worthy of any Man's Fear; and there was reaſonable Hope, that the Expenſes might every Year be reduced within reaſonable Bounds. But all that Hope vaniſhed, when there appeared an immoderate Deſire to engage the Nation in a War.

Upon the King's firſt Arrival in *England*, He manifeſted a very great Deſire to improve the general Traffick and Trade of the Kingdom, and upon all Occaſions conferred with the moſt active Merchants upon it, and offered all that He could contribute to the Advancement thereof. He erected a Council of Trade, which produced little other Effect than the Op-

portunity of Mens ſpeaking together, which poſſibly diſpoſed them to think more, and to conſult more effectually in private, than They could in ſuch a Crowd of Commiſſioners. Some Merchants and Seamen made a Propoſition by Mr. *William Coventry* and ſome few others to the Duke of *York*, "for the Erection of a Company in which They deſired his Royal "Highneſs to preſide" (and from thence it was called the Royal Company), "to which his Majeſty ſhould grant the ſole Trade of *Guinea*, which in a "ſhort Time They preſumed would bring great Advantage to the Publick, "and much Profit to the Adventurers, who ſhould begin upon a joint "Stock, to be managed by a Council of ſuch as ſhould be choſen out of the "Adventurers." *The Erection of the Royal African Company.*

THIS Privilege had before the Troubles been granted by the late King to Sir *Nicholas Criſpe* and others named by him, who had at their own Charge ſent Ships thither: And Sir *Nicholas* had at his own Charge bought a Nook of Ground, that lay into the Sea, of the true Owners thereof (all that Coaſt being inhabited by Heathens), and built thereon a good Fort and Warehouſes, under which the Ships lay; and He had advanced this Trade ſo far before the Troubles, that He found it might be carried on with very great Benefit. After the Rebellion began, and Sir *Nicholas* betook himſelf to ſerve the King, ſome Merchants continued the Trade, and either by his Conſent or *Cromwell's* Power had the Poſſeſſion of that Fort, called *Cormantine*; which was ſtill in the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh* when his Majeſty returned, though the Trade was ſmall, in Reſpect the *Dutch* had fixed a ſtronger Quarter at no great Diſtance from it, and ſent much more Ships and Commodities thither, and returned once every Year to their own Country with much Wealth. The chief End of this Trade was, beſides the putting off great Quantities of our own Manufactures according as the Trade ſhould advance, to return with Gold, which that Coaſt produced in good Quantity, and with Slaves, *Blacks*, which were readily ſold to any Plantation at great Prices.

THE Model was ſo well prepared, and the whole Method for governing the Trade ſo rationally propoſed, that the Duke was much pleaſed with it, and quickly procured a Charter to be granted from the King to this Company with ample Privileges, and his Majeſty himſelf to become an Adventurer, and which was more, to aſſiſt them for the firſt Eſtabliſhment of their Trade with the Uſe of ſome of his own Ships. The Duke was the Governour of the Company, with Power to make a Deputy: All the other Officers and Council were choſen by the Company, which conſiſted of Perſons of Honour and Quality, every one of which brought in five hundred Pounds for the firſt joint Stock, with which They ſet out the firſt Ships; upon the Return whereof They received ſo much Encouragement and Benefit, that They compounded with Sir *Nicholas Criſpe* for his Propriety in the Fort and Caſtle; and poſſeſſed themſelves of another Place upon the Coaſt, and ſent many Ships thither, which made very good Returns, by putting off their *Blacks* at the *Barbadoes* and other the King's Plantations at their own Prices, and brought Home ſuch Store of Gold that adminiſtered the firſt Occaſion for the Coinage of thoſe Pieces, which from thence had the Denomination of *Guineas*; and what was afterwards made of the ſame Species, was coined of the Gold that was brought from that Coaſt by the Royal Company. In a Word, if that Company be not broken or diſordered by the Jealouſy that the Gentlemen Adventurers have of the Merchants, and their Opinion that They underſtand the Myſteries of Trade as well as the other, by which They refuſe to concur in the neceſſary Expe- *A Charter granted to it.*

dients propoſed by the other, and interpoſe unſkilful Overtures of their own with Pertinacy, it will be found a Model equally to advance the Trade of *England* with that of any other Company, even that of the *Eaſt-Indies*.

FROM the firſt Entrance into this Trade, which the Duke was exceedingly diſpoſed to advance, and was conſtantly preſent himſelf at all Councils, which were held once a Week in his own Lodgings at *Whitehall*, it was eaſily diſcovered that the *Dutch* had a better Trade there than the *Engliſh*, which They were then willing to believe that They had no Right to, for that the Trade was firſt found out and ſettled there by the *Engliſh*; which was a ſufficient Foundation to ſettle it upon this Nation, and to exclude all others, at leaſt by the ſame Law that the *Spaniard* enjoys the *Weſt-Indies*, and the *Dutch* what They or the *Portugueſe* poſſeſſed in the *Eaſt*. But this They quickly found would not eſtabliſh ſuch a Title as would bear a Diſpute: The having ſent a Ship or two thither, and built a little Fort, could not be allowed ſuch a Poſſeſſion as would exclude all other Nations. And the Truth was; the *Dutch* were there ſome Time before us, and the *Dane* before either: And the *Dutch*, which was the true Grievance, had planted themſelves more advantageouſly, upon the Bank of a River, than We had done; and by the Erection of more Forts were more ſtrongly ſeated, and drove a much greater Trade, which They did not believe They would be perſuaded to quit. This drew the Diſcourſe from the Right to the Eaſineſs, by the Aſſiſtance of two or three of the King's Ships, to take away all that the *Dutch* poſſeſſed in and about *Guinea*, there having never been a Ship of War ſeen in thoſe Parts; ſo that the Work might be preſently done, and ſuch an Alliance made with the Natives, who did not love the *Dutch*, that the *Engliſh* might be unqueſtionably poſſeſſed of the whole Trade of that Country, which would be of ineſtimable Profit to the Kingdom.

The Merchants deſirous of a War with the Dutch.

THE Merchants took much Delight to enlarge themſelves upon this Argument, and ſhortly after to diſcourſe "of the infinite Benefit that would "accrue from a barefaced War againſt the *Dutch*, how eaſily They might "be ſubdued, and the Trade carried by the *Engliſh*. That *Cromwell* had "always beaten them, and thereby gotten the greateſt Glory He had, and "brought them upon their Knees; and could totally have ſubdued them, if "He had not thought it more for his Intereſt to have ſuch a Second, "whereby He might the better ſupport his Uſurpation againſt the King. "And therefore, after They had conſented to all the infamous Conditions "of the total abandoning his Majeſty, and as far as in them lay to the Extir-"pation of all the Royal Family, and to a perpetual Excluſion of the Prince "of *Orange*, He made a firm Peace with them; which They had not yet "performed, by their retaining ſtill the Iſland of *Poleroone*, which They "had ſo long ſince barbarouſly taken from the *Engliſh*, and which They "had expreſſly promiſed and undertaken to deliver in the laſt Treaty, af-"ter *Cromwell* had compelled them to pay a great Sum of Money for the "Damages which the *Engliſh* had ſuſtained at *Amboyna*, when all the De-"mands and Threats from King *James* could never procure any Satisfac-"tion for that foul Action."

The Duke of York much for it.

THESE Diſcourſes, often reiterated in Seaſon and out of Seaſon, made a very deep Impreſſion in the Duke; who having been even from his Childhood in the Command in Armies and in his Nature inclined to the moſt difficult and dangerous Enterpriſes, was already weary of having ſo little to do, and too impatiently longed for any War, in which He knew He could not but have the chief Command. But theſe Kind of Debates,

or

or the Place in which they were made, could contribute little to an Affair of ſo huge an Importance, otherwiſe than by inciting the Duke, which they did too much, to conſider and affect it, and to diſpoſe others who were near him to inculcate the ſame Thoughts into him, as an Argument in which his Honour would be much exalted in the Eye of all the World: And to theſe good Offices They were enough diſpoſed by the Reſtleſſneſs and Unquietneſs of their own Natures, and by many other Motives for the accompliſhing their own Deſigns, and getting more Power into their own Hands.

BUT there was lately, very lately, a Peace fully concluded with the *States General* upon the ſame Terms, Articles and Conditions, which They had formerly yielded to *Cromwell*, being very much more advantageous than They had ever granted in any Treaty to the Crown. And at the Time of the Concluſion of the Peace, They delivered their Orders from the *States General* and their *Eaſt-India* Company for the Delivery of the Iſland of *Poleroone* to the *Engliſh*, which *Cromwell* himſelf had extorted from them with the greateſt Difficulty: So that there was now no Colour of Juſtice to make a War upon them. Beſides that there were at preſent great Jealouſies from *Spain* upon the Marriage with *Portugal*; nor did *France*, which had broken Promiſe in making a Treaty with *Holland*, make any Haſte to renew the Treaty with *England*. And therefore it could not but ſeem ſtrange to all Men, that when We had only made a Treaty of Peace with *Holland*, and that ſo newly, and upon ſo long Conſideration, and had none with either of the Crowns, We ſhould ſo much deſire to enter into a War with them.

HOWEVER, the Duke's Heart was ſet upon it, and He loved to ſpeak of it, and the Benefits which would attend it. He ſpake of it to the King, whom He found no Ways inclined to it, and therefore He knew it was unfit to propoſe it in Council: Yet He ſpake often of it to ſuch of the Lords of whom He had the beſt Opinion, and found many of them to concur with him in the Opinion of the Advantages which might ariſe from thence. And ſometimes He thought He left the King diſpoſed to it, by an Argument which He found prevailed with many: "That the Differ- "ences and Jealouſies in Point of Trade, which did every Day fall out and "would every Day increaſe between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*, who had "in the late Diſtractions gotten great Advantages, would unavoidably pro- "duce a War between them; and then that the Queſtion only was, whe- "ther it were not better for us to begin it now, when They do not ex- "pect it, and We are better prepared for it than probably We ſhall be "then; or to ſtay two or three Years, in which the ſame Jealouſy would "provoke them to be well provided, when probably We might not be "ready. That We had the beſt Sea Officers in the World, many of "whom had often beaten the *Dutch*, and knew how to do it again; "and a Multitude of excellent Mariners and common Seamen: All which, "if They found that Nothing would be done at Home, would diſperſe "themſelves in Merchant Voyages to the *Indies* and the *Straits*; and "probably ſo many good Men would never be found together again."

The King not inclined to it.

AND with ſuch Arguments He many Times thought that He left the King much moved: But when He ſpake to him again (though He knew that He had no Kindneſs for the *Dutch*) his Majeſty was changed, and very averſe to a War; which He imputed to the Chancellor, who had not diſſembled, as often as his Highneſs ſpake to him, to be paſſionately and obſtinately againſt it. And He did take all the Opportunities He could find to confirm the King in his Averſion to it, who was in his Heart averſe from it,

The Chancellor oppoſes it.

by preſenting to him the State of his own Affairs, "the great Debt that yet "lay upon him, which with Peace and good Huſbandry might be in ſome "Time paid; but a War would involve him in ſo much greater, that "no Man could ſee the End of it. That He would be able to preſerve "himſelf againſt the Factions and Diſtempers in his own Kingdom, and "probably ſuppreſs them, if He were without a foreign Enemy: But if He "ſhould be engaged in a War abroad, his domeſtick Diviſions, eſpecially "thoſe in Religion, would give him more Trouble than He could well ſtrug-"gle withal."

"THAT it was an erroneous Aſſumption, *that the* Dutch *would be better* "*provided for a War two or three Years hence, and his Majeſty worſe*, for "which there was no Reaſon. That within that Time it would be his own "Fault, if the Diſtempers in his three Kingdoms were not compoſed, which "would make him much fitter for a War; whereas now neither of them "could be ſaid to be in Peace, that of *Ireland* being totally unſettled, and "that of *Scotland* not yet well pleaſed, and *England* far from it. That in "that Time it was very probable that the two Crowns would be again en-"gaged in a War; ſince it was generally believed, and with great Reaſon, "that *France* only expected the Death of the King of *Spain*, who was very "infirm, and meant then to fall into *Flanders*, having at the ſame Time "with great Expenſe provided great Magazines of Corn and Hay upon the "Borders, which could be for no other End. That whilſt He continued "in Peace, his Friendſhip would be valuable to all the Princes of *Europe*, "and the two Crowns would ſtrive who ſhould gain him: But if He en-"gaged in a War, and in ſuch a War as that with *Holland*, which would "interrupt and diſturb all the Trade of the Kingdom, upon which the "greateſt Part of his Revenue did riſe; all other Princes would look on, "and not much eſteem any Offices He could perform to them. And laſtly, "that a little Time might poſſibly adminiſter a juſt Occaſion of a War, "which at preſent there was not."

THESE, and better Arguments which the King's own Underſtanding ſug-geſted to him, made him fully reſolve againſt the War, and to endeavour to change his Brother from affecting it, which wrought not at all upon him; but finding that many Things fell from the King in the Argument, which had been alleged to himſelf by the Chancellor, He concluded the Miſchief came from him, and was diſpleaſed accordingly, and complained to his Wife, "that her Father ſhould oppoſe him in an Affair upon which He knew "his Heart was ſo much ſet, and of which every Body took ſo much No-"tice;" which troubled her very much. And She very earneſtly deſired her Father, "that He would no more oppoſe the Duke in that Matter." He anſwered her, "that She did not enough underſtand the Conſequence "of that Affair; but that He would take Notice to the Duke of what She "had ſaid, and give him the beſt Anſwer He could." And accordingly He waited upon the Duke, who very frankly confeſſed to him, "that He "took it very unkindly, that He ſhould ſo poſitively endeavour to croſs a "Deſign ſo honourable in itſelf, and ſo much deſired by the City of *London*; "and He was confident it would be very grateful to the Parliament, and "that They would ſupply the King with Money enough to carry it on, "which would anſwer the chief Objection. That He was engaged to pur-"ſue it, and He could not but be ſorry and diſpleaſed, that every Body "ſhould ſee how little Credit He had with him."

The Duke offended with him for it.

THE Chancellor told him, "that He had no Apprehenſion that any ſo-"ber Man in *England*, or his Highneſs himſelf, ſhould believe that He "could

The Chancellor ſatisfies the Duke.

"could fail in his Duty to him, or that He would omit any Opportunity "to make it manifeſt, which He could never do without being a Fool or "a Madman. On the other Hand, He could never give an Advice, or "conſent to it whoever gave it, which in his Judgment and Conſcience "would be very miſchievous to the Crown and to the Kingdom, though "his Royal Highneſs or the King himſelf were inclined to it." He did aſſure him, "that He found the King very averſe from any Thought "of this War, before He ever diſcovered his own Opinion of it;" but denied not, "that He had taken all Opportunities to confirm him in that "Judgment by Arguments that He thought could not be anſwered; and "that the Conſequence of that War would be very pernicious. That He "did preſume that many good Men, with whom He had conferred, did "ſeem to concur with his Highneſs out of Duty to him, and as They ſaw "it would be grateful to him, or upon a ſudden, and without making thoſe "Reflections which would afterwards occur to them, and make them change "their Minds. That a few Merchants, nor all the Merchants of *London*, "were not the City of *London*, which had had War enough, and could "only become rich by Peace. That He did not think the Parliament "would be forward to encourage that War; nor ſhould the King be deſirous that They ſhould interpoſe their Advice in it, ſince it was a Subject "entirely in the King's own Determination: But if They ſhould appear "never ſo forward in it, He was old enough to remember when a Parliament did adviſe, and upon the Matter compel, his Grandfather King "*James* to enter into a War with *Spain*, upon Promiſe of ample Supplies; "and yet when He was engaged in it, They gave him no more Supply; "ſo that at laſt the Crown was compelled to accept of a Peace not very "honourable."

BESIDE the Arguments He had uſed to the King, He beſought his Highneſs to reflect upon ſome others more immediately relating to himſelf, "upon the Want of able Men to conduct the Counſels upon which ſuch a "War muſt be carried on; how few Accidents might expoſe the Crown to "thoſe Diſtreſſes, that it might with more Difficulty be buoyed up than it "had lately been;" with many other Arguments, which He thought made ſome Impreſſion upon the Duke. And for ſome Months there was no more Mention or Diſcourſe in the Court of the War; though They who firſt laid the Deſign ſtill cultivated it, and made little Doubt of bringing it at laſt to paſs. *The Deſign for the preſent dropt.*

AT or about this Time there was a Tranſaction of great Importance, which at the Time was not popular nor indeed underſtood, and afterwards was objected againſt the Chancellor in his Misfortunes, as a principal Argument of his Infidelity and Corruption; which was the Sale of *Dunkirk*: The whole Proceeding whereof ſhall be plainly and exactly related from the Beginning to the End thereof. *The Sale of Dunkirk.*

THE Charge and Expenſe the Crown was at; the Pay of the Land Forces and Garriſons; the great Fleets ſet out to Sea for the Reduction of the *Turkiſh* Pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, and for guarding the narrow Seas, and Security of the Merchants; the conſtant yearly Charge of the Garriſon of *Dunkirk*, of that at *Tangier*, and the vaſt Expenſe of building a Mole there, for which there was an Eſtabliſhment, together with the Garriſons at *Bombayne* and in *Jamaica*, (none of which had been known to the Crown in former Times); and the Lord Treaſurer's frequent Repreſentation of all this to the King, as ſo prodigious an Expenſe as could never be ſupported; had put his Majeſty to frequent Conſultations how He might leſſen and

ſave any Part of it. But no Expedient could be reſolved upon. The Lord Treaſurer, who was moſt troubled when Money was wanted, had many ſecret Conferences with the General and with the beſt Seamen, of the Benefit that accrued to the Crown by keeping of *Dunkirk*; the conſtant Charge and Expenſe whereof amounted to above one hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds yearly: And He found by them that it was a Place of little Importance. It is true that He had conferred of it with the Chancellor, with whom He held a faſt Friendſhip; but found him ſo averſe from it, that He reſolved to ſpeak with him no more, till the King had taken ſome Reſolution. And to that Purpoſe He perſuaded the General to go with him to the King and to the Duke of *York*, telling them Both, "that "the Chancellor muſt know Nothing of it:" And after ſeveral Debates the King thought it ſo counſellable a Thing, that He reſolved to have it debated before that Committee which He truſted in his moſt ſecret Affairs; and the Chancellor being then lame of the Gout, He commanded that all thoſe Lords ſhould attend him at his Houſe. Beſide his Majeſty himſelf and the Duke of *York*, there appeared the Lord Treaſurer, the General, the Earl of *Sandwich*, the Vice-Chamberlain Sir *George Carteret*, who had been a great Commander at Sea, and the two Secretaries of State. When the King entered the Room with the Lord Treaſurer, He deſired his Majeſty, ſmiling, "that He would take the Chancellor's Staff from him, otherwiſe He would "break his Head." When They were all ſate, the King told him, "They were "all come to debate an Affair that He knew He was againſt, which was the "parting with *Dunkirk*; but He did believe, when He had heard all that was "ſaid for it and againſt it, He would change his Mind, as He himſelf had "done." And ſo the Debate was entered into in this Method, after enough was ſaid of the Straights the Crown was in, and what the yearly Expenſe was:

The Chancellor againſt it.

The Buſineſs referred to a Committee.

Reaſons urged for parting with it.

(1.) "THAT the Profit which did or could accrue to the Kingdom by "the keeping of *Dunkirk* was very inconſiderable, whether in War or "Peace. That by Sea it was very little uſeful, it being no Harbour, "nor having Place for the King's Ships to ride in with Safety; and that if "it were in the Hand of an Enemy, it could do us little Prejudice, be"cauſe three or four Ships might block it up, and keep it from infeſting "its Neighbours: And that though heretofore it had been a Place of Licenſe "at Sea, and had much obſtructed Trade by their Men of War, yet that "proceeded only from the Unſkilfulneſs of that Time in applying proper "Remedies to it; which was manifeſt by *Cromwell's* blocking them up, and "reſtraining them when He made War upon them, inſomuch as all the Men "of War left that Place, and betook themſelves to other Harbours. That it "was ſo weak to the Land (notwithſtanding the great Charge his Majeſty "had been at in the Fortifications, which were not yet finiſhed) by the "Situation and the Soil, that it required as many Men within to defend it, "as the Army ſhould conſiſt of that beſieged it; otherwiſe that it could "never hold out and endure a Siege of two Months: As it appeared clearly "by its having been taken and retaken ſo many Times within the late "Years, in all which Times it never held out ſo long, though there was "always an Army at no great Diſtance to relieve it."

(2.) "THAT the Charge of keeping and maintaining it, without any "Accidents from the Attempt of an Enemy, did amount unto above one "hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds by the Year, which was a Sum the "Revenue of the Crown could not ſupply, without leaving many other Par"ticulars of much more Importance unprovided for." And this was not lightly

lightly or curſorily urged; but the State of the Revenue, and the conſtant and indiſpenſable Iſſues, were at the ſame Time preſented and carefully examined.

(3.) "IT could not reaſonably be believed, but that if *Dunkirk* was "kept, his Majeſty would be ſhortly involved in a War with one of the "two Crowns. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour had already demanded Reſti- "tution of it in Point of Juſtice, it having been taken from his Maſter by "the late Uſurper, in a Time when there was not only a Peace between "his Majeſty and the King of *Spain*, but when his Majeſty reſided, and was "entertained by the *Catholick* King, in *Flanders*: And at this Time both "*France* and *Spain* inhibited their Subjects from paying thoſe ſmall Contri- "butions to the Garriſon at *Dunkirk*, and endeavoured to reſtrain the Go- "vernour himſelf from enjoying ſome Privileges, which had been always "enjoyed by him from the Time that it had been put into *Cromwell's* "Hands." And it was upon this and many other Reaſons then conceived, "that as it would be very hard for the King to preſerve a Neutrality to- "wards Both Crowns, even during the Time of the War between them" (which Temper was thought very neceſſary for his Majeſty's Affairs); "ſo "it would be much more difficult long to avoid a War with one of them "upon the keeping *Dunkirk*, if the Peace that was newly made ſhould re- "main firm and unſhaken."

UPON theſe Reaſons, urged and agreed upon by thoſe who could not but be thought very competent Judges, in Reſpect of their ſeveral Profeſſions and great Experience, the King reſolved to eaſe himſelf of the inſupportable Burden of maintaining *Dunkirk*, and to part with it in ſuch a Manner as might be moſt for his Advantage and Benefit. There remained then no other Queſtion, than into what Hand to put it: And the Meaſure of that was only who would give moſt Money for it, there being no Inclination to prefer one before another. It was enough underſtood, that Both Crowns would be very glad to have it, and would probably Both make large Offers for it. But it was then as evident, that whatſoever *France* ſhould contract for, the King would be ſure to receive, and the Buſineſs would be ſoon diſpatched: Whereas on the other Hand it was as notorious and evident to his Majeſty, and to all who had any Knowledge of the Court of *Spain*, and of the Scarcity of Money there and in *Flanders*; that how large Offers ſoever the *Spaniard* might make, They could not be able in any Time to pay any conſiderable Sum of Money; and that there would be ſo much Time ſpent in Conſult between *Madrid* and *Bruſſels* before it could be diſpatched, that the keeping it ſo long in his Majeſty's Hands would in the Expenſe diſappoint him of a good Part of the End in parting with it. Beſides that it ſeemed at that Time probable, that the *Spaniard* would ſhortly declare himſelf an Enemy; for beſides that He demanded *Dunkirk* as of Right, ſo He likewiſe required the Reſtitution of *Tangier* and *Jamaica* upon the ſame Reaſon, and declared "that without it there could be no laſting Peace be- "tween *England* and *Spain*," and refuſed ſo much as to enter upon a Treaty of Alliance with the King, before He ſhould promiſe to make ſuch a Reſtitution.

The King reſolves to diſpoſe of it.

Reaſons for ſelling it to France.

THERE wanted not in this Conference and Debate the Conſideration of the *States* of the *United Provinces*, as Perſons like enough to deſire the Poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, from whence They had formerly received ſo much Damage, and were like enough to receive more whenever They ſhould be engaged in any War: And if in Truth They ſhould have any ſuch Deſire, more Money might be reaſonably required and probably be

obtained from them, than could be expected from either of the Kings. But upon the Diſcuſſion of that Point, it did appear to every Man's Reaſon very manifeſt, that though They had rather that *Dunkirk* ſhould be put into the Hands of the *Spaniard* than delivered to *France*, or than it ſhould be detained by the *Engliſh*; yet They durſt not receive it into their own Poſſeſſion, which neither of the two Crowns would have approved of, and ſo it would have expoſed them to the Diſpleaſure if not to the Hoſtility of Both the Kings.

The King refers it to the Privy Council.

Upon this full Deliberation, his Majeſty inclined rather to give it up to *France* than to *Spain*; but deferred any poſitive Reſolution till He had imparted the whole Matter to the Council-Board, where the Debate was again reſumed, principally, "whether it were more counſellable to keep it at ſo vaſt a "Charge, or to part with it for a good Sum of Money." And in that Debate the Mention of what had been heretofore done in the Houſe of Commons upon that Subject was not omitted, nor the Bill that They had ſent up to the Houſe of Peers for annexing it inſeparably to the Crown: But that was not thought of Moment; for as it had been ſuddenly entertained in the Houſe of Commons, upon the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour's firſt Propoſition for the Reſtitution, ſo it was looked upon in the Houſe of Peers as unfit in itſelf, and ſo laid aſide after once being read (which had been in the firſt Convention ſoon after the King's Return), and ſo expired as ſoon as it was born. After a long Debate of the whole Matter at the Council-Board, where all was averred concerning the Uſeleſſneſs and Weakneſs of the Place, by thoſe who had ſaid it at the Committee; there was but one Lord of the Council who offered his Advice to the King againſt parting with it: And the Ground of that Lord's diſſenting, who was the Earl of *St. Albans*, was enough underſtood to have Nothing of publick in it, but to draw the Negotiation for it into his own Hands. In Concluſion, his Majeſty reſolved to put it into the Hands of *France*, if that King would comply with his Majeſty's Expectation in the Payment of ſo much Money as He would require for it: And a Way was found out, that the King might privately be advertiſed of that his Majeſty's Reſolution, if He ſhould have any Deſire to deal for it.

Where only one oppoſes it.

The Advertiſement was very welcome to the *French* King, who was then reſolved to viſit *Flanders* as ſoon as He ſhould know of the Death of the King of *Spain*, which was expected every Day. Nor had He deferred it till then, upon the late Affront his Ambaſſadour had received at *London* from the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour (who by a contrived and laboured Stratagem had got the Precedence for his Coach before the other; which the King of *France* received with that Indignation, that He ſent preſently to demand Juſtice at *Madrid*, commanded his Ambaſſadour to retire from thence, and would not ſuffer the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour to remain in *Paris* till He ſhould have Satisfaction, and was reſolved to have begun a War upon it), if the King of *Spain* had not acknowledged the Fault of his Ambaſſadour, and under his Hand declared the Precedence to belong to *France*; which Declaration was ſent to the Courts of all Princes: And ſo for the preſent that Spark of Fire was extinguiſhed or rather raked up.

Monſieur D'Eſtrades comes over to treat about the Price.

The King ſent *M. D'Eſtrades* privately to *London* to treat about *Dunkirk*, without any Character, but pretending to make it his Way to *Holland*, whither He was deſigned Ambaſſadour. After He had waited upon the King, his Majeſty appointed four or five of the Lords of his Council, whereof the Chancellor and Treaſurer and General were three, to treat with *M. D'Eſtrades* for the Sale of *Dunkirk*; when the firſt Conference was ſpent in endeavouring to perſuade him to make the firſt Offer for the Price, which

He could not be drawn to: So that the King's Commiſſioners were obliged to make their Demand. And They aſked the Sum of ſeven hundred thouſand Pounds *Sterling*, to be paid upon the Delivery of *Dunkirk* and *Mardike* into the Poſſeſſion of the King of *France*; which Sum appeared to him to be ſo ſtupendous, that He ſeemed to think the Treaty at an End, and reſolved to make no Offer at all on the Part of his Maſter. And ſo the Conference brake up.

AT the next Meeting He offered three Millions of *Livres*, which according to the common Account amounted to three hundred thouſand *Piſtoles*, which the King's Commiſſioners as much undervalued; ſo that any farther Conference was diſcontinued, till He had ſent an Expreſs or two into *France*, and till their Return: For as the Expectation of a great Sum of ready Money was the King's Motive to part with it, beſides the ſaving the monthly Charge; ſo They concluded that his Neceſſities would oblige him to part with it at a moderate Price. And after the Return of the Expreſſes, the King's Commiſſioners inſiſting ſtill upon what *D'Eſtrades* thought too much, and He offering what They thought too little, the Treaty ſeemed to be at an End, and He prepared for his Return. In Concluſion, his Majeſty being fully as deſirous to part with it as the King of *France* could be to have it, it was agreed and concluded, "that upon "the Payment of five hundred thouſand *Piſtoles in Specie* at *Calais* to ſuch "Perſons as the King ſhould appoint to receive it, his Majeſty's Garriſon of "*Dunkirk* and *Mardike* ſhould be withdrawn, and thoſe Places put into the "Hands of the King of *France*:" All which was executed accordingly. And without Doubt it was a greater Sum of Money than was ever paid at one Payment by any Prince in *Chriſtendom*, upon what Occaſion ſoever; and every Body ſeemed very glad to ſee ſo vaſt a Sum of Money delivered into the *Tower* of *London*, as it was all together; the King at the ſame Time declaring, "that no Part of it ſhould be applied to any ordinary Occaſion, "but be preſerved for ſome preſſing Accident, as an Inſurrection or the "like," which was reaſonably enough apprehended.

The Price agreed upon.

NOR was there the leaſt Murmur at this Bargain in all the Seſſions of the Parliament which ſate after, until it fell out to ſome Mens Purpoſes to reproach the Chancellor: And then They charged him "with adviſing the "Sale of *Dunkirk*, and that the very Artillery, Ammunition and Stores "amounted to a greater Value than the King received for the Whole;" when upon an Eſtimate that had been taken of all thoſe, they were not eſteemed to be more worth than twenty thouſand Pounds *Sterling*; and the Conſideration of thoſe, when the King's Commiſſioners inſiſted upon their being all ſhipped for *England*, and the Neceſſity of keeping them upon the Place where they were, had prevailed with *M. D'Eſtrades* to conſent to that Sum of five hundred thouſand *Piſtoles*. But whether the Bargain was ill or well made, there could be no Fault imputed to the Chancellor, who had no more to do in the Tranſaction than is before ſet down, the whole Matter having been ſo long deliberated and ſo fully debated. Nor did He ever before, or in, or after the Tranſaction, receive the Value of Half a Crown for Reward or Preſent, or any other Conſideration relating to that Affair: And the Treatment He received after his coming into *France* was Evidence enough, that that King never thought himſelf beholden to him.

A Vindication of the Chancellor in this Affair.

A LITTLE before this Time, the Queen Mother returned again for *England*, having diſburſed a great Sum of Money in making a noble Addition to her Palace of *Somerſet-Houſe*. With the Queen there came over a Youth of

The Queen Mother brings a natural Son of the King's into England.

about ten or a dozen Years of Age, who was called by the Name of Mr. *Crofts*, becauſe the Lord *Crofts* had been truſted to take Care of his Breeding; but He was generally thought to be the King's Son, begotten upon a private *Welchwoman* of no good Fame, but handſome, who had tranſported herſelf to the *Hague*, when the King was firſt there, with a Deſign to obtain that Honour, which a Groom of the Bedchamber willingly preferred her to; and there it was this Boy was born. The Mother lived afterwards for ſome Years in *France* in the King's Sight, and at laſt loſt his Majeſty's Favour: Yet the King deſired to have the Son delivered to him, that He might take Care of his Education, which She would not conſent to. At laſt the Lord *Crofts* got him into his Charge; and the Mother dying at *Paris*, He had the ſole Tuition of him, and took Care for the breeding him ſuitable to the Quality of a very good Gentleman. And the Queen after ſome Years came to know of it, and frequently had him brought to her, and uſed him with much Grace; and upon the King's Deſire brought him with her from *Paris* into *England*, when He was about twelve Years of Age, very handſome, and performed thoſe Exerciſes gracefully which Youths of that Age uſed to learn in *France*. The King received him with extraordinary Fondneſs, and was willing that every Body ſhould believe him to be his Son, though He did not yet make any Declaration that He looked upon him as ſuch, otherwiſe than by his Kindneſs and Familiarity towards him. He aſſigned a liberal Maintenance for him; but took not that Care for a ſtrict Breeding of him as his Age required.

The General, during the Time of his Command in *Scotland*, had Acquaintance with a Lady of much Honour there, the Counteſs of *Weemes*, who had been before the Wife of the Earl of *Buccleuch*, and by him had one only Daughter, who inherited his very great Eſtate and Title, and was called the Counteſs of *Buccleuch*, a Child of eight or ten Years of Age. All Men believed, that the General's Purpoſe was to get this Lady for his own Son, a Match ſuitable enough: But the Time being now changed, the Lord *Lautherdale*, being a good Courtier, thought his Countrywoman might be much better married, if She were given to the King for this Youth, towards whom He expreſſed ſo much Fondneſs, thoſe Kinds of Extractions carrying little Diſadvantage with them in *Scotland*; and the General, whatever Thoughts He had before, would not be ſo ill a Courtier as not to advance ſuch a Propoſition. The Lady was already in Poſſeſſion of the greateſt Fortune in *Scotland*, which would have a fair Addition upon the Death of her Mother.

The King liked the Motion well; and ſo the Mother was ſent to, to bring up her Daughter to *London*, They being then Both in *Scotland*. And when They came, the King truſted the Earl of *Lautherdale* principally to treat that Affair with the Mother, who had rather have been referred to any other Body, having indeed ſome juſt Exceptions. They were Both yet under the Years of Conſent; but that Time drawing on, ſuch a Contract was drawn up as had been firſt propoſed to the King, which was, "that "the whole Eſtate, for Want of Iſſue by the young Lady, or by her Death, "ſhould be devolved upon the young Man who was to marry her, and his "Heirs for ever; and that this ſhould be ſettled by Act of Parliament in "*Scotland*." Matters being drawn to this Length, and Writings being to be prepared, it was now neceſſary that this young Gentleman muſt have a Name, and the *Scots* Advocate had prepared a Draught, in which He was ſtyled the King's natural Son: And the King was every Day preſſed by the great Lady, and thoſe young Men who knew the Cuſtoms of *France*, to

He is contracted to the Counteſs of Buccleuch.

create him a Nobleman of *England*; and was indeed very willing to be adviſed to that Purpoſe.

TILL this Time, this whole Matter was treated in ſecret amongſt the *Scots*: But now the King thought fit to conſult it with others; and telling the Chancellor of all that had paſt, ſhewed him the Draught prepared by the *Scots* Advocate, and aſked him "what He thought of it," and likewiſe implied "that He thought fit to give him ſome Title of Honour." After He had read it over, He told his Majeſty, "that He need not give him any "other Title of Honour than He would enjoy by his Marriage, by which "He would by the Law of *Scotland* be called Earl of *Buccleuch*, which "would be Title enough; and He deſired his Majeſty to pardon him, if "He found Fault with and diſliked the Title They had given him who "prepared that Draught, wherein They had preſumed to ſtyle him the "King's natural Son, which was never, at leaſt in many Ages, uſed in "*England*, and would have an ill Sound in *England* with all his People, "who thought that thoſe unlawful Acts ought to be concealed, and not "publiſhed and juſtified. That *France* indeed had, with Inconvenience "enough to the Crown, raiſed ſome Families of thoſe Births; but it was "always from Women of great Quality, and who had never been tainted "with any other Familiarity. And that there was another Circumſtance "required in *Spain*, which his Majeſty ſhould do well to obſerve in this "Caſe, if He had taken a Reſolution in the Main; which was, that the "King took Care for the good Education of that Child whom He believed "to be his, but never publickly owned or declared him to be ſuch, till He "had given ſome notable Evidence of his inheriting or having acquired ſuch "Virtues and Qualities, as made him in the Eyes of all Men worthy of "ſuch a Deſcent. That this Gentleman was yet young, and not yet to be "judged of: And therefore if He were for the preſent married to this "young Lady, and aſſumed her Title as He muſt do, his Majeſty might "defer for ſome Years making any ſuch Declaration; which He might do "when He would, and which at preſent would be as unpopular an Action "in the Hearts of his Subjects as He could commit."

The King conſults the Chancellor about this Son.

The Chancellor's Advice.

THOUGH the King did not ſeem to concur in all that was ſaid, He did not appear at all offended, and only aſked him, "whether He had not "conferred with the Queen his Mother upon that Subject." When He aſſured him "He had not, nor with any other Perſon, and though He had "heard ſome general Diſcourſe of his Majeſty's Purpoſe to make that Mar-"riage, He had never heard either of the other Particulars mentioned;" the King ſaid, "He had Reaſon to aſk the Queſtion, becauſe many of thoſe "Things which He had ſaid had been ſpoken to him by the Queen his Mo-"ther, who was entirely of his Opinion, which She uſed not to be;" and concluded, "that He would confer with them together," ſeeming for the preſent to be more moved and doubtful in the Matter of the Declaration, than in the other of the Creation; and ſaid, "there was no Reaſon, "ſince She brought all the Eſtate, that She ſhould receive no Addition by "her Huſband." The Queen afterwards took an Occaſion to ſpeak at large to the Chancellor of it with much Warmth, and Manifeſtation that She did not like it. But the King ſpake with neither of them afterwards upon it, but ſigned the Declaration, and created him to be Duke of *Monmouth*; very few Perſons diſſuading it, and the Lady employing all her Credit to bring it to paſs: And the Earl of *Briſtol* (who in thoſe difficult Caſes was uſually conſulted) preſſed it as the only Way to make the King's Friendſhip valuable.

The King publickly owns his Son, and creates him Duke of Monmouth.

SINCE the Earl of *Briſtol* is mentioned upon this Occaſion, it will not be unſeaſonable to give him the next Part in this Relation. Though He had left no Way unattempted to render himſelf gracious to the King, by ſaying and doing all that might be acceptable unto him, and contriving ſuch Meetings and Jollities as He was pleaſed with; and though his Majeſty had been ſeveral Ways very bountiful to him, and had particularly given him at one Time ten thouſand Pounds in Money, with which He had purchaſed *Wimbleton* of the Queen, and had given him *Aſhdown-Foreſt* and other Lands in *Suſſex:* Yet He found He had not that Degree of Favour and Intereſt in the King's Affections, as He deſired, or deſired that other People ſhould think He had. The Change of his Religion kept him from being admitted to the Council, or to any Employment of Moment. And whereas He made no Doubt of drawing the whole Dependance of the *Roman Catholicks* upon himſelf, and to have the Diſpoſal of that Intereſt, and to that Purpoſe had the *Jeſuits* firm to him; He found that He had no Kind of Credit with them, nor was admitted by them to their moſt ſecret Conſultations, and that the Fathers of the Society had more Enemies than Friends amongſt the *Catholicks*.

HIS Eſtate had been ſold and ſettled by his own Conſent, upon the Marriage of his eldeſt Son twice to great Fortunes: So that when He returned from beyond the Seas, He could not return to his Eſtate as others did, and had little more to ſubſiſt upon than the King's Bounty; and that was not poured out upon him in the Meaſure He wiſhed, though few Perſons taſted more of it. He was in his Nature very covetous, and ready to embrace all Ways that were offered to get Money, whether honourable or no, for He had not a great Power over himſelf, and could not bear Want, which He could hardly avoid, for He was nothing provident in his Expenſes, when He had any Temptation from his Ambition or Vanity. Beſides, his Appetite to Play and Gaming, in which He had no Skill, and by which He had all his Life ſpent whatever He could get, was not at all abated. He ſpent as much Money at *Wimbleton* in building and gardening, as the Land was worth.

BY all theſe Means He found himſelf in Streights, which He could neither endure nor get from, and which tranſported him to that Degree, that He reſolved to treat the King in another Manner than He had ever yet preſumed to do. And having aſked ſomewhat of him that his Majeſty did not think fit to grant, He told him, "He knew well the Cauſe of his with-
The Earl of Briſtol's extravagant Behaviour to the King.
"drawing his Favour from him; that it proceeded only from the Chancel-
"lor, who governed him and managed all his Affairs, whilſt himſelf ſpent
"his Time only in Pleaſures and Debauchery:" And in this Paſſion upbraided him with many Exceſſes, to which no Man had contributed more than He had done. He ſaid many Truths which ought to have been more modeſtly and decently mentioned, and all this in the Preſence of the Lord *Aubigny*, who was as much ſurpriſed as the King; and concluded, "that if
"He did not give him Satisfaction within ſuch a Time" (the Time allowed did not exceed four and twenty Hours), "He would do ſomewhat that
"would awaken him out of his Slumber, and make him look better to his
"own Buſineſs;" and added many Threats againſt the Chancellor. The King ſtood all this Time in ſuch Confuſion, that though He gave him more ſharp Words than were natural to him, He had not that Preſentneſs of Mind (as He afterwards accuſed himſelf) as He ought to have had; and ſaid, "He ought preſently to have called for the Guard," it being in his own Cloſet, "and ſent him to the *Tower*."

THE Court and the Town was full of the Diſcourſe that the Earl of *Briſtol* would accuſe the Chancellor of High Treaſon, who knew Nothing of what had paſſed with the King. And it ſeems when the Time was paſſed that He preſcribed to the King to give him Satisfaction, He came one Morning to the Houſe of Peers with a Paper in his Hand; and told the Lords, "that He could not but obſerve, that after ſo glorious a Return with which "God had bleſſed the King and the Nation, ſo that all the World had ex- "pected, that the Proſperity of the Kingdom would have far exceeded the "Miſery and Adverſity that it had for many Years endured; and after "the Parliament had contributed more towards it, than ever Parliament had "done: Notwithſtanding all which, it was evident to all Men, and la- "mented by thoſe who wiſhed well to his Majeſty, that his Affairs grew "every Day worſe and worſe; the King himſelf loſt much of his Honour, "and the Affection He had in the Hearts of the People. That for his "Part He looked upon it with as much Sadneſs as any Man, and had made "Enquiry as well as He could from whence this great Misfortune, which "every Body was ſenſible of, could proceed; and that He was ſatisfied in "his own Conſcience, that it proceeded principally from the Power and "Credit and ſole Credit of the Chancellor: And therefore He was reſolved, for "the Good of his Country, to accuſe the Lord Chancellor of High Treaſon; "which He had done in the Paper which He deſired might be read, all "written with his own Hand, to which He ſubſcribed his Name."

He accuſes the Chancellor of High Treaſon.

THE Paper contained many Articles, which He called *Articles of High Treaſon and other Miſdemeanors*; amongſt which one was, "that He had "perſuaded the King to ſend a Gentleman (a Creature of his own) to *Rome* "with Letters to the Pope, to give a Cardinal's Cap to the Lord *Aubigny*, "who was Almoner to the Queen." The reſt contained "his aſſuming to "himſelf the Government of all publick Affairs, which He had admi- "niſtered unſkilfully, corruptly and traiterouſly; which He was ready "to prove."

THE Chancellor, without any Trouble in his Countenance, told the Lords, "that He had had the Honour heretofore to have ſo much the good "Opinion and Friendſhip of that Lord, that He durſt appeal to his own "Conſcience, that He did not himſelf believe one of thoſe Articles to be "true, and knew the contrary of moſt of them. And He was glad to find "that He thought it ſo high a Crime to ſend to *Rome*, and to deſire a Car- "dinal's Cap for a Catholick Lord, who had been always bred from his "Cradle in that Faith: But He did aſſure them, that that Gentleman was "only ſent by the Queen to the Pope, upon an Affair that She thought "herſelf obliged to comply with him in, and in Hope to do ſome good Of- "fice to *Portugal*; and that the King had neither writ to the Pope, nor to "any other Perſon in *Rome*." He ſpake at large to moſt of the Articles, to ſhew the Impoſſibility of their being true, and that they reflected more upon the King's Honour than upon his; and concluded, "that He was "ſorry that Lord had not been better adviſed, for He did believe that "though all that was alleged in the Articles ſhould be true, they would "not all amount to High Treaſon, upon which He deſired the Judges "might be required to deliver their Opinion;" the which the Lords or- dered the Judges to do. It was moved by one of the Lords, "that the "Copy of the Articles might be ſent to the King, becauſe He was men- "tioned ſo preſumptuouſly in them;" which was likewiſe agreed; and the Articles were delivered to the Lord Chamberlain to preſent to the King.

The Chancellor had promiſed that Day to dine in *Whitehall*, but would not preſume to go thither till He had ſent to the King, not thinking it fit to go into his Court, whilſt He lay under an Accuſation of High Treaſon, without his Leave. His Majeſty ſent him Word, "that He ſhould dine "where He had appointed, and as ſoon as He had dined that He ſhould "attend him." Then his Majeſty told him and the Lord Treaſurer all that had paſſed between the Earl of *Briſtol* and him in the Preſence of the Lord *Aubigny*; and in the Relation of it expreſſed great Indignation, and was angry with himſelf "that He had not immediately ſent him to the "*Tower*, which" He ſaid "He would do as ſoon as He could apprehend "him." He uſed the Chancellor with much Grace, and told him, "that "the Earl of *Briſtol* had not treated him ſo ill as He had done his Ma- "jeſty; and that his Articles were more to his Diſhonour, and reflected "more upon him, for which He would have Juſtice."

His Majeſty commanded the Lord Chamberlain to return his Thanks to the Houſe, "for the Reſpect They had ſhewed to him in ſending thoſe Ar- "ticles to him;" and to let them know, "that He looked upon them as "a Libel againſt himſelf more than a Charge againſt the Chancellor, who "upon his Knowledge was innocent in all the Particulars charged upon "him;" which Report the Lord Chamberlain made the next Morning to the Houſe: And at the ſame Time the Judges declared their Opinion unanimouſly, "that the whole Charge contained Nothing of Treaſon though "it were all true." Upon which the Earl of *Briſtol*, eſpecially upon what the Lord Chamberlain had reported from the King, appeared in great Confuſion, and lamented his Condition, "that He, for endeavouring to ſerve his "Country upon the Impulſion of his Conſcience, was diſcountenanced, and "threatened with the Anger and Diſpleaſure of his Prince; whilſt his Adverſary "kept his Place in the Houſe, and had the Judges ſo much at his Devotion that "They would not certify againſt him." The Chancellor moved the Houſe, "that a ſhort Day might be given to the Earl, to bring in his Evidence to "prove the ſeveral Matters of his Charge; otherwiſe that He might have "ſuch Reparation, as was in their Judgments proportionable to the Indig- "nity." The Earl ſaid, "He ſhould not fail to produce Witneſſes to prove "all He had alleged, and more: But that He could not appoint a Time "when He could be ready for a Hearing, becauſe many of his moſt im- "portant Witneſſes were beyond the Seas, ſome at *Paris*, and others in "other Places; and that He muſt examine the Duke of *Ormond* who was "Lieutenant in *Ireland*, and the Earl of *Lautherdale* who was then in "*Scotland*, and muſt deſire Commiſſioners to that Purpoſe."

The Earl of Briſtol *abſconds upon the King's Warrant to apprehend him.*

But from that Day He made no farther Inſtance: And underſtanding that the King had given Warrants to a Sergeant at Arms to apprehend him, He concealed himſelf in ſeveral Places for the Space of near two Years; ſending ſometimes Letters and Petitions by his Wife to the King, who would not receive them. But in the End his Majeſty was prevailed with by the Lady and Sir *Harry Bennet* to ſee him in private; but would not admit him to come to the Court, nor repeal his Warrants for his Apprehenſion: So that He appeared not publickly till the Chancellor's Miſfortune; and then He came to the Court and to the Parliament in great Triumph, and ſhewed a more impotent Malice than was expected from his Generoſity and Underſtanding.

The Affairs of Scotland.

We ſhall in the next Place take a View of *Scotland*, whither We left *Middleton* ſent the King's Commiſſioner, who performed his Part with wonderful Dexterity and Conduct, and with more Succeſs than ſome of his Coun-

trymen were pleaſed with. We have remembered before the Debate upon his Inſtructions, and the earneſt Advice and Caution given by *Lauther-dale* againſt any haſty Attempt to make Alteration in the Matters of the Church, which was at laſt left to the Diſcretion of the Commiſſioner, to proceed in ſuch a Manner, and at ſuch a Time, as He found moſt convenient. As ſoon as He came thither, He found himſelf received with as univerſal an Exclamation, and the King's Authority as cheerfully ſubmitted to, as can be imagined or could be wiſhed; and ſuch a Conſent to every Thing He propoſed, that He made no Queſtion but any Thing his Majeſty required would find an entire Obedience. The Earl of *Glencarne* who was Chancellor, and the Earl of *Rothes*, and all the Nobility of any Intereſt or Credit, were not only faithful to the King but faſt Friends to *Middleton*, and magnified his Conduct in all their Letters. *The Commiſſioner well received.*

THE Earl of *Crawford* alone who was Treaſurer, which is an Office that cannot be unattended by a great Faction in that Kingdom, retained ſtill his rigid Affection for the Preſbytery, when the Miniſters themſelves grew much leſs rigid, and were even aſhamed of the many Follies and Madneſſes They had committed. But the Earl of *Crawford* did all He could to raiſe their Spirits, and to keep them firm to the Kirk. In all other Particulars He was full of Devotion to the King, being entirely of the Faction of *Hamilton*, and nearly allied to it; and when the King was in *Scotland* had ſerved him ſignally, and had then been made by him High Treaſurer of that Kingdom; and upon *Cromwell's* prevailing and Conjunction with *Argyle*, was as odious as any Man to them Both, and had for many Years been Priſoner in *England* till the Time of the King's Return. There was always a great Friendſhip between him and *Lautherdale*; the former being a Man of much the greater Intereſt, and of unqueſtionable Courage; the other excelling him in all the Faculties which are neceſſary to Buſineſs, and being a Maſter in Diſſimulation.

MIDDLETON, and the Lords who went with him, and the General (upon whoſe Advice the King depended as much in the Buſineſs of *Scotland*) were all earneſt with his Majeſty to remove the Earl of *Crawford* from that great Office, which would enable him to do Miſchief. But the King's good Nature prevailed over him, though He knew him as well as They did: And He thought it too hardhearted a Thing to remove a Man, whom He found a Priſoner for his Service, from an Office He had formerly conferred upon him for his Merit, and which He had not forfeited by any Miſcarriage. And it may be it was ſome Argument to him of his Sincerity, that when others, who to his Majeſty's own Knowledge were as rigid *Preſbyterians* as He, were now very frank in renouncing and diſclaiming all Obligations from it, He of all the Nobility was the only Man who ſtill adhered to it, when it was evident to him that He ſhould upon the Matter be undone by it. However the King ſent him down with the reſt into *Scotland*, being confident that He would do Nothing to diſſerve him, as in Truth He never did; and reſolved that, when the Buſineſs of the Church came to be agitated, if He did continue ſtill refractory, He would take the Staff from him, and confer it upon *Middleton:* Who, though all Things were very fair between him and *Lautherdale*, to whom all his Diſpatches muſt be addreſſed, yet depended more upon thoſe of the *Engliſh* Council, to whom the King had required the Secretary to communicate all that He received from the Commiſſioner, and all the Diſpatches which He ſhould make to him. And by this Means no Orders were ſent from the King which reſtrained him from proceeding in the

Matter of the Church according to Diſcretion, as He was appointed by his Inſtructions; though *Lautherdale* did not diſſemble, when Letters came from *Scotland* "of the good Poſture the King's Affairs were in there, and "that any Thing might be brought to paſs that He deſired," to receive other Letters to which He gave more Credit; and was ſtill as ſolicitous that Nothing might be attempted with Reference to the Kirk.

Proceedings of the Scotch *Parliament.*

As ſoon as the Parliament was convened at *Edinburgh*, and the Commiſſioner found the Temper of them to be ſuch as He could wiſh, the Marquis of *Argyle* (who had been ſent by Sea from the *Tower* of *London* to *Leith*) was brought to his Trial upon many Articles of Treaſon and Murder; wherein all his Confederacies with *Cromwell* were laid open, and much inſiſted upon to prove his being privy to the Reſolution of taking the King's Life, and adviſing it: And though there was great Reaſon to ſuſpect it, and moſt Men believed it, the Proofs were not clear enough to convict him. But then the Evidence was ſo full and clear of ſo many horrid Murders committed by his Order upon Perſons in his Diſpleaſure, and his immediate poſſeſſing himſelf of their Eſtates, and other monſtrous and unheard of Acts of Oppreſſion; that the Parliament condemned him to be hanged upon a Gallows of an unuſual Height, and in or near the Place where He had cauſed the Marquis of *Mountroſe* to be formerly executed: All which was performed the ſame Day with the univerſal Joy of the People; the unfortunate Perſon himſelf ſhewing more Reſolution and Courage than was expected from him, and expreſſing much Affection and Zeal for the *Covenant*, for which He deſired all Men ſhould believe He was put to Death. There was likewiſe one ſeditious Preacher, *Gilaſpy*, who had been a notorious and malicious Rebel againſt the laſt and the preſent King, underwent the ſame Trial and Judgment, with the ſame Faith in the *Covenant*, and without Shew of Repentance. And it was much wondered at, that no more of that Tribe, which had kindled the Fire that had almoſt burned two Kingdoms, and never had endeavoured to extinguiſh it, were ever brought to Juſtice; and that the Lives of two Men ſhould be thought a ſufficient Sacrifice for that Kingdom to offer for all the Miſchief it had done.

The Marquis of Argyle *tried, condemned and executed.*

Gilaſpy a Fanatick executed.

When this Work was done, the Parliament without Heſitation repealed all thoſe Acts prejudicial to the Crown and the Royal Dignity, which had been made ſince the Beginning of the Rebellion, and upon which all the Rebellions had been founded; and branded their beloved *Covenant* with all the Reproaches it deſerved, and this even with the Conſent and Approbation of the General Aſſembly of the Kirk. By all which the Obſtructions were removed; and it was now in the Power of the King to make Biſhops as heretofore, and to ſettle the Church in the ſame Government to which it had formerly been ſubject. But the Commiſſioner thought not this enough; and apprehended that the King might yet be perſuaded, though there was no ſuch Appearance, "that the People were againſt it, and that "it would be better to defer it:" And therefore the Parliament prepared a Petition to the King, highly aggravating the Wickedneſs of the former Time in deſtroying Epiſcopacy, without which They could not have brought their wicked Devices to paſs; and therefore They were humble Suitors to his Majeſty, "that He would make Choice of ſuch grave Di-"vines, as He thought fit to be conſecrated Biſhops, for all the vacant Sees," they being at that Time all vacant, there being not one Biſhop of the Nation alive.

The Parliament petition the King to reſtore Epiſcopacy.

AND the Commiſſioner having declared that He meant to prorogue the Parliament, They appointed a Draught of an Oath or Subſcription to be prepared againſt the next Seſſion, whereby every Man, who was poſſeſſed of a Church or any other Eccleſiaſtical Promotion in that Kingdom, ſhould be bound to renounce the *Covenant* upon the Penalty of being deprived; intimating likewiſe, that They reſolved, at the next Meeting "that no Man ſhould be capable of holding any Office, or of being a "Privy Counſellor, who would not formally ſubſcribe the ſame." *They prepare an Abjuration of the Covenant.*

THEY ſettled a ſtanding Militia of forty thouſand Men, to be always ready to march upon the King's Orders; and raiſed two good Troops of Horſe, and provided for the Payment of them; and granted ſuch a Sum of Money to the King, as could be reaſonably expected from ſo poor and harraſſed a Country, and which would ſerve the defraying the neceſſary Expenſes thereof. And all this being done, and the Prorogation made, the Commiſſioner and ſome of the other Lords came to *London* to kiſs the King's Hand, and to receive his farther Directions, having ſo fully diſpatched all his former Orders. They brought likewiſe with them ſome other Propoſitions, which will be mentioned anon. *And ſettle a ſtanding Force.* *The Commiſſioner returns to London.*

THE King received the Commiſſioner with open Arms, and was very well pleaſed with all that He had done; and Nobody ſeemed to magnify it more than *Lautherdale*, who was leaſt ſatisfied with it. Nor could He now longer oppoſe the making of Biſhops there: So having preſented the Names of ſuch Perſons to the King who were thought fit to be conſecrated Biſhops, whereof ſome had been with his Majeſty abroad, They were all ſent for to *London*; and ſuch of them who had not before received their Ordination from a Biſhop, but from the Preſbytery in *Scotland*, whereof the Archbiſhop of *St. Andrews* was one, firſt received Orders of Deacon and Prieſt from the Biſhop of *London*, and were afterwards conſecrated in the uſual Form by the Biſhops who were then near the Town, and made ſo great a Feaſt as if it had been at the Charge of their Country. Scotch *Biſhops conſecrated.*

THE Commiſſioner, the Chancellor, the Earl of *Rothes* and others, with the Lord *Lautherdale*, were deputed by the Parliament to be humble Suitors to the King; "ſince They had performed on their Part all that was of the "Duty of good Subjects, and were ready to give any other Teſtimony of "their Obedience that his Majeſty would require; and ſince the whole "Kingdom was entirely at his Devotion, and in ſuch a Poſture that They "were able as well as willing to preſerve the Peace thereof, and to ſuppreſs "any ſeditious Party that ſhould attempt any Diſturbance; that his Ma"jeſty would now remove the *Engliſh* Garriſons from thence, and permit "the Fortifications and Works, which had been erected at a vaſt Charge, "to be demoliſhed, that there might remain no Monuments of the Slavery "They had undergone." And this They demanded as in Juſtice due to them, "ſince there were few Men now alive, none in the leaſt Power, who "had contributed to the Ills which had been committed; and all the Men "of Power had undergone for ten or a dozen Years as great Oppreſſion as "could be put upon them, becauſe They would not renounce their Fide"lity to the King: And ſince it had pleaſed God to reſtore his Majeſty, "They hoped He would not continue thoſe Yokes and Shackles upon them, "which had been prepared and put upon them to keep them from return"ing to their Allegiance." *The* Scotch *deſire the* Engliſh *Garriſons may be withdrawn.*

THIS was propoſed in the Preſence of thoſe of the *Engliſh* Council, who had been formally admitted to be of the Council of *Scotland*, and continued to meet upon that Affair. The *Scots* Lords enlarged with much

Warmth "upon the intolerable Oppreſſion that Nation had undergone, on "the Poverty They ſtill ſuffered, and the Impoſſibility of being able to "bear any Part of the Charge, and the Jealouſy that it would keep up be- "tween the Nations, which could not be to the King's Profit and Conve- "nience." They had privately ſpoken before with the King upon it, and had prevailed with him to think what They deſired had Reaſon and Juſtice in it; and the *Engliſh* Lords could not upon the ſudden, and without Conference together, reſolve what was fit for them to ſay: So that They deſired, without expreſſing any Inclination in the Matter, "that the "Debate might be put off to another Day;" which the *Scots* took very ill, as if the very deferring it were an Argument that They thought it might be denied. But when They ſaw They would not preſently ſpeak to it, They were content that another Day ſhould be appointed for the Conſideration of it: And They afterwards deſired the King, "that He would call "the Committee of the *Engliſh* Council, who uſed to attend him in the "moſt ſecret Affairs, to conſult what was to be done." Nobody could deny but that the *Scots* had Reaſon to demand it. And They who thought it a Bridle fit to keep in their Mouths, to reſtrain them from future Rebellions which They might be inclined to, could not eaſily reſolve what Anſwer ſhould be given to them in the Negative. And They who thought the Demand to be ſo juſt and reaſonable, and ſo much for the King's Benefit and Advantage, that it ought to be granted, did believe likewiſe that it was a Thing ſo capable of Cenſure and Reproach, in Regard of the general Prejudice which the *Engliſh* have againſt that People, that no particular Perſon was able to bear the Odium of the Advice; nor that the King himſelf ſhould take the Reſolution upon himſelf without very mature Deliberation.

Some Circumſtances that facilitate their Requeſt.

THAT which advanced the Propoſition as fit to be granted, was the Charge of maintaining thoſe Forces; which that Kingdom was ſo incapable of bearing, that *Middleton* and *Glencarne* (whoſe Duties and entire Devotion to the King were above all Exception or Suſpicion) declared not only to the King, but to thoſe of the Lords with whom They would confer freely, "that if the King thought it neceſſary to keep that People ſtill "there, He muſt ſend more Forces of Horſe and Foot thither; otherwiſe "They were not ſtrong enough to ſubdue the whole Kingdom, but would "as ſoon as They ſtirred out of their Garriſons be knocked in the Head; "nor would the Country pay any Thing towards their Support, but "what ſhould be extorted by Force: So that his Majeſty would not be "thought to poſſeſs that Kingdom in Peace, which otherwiſe He would "unqueſtionably do."

AND this Conſideration was improved by the Reflection upon the Body of Men of which thoſe Forces conſiſted, which was a Parcel of the worſt affected Men to the King of the whole Army, and which the General had therefore left in *Scotland*, when He marched into *England*, under the Command of Major General *Morgan* (who was worthy of any Truſt), becauſe He was not ſure enough of their Fidelity to take them with him, yet thought them fit enough to be left to reſtrain the *Scots* from any ſudden Inſurrection. But now They ſaw all their Model brought to Confuſion, They were not ſo much above Temptation, but that They might, eſpecially if They were drawn together, concur in any deſperate Deſign with a diſcontented Party in *Scotland*, or with their Brethren of the diſbanded Army of *England*, who at that Seaſon had rebellious Reſolutions in the *North*. And which was of no ſmall Importance, there was at this very Time an Opportunity to tranſport all

thoſe Forces (the very diſbanding wherof would not be without Danger for the Reaſons aforeſaid) to *Portugal*, in Compliance with the King's Obligation upon his Marriage.

ON the contrary, it was very notorious that the People generally throughout *England*, of what Quality ſoever, a few *London Preſbyterians* excepted, were marvellouſly pleaſed to ſee the *Scots* ſo admirably chaſtiſed and yoked; nor had *Cromwell* ever done an Act that more reconciled the Affections of the *Engliſh* to him, than his moſt rigorous Treatment of that Nation: And They never contributed Money ſo willingly towards any of his Deſigns, as for the erecting thoſe Forts in the ſeveral Quarters of the Kingdom; which, with a little Addition of Force, They had good Experience would ſuffice to keep it from giving any Diſturbance to their Neighbours. And the demoliſhing all thoſe Structures in one Inſtant, and leaving an unquiet and an impoveriſhed People to their own Inclinations, could not be grateful.

THE King had, during the Time that He reſided in *Scotland* before his March to *Worceſter*, contracted, and had brought with him from thence, a perfect Deteſtation of their Kirk and Preſbyterian Government, and a great Prejudice againſt the whole Family of *Argyle* and ſome other Perſons. But He was exceedingly reconciled to the Nation; and beſides the Eſteem He had of the Perſons of very many Noblemen, He did really believe the Burgeſſes and common People to be as heartily affected to him, and as much at his Diſpoſal, as any Subjects He had. And the Lord *Lautherdale* cultivated this gracious Credulity with ſo much Diligence, that He aſſured the King, "that He might depend upon the whole *Scots* Nation as upon one "Man, to be employed in his Service and Commands of what Kind ſoever, "and againſt what Enemy ſoever." His Majeſty upon the Debate of this Buſi- *The King for it.*
"neſs declared, "that He did not only think it good Huſbandry in Reſpect of "the Expenſe, and good Policy, that He might keep *Scotland* entirely at his "Devotion, whilſt *Ireland* remained in this Confuſion, and *England* itſelf "was threatened by ſuch Factions in Religion, to gratify them in what They "deſired; but that He held himſelf obliged in Honour, Juſtice and Con-"ſcience, to ſend all the Forces out of that Kingdom, and to deface the "Monuments of that Time: And that there would be no more to be con-"ſulted, but what to do with thoſe Forces" (which was quickly reſolved, that They ſhould be all ſent for *Portugal*; and Order was preſently given for Ships upon which They were to be embarked), "and then to conſider in "what Method the other ſhould be done."

THE *Scots* were very well ſatisfied with the King's Reſolution upon the Main, but troubled at ſomewhat that the *Engliſh* Lords propoſed for the Way, "that the Privy Council firſt, and then the Parliament, ſhould be informed "of his Majeſty's Intentions: Which," They ſaid, "would be againſt the "Honour and the Intereſt and the Right of *Scotland*, which never ſubmitted "any of their Concernments to be debated at the Council-Board of *Eng-*"*land*; and the Innovation would be no leſs in remitting it to the Parlia-"ment, which had no Pretence of Juriſdiction over them." To Both which They were anſwered, "that the withdrawing the *Engliſh* Forces, and de-"moliſhing the *Engliſh* Fortifications, concerned *England* no leſs than the "other Kingdom; and that his Majeſty did not intend it ſhould be pro-"poſed to them, as a Thing of which He made any Doubt or required their "Advice, but only as a Matter of Fact, which would prevent all Murmur-"ings or Cenſures, which otherwiſe might ariſe." The *Engliſh* Lords deſired, "that the King's Orders might be very poſitive, and that the Com-

"missioner might see them executed, for the utter demolishing all those "Fortifications which the *English* were to abandon, that they might not "be continued for the Entertainment of new Garrisons of the Natives, "which would administer Matter of new Jealousies:" All which They cheerfully consented to, well knowing that They might afterwards perform what They found convenient; and many did since believe, that there remains enough in some of the Places to be Shelter to a Rebellion hereafter.

THE King appointed the Chancellor to make a Relation, at a Conference between the two Houses of Parliament, "of the good Posture his Majesty's "Affairs of *Scotland* stood in; of their having repealed all those ill Laws "which had been made by the Advantage of the Rebellion, and all that "concerned the Church; upon which that his Majesty forthwith resolved to "settle Bishops in that Kingdom, which appeared very unanimously devoted "to his Service: And that the King could not but communicate this good "News to them, which He knew would give them Cause of rejoicing." And then He told them, "that the *Scots* Parliament, in Regard of the Peace "and Quiet that They enjoyed, without the least Apprehension of Trouble "from abroad or at Home, had desired the King, *that the* English *Forces* "*might be withdrawn and all the Fortifications razed*; and that those Forces "might be convenient, if his Majesty thought fit, to be transported to *Por-*
The English *Parliament do not oppose it.*
"*tugal*;" without discovering what his Majesty had resolved to do, or asking any Opinion from them, which however They might have given if They pleased. The Effect was, that Both Houses sent their humble Thanks to the King "for his having vouchsafed to let them know the good Condi-"tion of *Scotland*, of which They wished his Majesty much Joy; and hoped "his other Dominions would in a short Time be in the same Tranquillity:" Without taking any Notice of withdrawing the Garrisons. And so that Affair ended.

DURING this Agitation in *London*, it was discernable enough that there were great Jealousies between the *Scots* Lords. The Commissioner and the other had Cause to believe, that the King gave much more Credit to *Lautherdale* than to them, and looked upon him as a Man of great Interest in that Country, when They knew He had none, being neither in his Quality or Fortune amongst those who were esteemed Men of Power and Dependance. And He thought them linked in a Faction against him, to lessen the Value the King had of him, which indeed was the Foundation of all his Credit and Interest. What Countenance soever He set upon it, He was sensibly afflicted at the Downfal of the Presbytery, and that *Middleton* had brought that to pass without any Difficulty (as He had before told the King He would), which He had assured his Majesty was impossible to be effected but in long Time and by many Stratagems.

THE Marquis of *Argyle* had been a Man universally odious to the whole Nation, some Ministers and Preachers excepted: And there had been always thought to have been an implacable Animosity from *Lautherdale* towards him; and after the King's Return no Man had appeared more against him, nor more insisted upon his not being admitted to his Majesty's Presence, or for his being sent into *Scotland* to be tried. Yet after all this it was discovered, that He had interposed all He could with his Majesty to save him, and employed all his Interest in *Scotland* to the same Purpose. And the Marquis was no sooner executed, but the Earl of *Lautherdale* had prevailed with the King immediately to give his Son the Lord *Lorne* (who

had remained in *London* to ſolicit on his Father's Behalf) Leave to kiſs his Hand, and to create him Earl of *Argyle*, and to confer on him the Office of General Juſtice in the *Highlands*, by which his Father had been qualified to do moſt of the Wickedneſſes He had committed; all which the Parliament of *Scotland* ſhould have treated as the moſt ſenſible Affront to them that They could undergo. *Lord* Lorne *reſtored, and created Earl of* Argyle.

IT was well known that this young Man, who was Captain of the King's Guard when He was in *Scotland*, had treated his Majeſty with that Rudeneſs and Barbarity, that He was much more odious to him than his Father; and in all the Letters which *Lautherdale* had found Opportunity to write, whilſt He was a Priſoner in *England*, to the King when He was beyond the Seas, He inveighed equally againſt the Son as the Father, and never gave him any other Title than THAT TOAD'S BIRD: So that Nobody could imagine from whence this Change could proceed, but from a Deſign to preſerve an Intereſt in the Preſbyterian Party againſt the Time He ſhould have Occaſion to uſe them.

THEN there were Circumſtances in this Grace of the King to the Lord *Lorne*, that exceeded all Mens Comprehenſion: For his Majeſty cauſed all the Eſtate of the Marquis of *Argyle*, which did not appear in any Degree ſo conſiderable as it was generally believed to have been, to be ſeized upon as forfeited to him; and then would grant it to the Son ſo abſolutely, that neither the Owners ſhould recover what had been injuriouſly and violently taken from them for their Loyalty to the King, nor the Creditors receive Satisfaction for the juſt Debts which were due to them, and which muſt have been ſatisfied if the King had retained the Forfeiture. But upon the Application of the Commiſſioner and the other Lords, that the King would hear all Perſons concerned, there was ſome Mitigation in thoſe Particulars, notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition which *Lautherdale* did barefaced make on the Behalf of the Lord *Lorne*, and which the other bore with great Indignation: Which He knew very well, and did believe that the Oath and Subſcription, which He well knew They had contrived for the next Seſſion of Parliament, was levelled at him; that not taking it, as They did not believe He would do, the Secretary of *Scotland's* Place might become void, which They had much rather ſhould have been in any Man's Hand than in his. And therefore He took all Occaſions to profeſs and declare, beſides his conſtant Raillery againſt the Preſbytery, "that if They ſhould require "him to ſubſcribe that He is a *Turk*, He would do it before He would loſe "his Office."

THE Matter of theſe Offences being moſt in private, and ſo not publickly taken Notice of, They made a fair Show and kept good Quarter towards each other. And the King conſenting to all that the Commiſſioner propoſed with Reference to the Publick, being indeed abundantly ſatisfied with his Comportment, and at parting promiſing to give him the Office of Treaſurer, when by *Crawford's* refuſing to ſubſcribe it ſhould become void; They, with all their Biſhops, returned again for *Scotland* with incurable Jealouſy of *Lautherdale*, who remained waiting upon the King, and reſolved to croſs all their Deſigns He could, and quietly to expect a better Opportunity to undo what He could not for the preſent prevent. *The Commiſſioner and Biſhops return to* Scotland.

IT is Time now to return to the Parliament of *England*, which, according to the Time of the Prorogation, met again in *March* towards the Entrance into the Year 1664: When at their firſt Meeting the King informed them at large of the Inſurrection that had been endeavoured in the Summer before in *Yorkſhire*, which, how fooliſhly ſoever contrived, *The* Engliſh *Parliament meets.*

was a very great Inſtance of the Diſtemper of the Nation; that three Years after the diſbanding of the Army, the Officers thereof ſhould remain ſtill ſo unquiet, as to hope to give any ſignal Diſturbance to the Peace of the Kingdom, by ſuch a Commotion as They could upon their Credit raiſe.

An Inſurrection intended in Yorkſhire.

THE continual Diſcourſe of Plots and Inſurrections had ſo wearied the King, that He even reſolved to give no more Countenance to any ſuch Informations, nor to trouble himſelf with Inquiry into them; but to leave the Peace of the Kingdom againſt any ſuch Attempts to the Vigilance of the civil Magiſtrates, and the Care of the Officers of the Militia, which He preſumed would be ſufficient to quell and ſuppreſs any ordinary fanatick Deſign. And upon this Reſolution, and to avoid the Reproach of the late Times, of contriving Plots only to commit Men to Priſon againſt whom there was any Prejudice, He totally neglected the firſt Information He received of this ſeditious Purpoſe. But when the Intelligence was continued from ſeveral Parts, and ſo particular for the Time and Place of the Rendezvous, and for the ſeizing upon the City of *York*; and there was Evidence that ſome Men of Eſtate and Fortune, and who were held wary and diſcreet Men, were engaged in it; his Majeſty thought it Time to provide againſt it, and not only commended the Care of it to the Lords Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants of the Counties adjacent, but ſent likewiſe ſeveral Troops of his own Horſe to poſſeſs the City of *York* before the Day appointed, and to attend ſome of the Places of the Rendezvous. And They came very ſeaſonably, and ſurpriſed many upon the very Place, before their Company was ſtrong enough to make Reſiſtance. Others did make ſome Reſiſtance, but quickly fled and were diſperſed. Many were taken, and upon their Examination behaved themſelves as if They were ſure to be quickly reſcued; for it appeared that They did believe that the Inſurrection would have been general throughout the Kingdom, and that all the diſbanded Army would have been brought together at ſeveral Rendezvouſes.

But prevented.

ALL the Priſons in the *North* were ſo full, that the King thought it neceſſary to ſend down four or five of the Judges of the ſeveral Benches of *Weſtminſter-Hall* to *York*, with a Commiſſion of *Oyer and Terminer*, to examine the whole Matter. There, though the Judges did not believe that They had diſcovered the Bottom of the whole Conſpiracy, They found Cauſe to condemn very many; whereof ſeventeen or eighteen were executed, ſome reprieved, and very many left in Priſon to be tried at the next Aſſizes. Amongſt thoſe who were executed, the Man who was moſt looked upon was one *Rymer*, of the Quality of the better Sort of Grand-Jurymen, and held a wiſe Man, and was known to be truſted by the greateſt Men who had been in Rebellion: And He was diſcovered by a Perſon of intimate Truſt with him, who had heretofore the ſame Affections with him, but would venture no more. He was a ſullen Man, and uſed few Words to excuſe himſelf, and none to hurt any Body elſe; though He was thought to know much, and that having a good Eſtate He would never have embarked in a Deſign that had no Probability of Succeſs. Some of the Priſoners declared, "that They were aſſured by thoſe who engaged "them, that ſuch and ſuch great Men would appear at the Rendezvous or "ſoon after." But that was not thought a ſufficient Ground to trouble any Man, though ſome of them were very liable to Suſpicion; ſince in all Combinations of that Kind, it is a moſt uſual Artifice to work upon weak Men, by perſuading them that other Men, of whom They have great Eſteem, are engaged in it, who in Truth know Nothing of it.

Some of the Plotters executed.

THE Judges were returned from *York* little Time before the Parliament met; and therefore the King thought it fit to awaken them to much Vigilance, by informing them with what Secrecy that Conſpiracy had been carried. And his Majeſty aſſured them, "that He was not yet at the Bottom "of that Buſineſs; and that it appeared manifeſtly, that this Conſpiracy "was but a Branch of that which He had diſcovered as well as He could "to them about two Years ſince, and had been then executed nearer Hand, "if He had not by God's Goodneſs come to the Knowledge of ſome of the "principal Contrivers, and ſo ſecured them from doing the Miſchief They "intended." *The King's Speech at the Meeting of the Parliament.*

HIS Majeſty told them, "that They would wonder, (yet He ſaid what "was true) that They were now even in thoſe Parts, when They ſee their "Friends under Trial and Execution, ſtill purſuing the ſame Conſultations: "And it was evident that They had Correſpondence with deſperate Perſons "in moſt Counties, and a ſtanding Council in *London* itſelf, from which "They receive their Directions, and by whom They were adviſed to defer "their laſt intended Inſurrection. But thoſe Orders ſerved only to diſtract "them, and came too late to prevent their Deſtruction." He ſaid, "He "knew more of their Intrigues, than They thought He did; and hoped "He ſhould ſhortly diſcover the Bottom: In the mean Time He deſired "the Parliament, that They might all be as watchful to prevent, as They "were to contrive their Miſchief." He ſaid, "He could not upon this "Occaſion omit to tell them, that theſe deſperate Men in their Counſels (as "appeared by ſeveral Examinations) had not been all of one Mind in the "Ways of carrying on their wicked Reſolutions. Some would ſtill inſiſt "upon the Authority of the Long Parliament, of which They ſay They "have Members enough willing to meet: Others have fancied to themſelves, by ſome Computation of their own, upon ſome Clauſe in the "*Triennial Bill, that this preſent Parliament was at an End ſome Months "ſince; and that for Want of new Writs They may aſſemble themſelves, "and chuſe Members for Parliament*; and that this is the beſt Expedient "to bring themſelves together for their other Purpoſes. For the Long Parliament," his Majeſty ſaid, "that He and They together could do no more "than He had done to inform and compoſe the Minds of Men; let them "proceed upon that at their Peril. But He thought there had been Nothing done to diſabuſe Men in reſpect of the *Triennial Bill*. He confeſſed "that He had often himſelf read over that Bill; and though there is no Colour for the Fancy of the Determination of this Parliament; yet He would "not deny to them, that He had always expected that They would, and "even wondered that They had not conſidered the wonderful Clauſes in "that Bill, which had paſſed in a Time very uncareful for the Dignity of "the Crown, or the Security of the People." His Majeſty deſired the Speaker and the Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, "that They would "once give that *Triennial Bill* a Reading in their Houſe; and then in God's "Name They might do what They thought fit for him, themſelves, and "the whole Kingdom." His Majeſty ſaid, "that He needed not tell them "how much He loved Parliaments: Never King was ſo much beholden to "Parliaments as He had been; nor did He think that the Crown could "ever be happy without frequent Parliaments. But He wiſhed them to "aſſure themſelves, that if He ſhould think otherwiſe, He would never "ſuffer a Parliament to come together, by the Means preſcribed by that "Bill."

He renewed his Thanks to them "for the free Supply They gave him "the laſt Seſſion of four Subſidies; yet He could not but tell them, that "that Supply was fallen much ſhort of what He expected and They in- "tended. That it would hardly be believed, yet They knew it to be true, "that very many Perſons, who have Eſtates of three or four thouſand Pounds "by the Year, do not pay for theſe four Subſidies ſixteen Pounds: So that "whereas They intended and declared, *that they ſhould be collected ac- "cording to former Precedents*, they do not now ariſe to Half the Propor- "tion they did in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*; and yet ſure the Crown "wants more now than it did then, and the Subject is at leaſt as well able "to give." His Majeſty ſaid, "the Truth is, by the Licenſe of the late "ill Time, and ill Humour of this, too many of the People, and even of "thoſe who make fair Profeſſions, believe it to be no Sin to defraud the "Crown of any Thing that is due to it. That They no ſooner gave him "*Tonnage* and *Poundage*, than Men were deviſing all the Means They "could to ſteal Cuſtom; nor could the Farmers be ſo vigilant for the Col- "lection, as others were to ſteal the Duties. They gave him the *Exciſe*, "which all People abroad believed to be the moſt inſenſible Impoſition that "can be laid upon a People: What Conſpiracies and Combinations were "entered into againſt it by the Brewers, who He was ſure did not bear the "Burden themſelves, even to bring that Revenue to Nothing, They would "hear in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. They had given him the *Chimney-Money*, "which They had Reaſon to believe was a growing Revenue, for Men "build at leaſt faſt enough; and They would therefore wonder, that it was "already declined, and that this Half Year brings in leſs than the former did." He deſired them therefore, "that They would review that Bill; and ſince "He was ſure that They would have him receive whatſoever They gave, "that He might have the collecting and huſbanding of it by his own Of- "ficers, and then He doubted not but to improve that Receipt, and He "would be cozened as little as He could."

His Majeſty concluded with "deſiring and conjuring them to keep a "very good Correſpondence together, that it might not be in the Power "of any ſeditious or factious Spirits to make them jealous of each other, or "either of them jealous of him, till They ſee him pretend one Thing and "do another, which He was ſure They had never yet done." He aſſured them, "it ſhould be in Nobody's Power to make him jealous of them." And ſo deſired them, "that They would diſpatch what They found neceſſary, that "They might be ready for a Seſſion within two Months or thereabout, "becauſe the Seaſon of the Year would invite them all to take the Coun- "try Air."

It was very happy for his Majeſty, that He did cut out their Work to their Hand, and aſked no Money of them, and limited them a ſhort Time to continue together. It made their Counſels very unanimous: And though They raiſed no new Taxes and Impoſitions upon the People, They made what They had before raiſed much more valuable to the King than it was before, by paſſing other Acts and Declarations for the explaining many Things, and the better collecting the Money They had formerly given; which much added to his Majeſty's Profit without grieving the People, who were rather gratified in the Remedies which were provided againſt Frauds and Cozenage.

The Triennial Bill *repealed.*

The Parliament had ſate but very little more than ten Days, when They preſented a Bill to his Majeſty for the Repeal of the *Triennial Bill*, which He had recommended to them; which was ſo grateful to him, that He

came in Perſon to the Houſe to paſs it and to thank them: And He told them, "that every good *Engliſhman* would thank them for it; for it could "only have ſerved to diſcredit Parliaments, to make the Crown jealous of "Parliaments and Parliaments of the Crown, and perſuaded neighbour Princes "that *England* was not governed under a Monarch." The Truth is: It had paſſed in a very jealous and ſeditious Time, when the Wickedneſs was firſt in hatching, that ripened afterwards to a diſmal Perfection; and when all, who were ſworn never to conſent to the Diſheriſon of the Crown, thought only of preſerving their own Inheritance which They had gotten, or improving it at the Expenſe of the Crown; and made it manifeſt enough, that it ſhould wither, at leaſt while it ſtood upon the Head of that King; for at that Time the Conſpiracy went no farther, that is amongſt thoſe who had then Credit to promote its Paſſage, though They were weak Men who thought it could reſt there.

As They made this Entrance, ſo They were wholly intent upon Matters of Moment, and diſpatched all They intended to do within the two Months, in which the King deſired They would be ready for a Prorogation. And as there was greater Order and Unanimity in their Debates, ſo They diſpatched more Buſineſs of publick Importance and Conſequence, than any other Parliament hath done in twice the Time: For, beſides the Repeal of the odious Bill before mentioned, They made a very good additional Bill for the Chimney-Money, which made that Revenue much more conſiderable; and They paſſed likewiſe another Bill againſt the frequenting of Conventicles, which was looked upon as the greateſt Diſcountenance the Parliament had yet given to all the Factions in Religion, and if it had been vigorouſly executed would no Doubt have produced a thorough Reformation. They made likewiſe a very good Act, and very neceſſary for a Time of ſuch Corruption, that had contracted new Ways of Diſhoneſty and Villany that former Times had not thought of, when many unworthy and cowardly Maſters of Ships and Seamen had been contented to be robbed, and to ſuffer all their Owners Goods to be taken, upon an Allowance made to them by the Pirates; for the Diſcovery and Puniſhment whereof the Law had not enough provided. They therefore preſented a Bill to the King, "for the Diſcovery "and Puniſhment of all ſuch treacherous and infamous Actions; and for "the Reward of ſuch honeſt and ſtout Seamen, as ſhould manfully and "courageouſly defend their Owners Goods, and therein maintain the Ho-"nour of the Nation." *Some Acts paſſed.*

ALL this They preſented to his Majeſty, and it was confirmed by his Royal Aſſent on the 17th of *May*; when his Majeſty, after giving ſuch Thanks to them as They deſerved, told them, "He did not intend to bring them "together again till the Month of *November*, that They might enjoy the "Summer in the Tranſaction of their own Affairs: Yet becauſe there might "ſome emergent Occaſion fall out, that might make him wiſh to find them "together ſooner, He would prorogue them only to *Auguſt*; and before "the Day They ſhould have ſeaſonable Notice, by Proclamation, not to "give their Attendance, except ſuch Occaſion ſhould fall out." And ſo They were prorogued to a Day in *Auguſt*, but met not till *November* following. *The Parliament prorogued.*

DURING this ſhort Seſſion of Parliament, They, who were very ſolicitous to promote a War with *Holland*, forgat not what They had to do; but They quickly diſcerned that it was not a good Seaſon to mention the giving of Money (which the King himſelf had forborne to mention, that the People might ſee one Seſſion of Parliament paſs without granting new Impoſitions, which They had not yet ſeen), and therefore it would be as unſeaſon-

able to ſpeak of a War. However They made ſuch an Approach towards it, as might make a farther Advance much more eaſy.

The Merchants remonſtrate againſt the Dutch.

THE Merchants in the Committee of Trade much lamented the Obſtructions and Diſcouragements, which They had long found in their Commerce by Sea with other Nations, and which were not removed even by the bleſſed Return of the King; all which They imputed to the Pride and Inſolence of the *Hollanders*, "who" They ſaid "obſerved no Laws of Com-"merce, or any Conditions which themſelves conſented to. That by their "Fraud and Practice the *Engliſh* were almoſt driven out of the *Eaſt* and "*Weſt-Indies*, and had their Trade in *Turkey* and in *Africa* much dimi-"niſhed. In Sum, that beſides many inſufferable Indignities offered by "them to his Majeſty and to the Crown of *England*, his Subjects had in "few Years ſuſtained the Damage of ſeven or eight hundred thouſand "Pounds *Sterling*."

ALL which with ſome particular Inſtances being reported from the Committee of Trade to the Houſe, They had deſired an Audience from his Majeſty, and then preſented this Grievance to him, and deſired his Majeſty, "that He would give ſuch Order in it, as to his Wiſdom ſhould ſeem fit, "that might produce juſt and honourable Satisfaction." The King, who continued firm to his former Reſolution, anſwered them, "that He would "tranſmit the Addreſs They had preſented to him to his Reſident at the "*Hague*, with Order that He ſhould inform the *States* of it, and require "Satisfaction, which He hoped the *States General* would yield unto, "rather than compel him to demand Juſtice in another Way." The Anſwer pleaſed them well, nor could They wiſh that the Proſecution ſhould be put into a better Hand than the Reſident's, who was a Member of the Houſe, and a Man who had inflamed them more than the Merchants themſelves againſt the *Dutch*.

Character of Sir George Downing *the Reſident in* Holland.

THAT Reſident was Sir *George Downing*, a Man of an obſcure Birth, and more obſcure Education, which He had received in Part in *New England*: He had paſſed through many Offices in *Cromwell's* Army, of Chaplain, Scoutmaſter, and other Employments, and at laſt got a very particular Credit and Confidence with him, and under that Countenance married a beautiful Lady of a very noble Extraction, which was the Fate of many bold Men in that preſumptuous Time. And when *Cromwell* had ſubdued the *Dutch* to that Temper He wiſhed, and had thereupon made a Peace with them, He ſent this Man to reſide as his Agent with them, being a Man of a proud and inſolent Spirit, and who would add to any imperious Command of his ſomewhat of the Bitterneſs of his own Spirit.

AND He did ſo fully execute his Charge in all Things, eſpecially when He might manifeſt his Animoſity againſt the Royal Party, that when the King himſelf had once, during his Reſidence at *Bruſſels*, for his Divertiſement made a Journey *incognito*, with not above four Perſons, to ſee *Amſterdam* and from thence the Towns of *North Holland*; *Downing* coming to have Notice of it delivered a Memorial to the *States* of *Holland*, wherein He encloſed the third Article of their Treaty, by which They were obliged "not to ſuffer any Traitor, Rebel or any other Perſon, who was declared "an Enemy to the *Commonwealth* of *England*, to reſide or ſtay in their "Dominions;" and told them, "that *Charles Stuart* and the Marquis of "*Ormond* had been lately in *Amſterdam*, and were ſtill in ſome Places ad-"jacent;" and required "that They might not be permitted to remain in "any Part of their Dominions." Whereupon the *States* of *Holland* ſent preſently to the Princeſs Royal, who was then at her Country Houſe at *Hounſ-*

lerdike, "that if her Brother were then with her or ſhould come to her, "He ſhould forthwith depart out of their Province:" And not ſatisfied herewith, They publiſhed an Order in the *Hague* to the ſame Purpoſe, which was ſent to *Amſterdam* and other Towns according to their Cuſtom.

WITH this rude Punctuality He behaved himſelf during the Life of *Cromwell*, and whilſt his Son retained the Uſurpation; but when He ſaw him thrown out with that Contempt, and that the Government was not like to be ſettled again till there was a Reſort to the old Foundation, He bethought himſelf how He might have a Reſerve of the King's Favour. And the Marquis of *Ormond* making about that Time a Journey *incognito* to the *Hague*, to treat of a Marriage for his eldeſt Son with a noble Lady whoſe Friends lived there, *Downing* found Opportunity to have a private Conference with him, and made Offer of his Service to the King, if his Devotion might be concealed, without which it would be uſeleſs to his Majeſty. And for an Earneſt of his Fidelity, He informed him of ſome Particulars which were of Moment for the King to know: Amongſt which one was, "that a Perſon, who in Reſpect of his very honourable Extraction, and "the preſent Obligations himſelf had to the Royal Family, was not ſuſ- "pected, gave him, as He had long done, conſtant Intelligence of what the "King did, and of many Particulars which in their Nature deſerved to be "more ſecret, which He had always ſent to *Cromwell* whilſt He was living; "but ſince his Death, having a Reſolution to ſerve the King, He had never "diſſerved him, and would hereafter give him Notice of any Thing that "it would be neceſſary for him to be informed of with Reference to *Eng-* "*land* or to *Holland*."

THE Marquis thought it very fit to accept of ſuch an Inſtrument, and promiſed him "to acquaint his Majeſty with his good Affection, who He "preſumed would receive it graciouſly, and give him as much Encouragement "to continue it as his preſent Condition would permit." To which the other replied, "that He knew the King's preſent Condition too well to expect any "Reward from him: But if his Majeſty would vouchſafe, when He ſhould "be reſtored, to confirm to him the Office He then held of a Teller in "the Exchequer, and continue him in this Employment He then had in "*Holland*, where He preſumed He ſhould be able to do him more Service "than a Stranger could do, He would think himſelf abundantly rewarded." Of all which when the Marquis advertiſed the King at his Return to *Bruſſels*, He had Authority to aſſure him "of the King's Acceptation, and that all "that He expected ſhould be made good."

THIS was the Ground and Reaſon, that when the King came to the *Hague* the Year following to embark for *England*, He received *Downing* ſo graciouſly, and knighted him, and left him there as his Reſident; which They who were near the King, and knew Nothing of what had paſſed, wondered at as much as Strangers who had obſerved his former Behaviour. And the *States* themſelves, who would not at ſuch a Time of publick Joy do any Thing that might be ingrateful to his Majeſty, could not forbear to lament in private, "that his Majeſty would depute a Perſon to "have his Authority, who had never uſed any other Dialect to perſuade "them to do any Thing He propoſed, but Threats if They ſhould not do "it, and who at ſeveral Times had diſobliged moſt of their Perſons by his "Inſolence." And from the Time of his Majeſty's Departure from thence, He never made thoſe Repreſentations which Men in thoſe Miniſteries uſe to do, but put the worſt Commentaries upon all their Actions. And when He

ſate afterwards as a Member of the Houſe, returning ſtill in the Interval of Parliament to his Employment at the *Hague*, He took all Opportunities to inveigh againſt their Uſurpations in Trade; and either did or pretended to know many of their Myſteries of Iniquity, in opening of which He rendered himſelf acceptable to the Houſe, though He was a voluminous Speaker, which naturally They do not like.

He endeavours to bring on a War.

WHEN this Province was committed to him of Expoſtulation for the Injuries ſuſtained in ſeveral Places from the *Dutch*, He had his Wiſh, and uſed little Modeſty in the urging of it. They anſwered, "that moſt of the "Particulars of which He complained were put under Oblivion by the late "Treaty, and that in Conſideration thereof They had yielded to many "Particulars for the Benefit of the *Engliſh*; and that for the other Parti-"culars, they were likewiſe by the ſame Treaty referred to a Proceſs in "Juſtice, of which They had yet no Cauſe to complain: Nor had there "been any Action pretended to be committed ſince the Treaty was con-"cluded," which was not many Months before, "that might occaſion a Miſ-"underſtanding." And ſurely at this Time when theſe Things were urged all this was true: But He, according to the Method He had been accuſtomed to, inſiſted upon his own Demands; and frequently reproached them with their former Submiſſions to *Cromwell*, and their preſent Preſumptions upon the Goodneſs and Generoſity of the King.

IT is without Queſtion, that the *States General* did, by the Standard of their own Warineſs and Circumſpection, not ſuſpect that the King did intend to make a War upon them. They well knew the Streights and Neceſſities in which his Affairs ſtood, with Reference to Money, and to the ſeveral Diſtempers of the Nation in Matters of Religion, which might probably grow more dangerous if there were a foreign War; and concluded, that *Downing's* Importunities and Menaces were but the Reſults of his own Impetuoſity, and that the King would not be ſolicitous to interrupt and part with his own Peace. And therefore their own Ships They ſent out as They uſed to do, and thoſe for the Coaſt of *Guinea* better prepared and ſtronger than of Courſe. Nor was the Royal Company leſs vigilant to carry on that Trade, but about the ſame Time ſent a ſtronger Fleet of Merchants Ships than They had ever before done; and for their better Encouragement the King lent them two of his own Ships for a Convoy.

The inſolent Behaviour of the Dutch *on the Coaſt of* Guinea.

AND at this Time They gave the King an Advantage in Point of Juſtice, and which concerned all other Nations in Point of Traffick and Commerce. It had been begun by them in the *Eaſt-Indies*; where They had planted themſelves in great and ſtrong Towns; and had many Harbours well fortified, in which They conſtantly maintained a great Number of good and ſtrong Ships; by which They were abſolute Maſters of thoſe Seas, and forced the neighbour Kings and Princes to enter into ſuch Terms of Amity with them as They thought fit to require. And if They found that any advantageous Trade was driven in any Port by any other Nation, They preſently ſent their Ships to lie before that Port, and denounced War againſt the Prince to whom that Port belonged; which being done, They publiſhed a Declaration, "that it ſhould not be lawful for any Nation whatſoever to trade in "the Territories of that Prince with whom They then were in War." And upon this Pretence They would not ſuffer an *Engliſh* Ship, belonging to the *Eaſt-India* Company, to enter into a Port to lade and take in a *Cargaſon* of Goods, that had been provided by their Factors there before there was any Mention or Imagination of ſuch a War, and of which there was no other Inſtance of Hoſtility than the very Declaration. And at this Time They

tranſplanted this new Prerogative to *Guinea*: And having as They ſaid, for there was no other Evidence of it, a War with one of thoſe Princes, They would not ſuffer the *Engliſh* Ships to enter into thoſe Harbours where they had always traded. The King received Animadverſion of this unheard of Inſolence and Uſurpation, and added this more juſt Complaint to the former, and required his Reſident "to demand a poſitive Renunciation of "all Pretence to ſuch an odious Uſurpation, and a Revocation of thoſe Or- "ders which their Officers had publiſhed." To this Complaint and Demand They deferred to make Anſwer, till their Ambaſſadour had preſented a Grievance to the King.

An Engliſh *Captain ſeizes a* Dutch *Fort on the Coaſt of* Africa.

ONE of thoſe Ships of War, which the King had lent to the Royal Company for the Convoy of their Fleet to *Guinea*, had in the Voyage thither aſſaulted and taken a Fort belonging to the *Dutch* near Cape *Verde*; which was of more Incommodity to them than of Benefit to the *Engliſh*. Of this Invaſion their Ambaſſadour made a loud Complaint, and demanded "that "the Captain might be puniſhed ſeverely; and in the mean Time that the "King would give a preſent Order to him, the Ambaſſadour, for the Re- "delivery of the Place and all that was in it, and He would ſend it to his "Maſters, who would forthwith ſend a Ship to demand it." The King had in Truth heard Nothing of it; and aſſured the Ambaſſadour, "that "the Captain, if He had done any ſuch Thing, had not the leaſt Commiſ- "ſion or Authority for the doing it; and that He was ſure He was upon "his Way homeward, ſo that He might be expected ſpeedily; and then "He ſhould be ſure to undergo ſuch Puniſhment as the Nature of his Of- "fence required, when the Matter ſhould be examined, and They ſhould "then receive full Reparation." This Anſwer how reaſonable ſoever ſatisfied them not: Nothing would ſerve their Turn but a preſent Reſtitution, before his Majeſty could be informed of the Provocation or Ground that had produced ſo unwarrantable an Action. They gave preſent Orders for the equipping a very great Fleet, and the raiſing many Land Soldiers, making greater Preparations for War than They had made in many Years before.

The Dutch *prepare a ſtrong Fleet for* Guinea.

They likewiſe prepared a ſtrong Fleet for *Guinea*, and granted a Commiſſion (which was publiſhed in Print) to the Commander in Chief, "to make "War upon the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts, and to do them all the Miſchief "He could."

PRINCE *Rupert*, who had been heretofore with the Fleet then under his Command, in the Beginning of the King's Reign, upon the Coaſt of *Guinea* (and by the Report and Teſtimony He gave of that Coaſt the Royal Company had received greater Encouragement), now upon this inſolent Demeanour of the *Dutch*, and publiſhing the Commiſſion They had ſent to their Commander in Chief, offered his Service to the King, "to ſail "into thoſe Parts with ſuch a Fleet as his Majeſty thought fit to ſend, with "which He made little Doubt to ſecure Trade, and abate the Preſumption "of the *Dutch*." And hereupon a Fleet was likewiſe preparing for that Purpoſe, to be commanded by Prince *Rupert*.

The Engliſh *prepare one likewiſe.*

THE Parliament had before declared, when They made their Addreſs to the King againſt the *Dutch* for obſtructing the Trade, "that They would "with their Lives and Fortunes aſſiſt his Majeſty againſt all Oppoſitions "whatſoever, which He ſhould meet with in the Removal of thoſe Obſtruc- "tions;" which They believed would terrify, but in Truth made the *Dutch* merry: And in ſome of their Declarations or Anſwers to *Downing's* Memorials, They mentioned it with too much Pride and Contempt. And in this Poſture the Diſputes were when the Parliament met again in *No-*

The Parliament meets.

vember, which came together for the moſt Part without a Deſire either to give Money or make War. And *Downing*, who laboured heartily to incenſe us and to provoke them, in all his Diſpatches declared, "that all "thoſe Inſolencies proceeded only from the Malignity of the *States* of *Hol-*"*land*, which could vent itſelf no farther than in Words; but that the "*States General*, without whoſe Concurrence no War could be made, ab-"horred the Thought of it:" And there is no Doubt that was true. And the *Dutch* Ambaſſadour, who remained at *London*, and was a very honeſt weak Man, and did all the Offices He could to prevent it, did not think it poſſible it could come to paſs; "and that there might be ſome Scuffles "upon the Coaſt of *Guinea*, by the Direction of the *Weſt-India* Company, "of whoſe Actions the *States General* took Notice, but would cauſe Juſ-"tice to be done upon Complaint, and not ſuffer the publick Peace to be "diſturbed upon their Pretences." And ſo the King forbore to demand any Supply from the Parliament, becauſe an ordinary Supply would rather diſcredit his Demands than advance them, and He could not expect an extraordinary Supply but when the War was unqueſtionable. And the *States General* at this Time were made a Property by the *States* of *Holland* (who had given private Orders for their own Concernments), and preſented an humble Deſire to the King by their Ambaſſadour, "that Prince *Rupert's* Fleet might "ſtay in Harbour, as theirs likewiſe that was prepared for *Guinea* ſhould do, "till ſome Means might be found for the Accommodation of all Differences." Whereas before They pretended, that They would ſend their *Guinea* Fleet through the Channel, convoyed by their Admiral with a Fleet of fifty Sail; which Report had before ſtopped Prince *Rupert*, when He was under Sail for *Guinea*, to wait and expect that Piece of Bravery. But this Addreſs from the *States General* made all Men believe there would be an Accommodation, without ſo much as any Hoſtility in *Guinea*.

The treacherous Behaviour of the Dutch.

But it was quickly diſcovered, that They were the honeſter Men when They gave the worſt Words. For before the *States General* ſent to the King to ſtop Prince *Rupert* in Harbour, "and that their Fleet ſhould like-"wiſe remain in their Harbours," the *States* of *Holland*, or that Committee that was qualified by them, had with great Privacy ſent Orders to *De Ruyter*, who was in the *Mediterranean*, "to make all poſſible Haſte with his "Fleet to go to the Coaſt of *Guinea*, and not only to retake the Fort near "Cape *Verde* that the *Engliſh* had taken from them, but likewiſe to take "what Places He could which were in Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*, and to do "them what Damage He could in thoſe Parts:" So that They might well offer that their Fleet ſhould now remain in their Harbours in *Holland*.

When *De Ruyter* had been ſent into the *Mediterranean*, the Pretence was, that it was againſt the Pirates of *Algiers* and *Tunis*, who had in Truth preyed very much upon the *Dutch*, taken very many of their Ships, and had Abundance of their Subjects in Chains. And when that Fleet was ſent into the *Mediterranean*, their Ambaſſadour had deſired the King, "that his Ma-"jeſty's Fleet that was then in thoſe Parts might upon all Occaſions join "with *De Ruyter*, when Opportunity ſhould be offered thereby to inſeſt the "*Turks*;" which the King conſented to, and ſent Orders accordingly. But the *Dutch* had no ſuch Purpoſe: His Buſineſs was to ranſom their Captives with Money, and not to exact the Delivery of them by Force; and to make an Accommodation for the Time to come as well as He could. And when the *Engliſh* Fleet was at any Time in Purſuit of any of the *Turks* Veſſels, and expected that the *Dutch*, by whom they muſt paſs, would have given a little Stop to their Flight, which They might eaſily have done;

They rather aſſiſted than obſtructed their Eſcape. And having made a very diſhonourable Peace with the Pirates, He made Haſte to proſecute his Orders for the Coaſt of *Guinea*.

As ſoon as the King knew of this impudent Affront, and that *De Ruyter* was in Truth gone out of the *Mediterranean*, He thought He might juſtly ſeize upon any Ships of theirs, to ſatisfy the Damage that He could not but ſuſtain by *De Ruyter* in *Guinea*: And ſo, it being the Seaſon of the Year that the *Dutch* Fleet returned with their Wines from *Bordeaux*, *Rochelle*, and other Parts of *France*, ſuch of them as were forced by the Weather to put into the *Engliſh* Harbours were ſeized upon. And the Duke of *York*, having put himſelf on Board with a Fleet of about fifty Sail, upon the Report of the *Dutch* being come out to defend their Ships, took many others, even upon their own Coaſts; which They choſe rather to ſuffer, than to venture out of their Ports to relieve them. However there was not any one of all thoſe Ships ſuffered to be unladen, or any Prejudice done to them; but they were all preſerved unhurt, till Notice might arrive from *Guinea* what *De Ruyter* had done there. But undoubted Intelligence arrived in a very ſhort Time after, that *De Ruyter* had declared and begun the War upon the Coaſt of *Africa*, not only by a forceable retaking the Fort which had been taken from them, and which his Majeſty had offered to deliver, but by ſeizing upon ſeveral *Engliſh* Ships in thoſe Parts, and by aſſaulting and taking other his Majeſty's Forts and Places, and exerciſing all the Acts of Hoſtility which his Commiſſion authoriſed him to do.

Upon which their Ships are ſeized.

The Dutch *commence Hoſtilities in* Guinea.

AND in a very ſhort Time after, the *Eaſt-India* Company complained and informed the King, "that when their Officer had demanded the Re- "delivery of the Iſle of *Poleroone* according to the Article of the late Treaty, "and delivered the Letters and Orders from the *States General* and *States* "of *Holland*, which their Ambaſſadours had given at *London*, to the Go- "vernour and Captain of that Iſland; He, after making him ſtay two or "three Days there with his Ship and the Men He had brought with him, "told him, *that upon a better Peruſal of the Orders which He had brought,* "*He found that they were not ſufficient*; *and therefore till He ſhould re-* "*ceive fuller Orders, He could not give up the Place.*" And ſo the Officer and Ship, which had been ſent at a great Charge, were neceſſitated to return without any other Effect than the Affront and Indignity to his Majeſty.

They refuſe to deliver the Iſland of Poleroone.

WHEN there was now no Remedy, and the War was actually made upon the King upon what Provocation ſoever, there was Nothing to be done but to reſort to the Parliament, which had been ſo earneſt to enter into it. A Fleet muſt be prepared equal to what the *Dutch* would infallibly make ready againſt the Spring, and worthy of the Preſence of the Duke of *York*, who was impatient to engage his own Perſon in the Conduct of it; and the King had given his Promiſe to him that He ſhould, when He had, God knows, no Purpoſe that there ſhould be a War. It was quickly diſcovered, that there was not the ſame Alacrity towards a War now, after it was begun, in the Parliament, as there had been when They made their Vote: And They would have been glad that any Expedient might have been found for a Reconciliation, and that the Captain might have been called in Queſtion, who firſt gave Offence by taking the Fort from the *Dutch* near Cape *Verde*, which ſome had preſſed for when He came Home, before any more Miſchief was done; and the not calling him in Queſtion made many believe, that He had done Nothing without Warrant or Promiſe of Protection.

The *Dutch* ſtill diſclaimed all Thought or Purpoſe of War, and ſeemed highly offended with their Governour of *Poleroone*, and proteſted, "that "the Not-delivery of the Place proceeded only from Want of an Order from "the Governour of *Batavia*, which Order came the next Day after the "*Engliſh* Ship was departed: But that They had given Notice of it to the "*Engliſh* Factory at *Bantam*, that the ſame or another *Engliſh* Ship might "return and receive it; and They were confident that it was then in the "Hand of the *Engliſh*." But it was now too late to expect any honourable Peace, at leaſt without making very notable Preparations for a War, which could not be done without ready Money. And whatever Orders had been given for the Preſervation of the *Dutch* Ships, it quickly appeared that much of them had been embezzled or diſpoſed of, before they were brought to any Judicatory, or adjudged to be Prize; and there was too much Cauſe to fear, that the reſt would be diſpoſed of to other Purpoſes than the Support of the War; though Nothing was more poſitively ſpoken, than that the War would maintain itſelf.

Meaſures taken to diſpoſe the Parliament to grant Supplies for a War.

The Parliament ſtill promiſed fairly, and entered upon Conſultation how and what Money to raiſe. And now the King commanded the Chancellor and the Treaſurer to meet with thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons, with whom They had uſed to conſult, and to whom the King had joined others upon whom He was told He might more depend, and to adjuſt together what Sum ſhould be propoſed, and how and in what Manner to propoſe and conduct it. It was about the Month of *January*. And though the Duke took indefatigable Pains, by going himſelf ſometimes to *Portſmouth* and ſometimes to *Chatham*, to cauſe the Ships and all Proviſions to be ready, that He might be at Sea before the *Dutch*; yet let what Advance could be made, as indeed there was great, Nothing could be ſaid to be done, till a great Stock of ready Money could be provided; and it would be long after the Parliament had done their Part, before ready Money would be got: And therefore no more Time muſt be loſt, without taking a particular Reſolution.

A Meeting of ſome Lords and principal Commoners for that Purpoſe.

The Meeting of thoſe Perſons the King appointed was at *Worceſter-Houſe*, where the Chancellor and Treaſurer (who were known to be averſe from the War) told the reſt, "that there was no more Debate now to be, "War or no War: It was come upon us, and We were now only to con-"trive the beſt Way of carrying it on with Succeſs; which could only be "done by raiſing a great preſent Sum of Money, that the Enemy might ſee "that We were prepared to continue it as well as to begin." They who were moſt deſirous of the War, as Sir *Harry Bennet* and Mr. *Coventry* (who were in Truth the Men who brought it upon the Nation), with their Friends, were of the Opinion, "that there ſhould not be a great Sum demanded at preſent, "but only ſo much as might carry out the Fleet in the Spring, and that ſuffi-"cient Proviſions might be made for the Summer Service: And then, when "the War was once thoroughly entered into, another and a better Supply "might be gotten about *Michaelmaſs*, when there was Reaſon to hope, that "ſome good Succeſs would diſpoſe all Men to a frank Proſecution of the "War." Whereas theſe Gentlemen had hitherto inflamed the King with an Aſſurance, "that He could not aſk more Money of the Parliament than "They would readily give him, if He would be engaged in this War which "the whole Kingdom ſo much deſired."

The Chancellor and the Treaſurer were of Opinion, "that the Houſe of "Commons could never be in a better Diſpoſition to give, than They were "at preſent; that hereafter They might grow weary, and apt to find Fault

"with the Conduct, especially when They found the Country not so well "pleased with the War as They were now conceived to be: Whereas, now "the War was begun, and the King engaged in it as much as He could "be after ten Battles, and all upon their Desire and their Promise; They "could not refuse to give any Thing proposed within the Compass of that "Reason, which all understanding Men might examine and judge of. That "it was evident enough, that the true Ground of all the Confidence the "*Dutch* had was from their Opinion of the King's Necessities and Want of "Money, and their Belief that the Parliament would supply him very "sparingly, and not long to continue such an Expense, as They very well "knew that a War at Sea would require: And They would be much con- "firmed in this their Imagination, if at the Beginning They should see "the Parliament give him such a Sum of Money, as seemed to be implied "by what had been said. That They therefore thought it absolutely neces- "sary, that the King should propose as much, that is, that his Friends "should move for such a Sum, as might upon a reasonable Computa- "tion, which every Man would be ready to make, and of which wise "Men upon Experience would easily make an Estimate, carry on the War "for a full Year; that is, for the setting out the present Fleet and paying "it off upon its Return, and for the setting out another Fleet the next "Spring. If this were now done, his Majesty would not be involved in "importunate Necessities the next Winter; but He might calmly and deli- "berately consult upon such farther Supplies, as the Experience of what "would be then past should suggest to be necessary: And that this would "give his Majesty such a Reputation with all his Neighbours, and such "Terrour to his Enemies, that it would probably dispose them to Peace."

THEY told them, "the best Method to compute what the Expense "might amount to in a Year, would be by reflecting upon the vast Dispro- "portion of the Charge We were now already engaged in, and what had "been estimated four Months since, when the War was designed. That it "was well known to Mr. *Coventry*, who had been always present at those "Conferences, that it had been said by the most experienced Sea Officers, "and those who had fought all the late Battles against the *Dutch*, *that a Fleet "of forty or fifty such Ships, as the King's were, would be Strength suffi- "cient to beat all the Ships the* Dutch *had out of the narrow Seas*; and one "very eminent Man amongst them said, *He would not desire above fifty Ships "to fight with all They had, and that He was confident that a greater Num- "ber than fifty could never be brought to fight orderly or usefully:* And yet that "there were at present no fewer than fourscore good Ships preparing for the "Duke. And the Charge in many other Particulars appeared already to "amount to double the Sum that was first computed."

THEY concluded, "that a less Sum than two Millions and a Half" (which is five and twenty hundred thousand Pounds *Sterling*) "ought not to be "proposed, and being once proposed ought to be insisted on and pursued "without consenting to any Diminution; for Nobody could conceive that "it would do more than maintain the War one Year, which the Parlia- "ment could not refuse to provide for in the Beginning, as there was so "much in Truth of it already expended in the Preparations and Expedition "the Duke had made in *November*, when He went to Sea upon the Fame "of the *Dutch* Fleet's Intention to convoy their *Guinea* Ships through the "Channel."

THERE was not a Man in the Company, who did not heartily wish that that Sum or a greater might be proposed and granted: But They all,

though They agreed in few other Things, proteſted, "that They could not "adviſe that ſo prodigious a Sum ſhould be as much as named; and that "They did not know any one Man, ſince it could not be thought fit that "any Man who had Relation to the King's Service ſhould move it, who had "the Courage to attempt it or would be perſuaded to it."

THE two Lords continued very obſtinate, "that a leſs Sum ſhould not "be named for the Reaſons They had given," which the other confeſſed to be juſt; and They acknowledged too, "that the Propoſition ought not to "be made by any Man who was related to the Court, or was thought to be "in any Grace there that might diſpoſe him, nor yet by any Gentleman, "how well ſoever thought of, who was of a ſmall Eſtate, and ſo to pay little "of ſo great a Sum He was ſo liberal to give." They therefore deſired them "to name ſome of thoſe Members, who were honeſt worthy Men, and "looked upon as Lovers of their Country, and of great Fortunes, unſuſ- "pected to have any Deſigns at Court; and if They were not enough ac- "quainted with them, the Lords would find ſome Way by themſelves or "others to move them to it." Whereupon They named five or ſix Per- ſons very well known, of whom the Houſe had a very good Eſteem, but without any Hope that any of them would be prevailed with to under- take it. The Lords ſaid, "They would try what might be done, and give "them Notice the next Day, that if it were poſſible it might be the Buſi- "neſs of the following Day."

THE Chancellor and the Treaſurer choſe three *Norfolk* Gentlemen of thoſe who had been named, becauſe They were good Friends and grateful to each other, and deſired them the next Day "that They might confer toge- "ther." They told them, "They knew well the State of Affairs; the "Parliament had engaged the King in a War, that could not be carried on "without a vaſt Expenſe: And therefore if at the Entrance into it there "ſhould be a ſmall or an ordinary Supply given, it would blaſt all their "Hopes, and ſtartle all other Princes from joining, with whom the *Dutch* "were not in Favour, and who would be inclined to the King, if They ſaw "ſuch a Proviſion for the War as would be ſufficient to continue it for ſome "Time. And therefore They deſired to confer with them, who upon all "Occaſions manifeſted good Affections to the King, and whoſe Advice had "a great Influence upon the Houſe, upon the whole Matter how it might "be conducted." They all conſented to what had been ſaid, and pro- miſed their own Concurrence and utmoſt Endeavours to compaſs what the King ſhould deſire. The Lords ſaid, "They promiſed themſelves more "from them, and that They would not only concur, but propoſe what "ſhould be neceſſary to be granted." And thereupon They enlarged upon the Charge which was already in View, and upon what was to be expected, and concluded "that two Millions and a Half were neceſſary to be inſiſted "on;" and deſired, "that when the Debate ſhould be entered upon, which "They hoped might be the next Day, one of them would propoſe this Sum "and the other would ſecond it."

THEY looked long one upon another, as if They were ſurpriſed with the Sum. At laſt one of them ſaid, "that the Reaſons were unanſwerable for "a liberal Supply; yet He did not expect that ſo prodigious a Sum, which "He believed had never yet been mentioned in Parliament to be granted at "one Time, would be propoſed: However He did not think it too much, "and thatHe would do the beſt He could to anſwer any Objections which "ſhould be made againſt it, as He doubted many would; but He confeſſed "He durſt not propoſe it." Another was of the ſame Mind, and with

many good Profeſſions deſired to be excuſed as to the firſt propoſing it. The third, who was Sir *Robert Paſton*, a Perſon of a much greater Eſtate than Both the other who had yet very good Fortunes, and a Gentleman of a very antient Extraction by his Father (and his Mother was Daughter to the Earl of *Lindſey*), declared very frankly, "that He was ſatisfied in his "Conſcience, that it would be very good for the Kingdom as well as for "the King that ſuch a Sum ſhould be granted: And therefore if They "thought him fit to do it, He would propoſe it the next Morning, let other "Men think what They would of him for it."

THE Lords gave him the Thanks They ought to do, and ſaid what was neceſſary to confirm him, and to thank the other Gentlemen for their Promiſe to ſecond him, and gave Notice to the reſt of the Reſolution, that They might call for the Debate the next Day; which was entered into with a general Cheerfulneſs, every Man acknowledging the Neceſſity and the Engagement of the Houſe, but no Man adventuring to name the Proportion that ſhould be given. When the Houſe was in a deep Silence expecting that Motion, Sir *Robert Paſton*, who was no frequent Speaker, but delivered what He had a Mind to ſay very clearly, ſtood up, mentioned ſhortly the Obligation, the Charge of the War, and "that the preſent Sup- "ply ought to be ſuch as might as well terrify the Enemy as aſſiſt the "King; and therefore He propoſed that They might give his Majeſty two "Millions and a Half, which would amount to five and twenty hundred "thouſand Pounds." The Silence of the Houſe was not broken; They ſate as in Amazement, until a Gentleman, who was believed to wiſh well to the King, without taking Notice of what had been propoſed, ſtood up, and moved that They might give the King a much leſs Proportion. But then the two others, who had promiſed to ſecond, renewed the Motion one after the other; which ſeemed to be entertained with a Conſent of many, and was contradicted by none: So that, after a ſhort Pauſe, no Man who had Relation to the Court ſpeaking a Word, the Speaker put it to the Queſtion, "whether They would give the King five and twenty "hundred thouſand Pounds for the carrying on the War againſt the *Dutch*;" and the Affirmative made a good Sound, and very few gave their Negative aloud, and it was notorious very many ſate ſilent. So the Vote was preſently drawn up into an Order; and the Houſe reſolved the next Day to be in a Committee, to agree upon the Way that ſhould be taken for the raiſing this vaſt Sum, the Proportion whereof could no more be brought into Debate.

Sir Robert Paſton *moves for a Supply of* 2,500,000 *l.*

Which is agreed to by the Houſe.

THIS brave Vote gave the King the firſt Liking of the War: It was above what He had expected or indeed wiſhed to be propoſed. And They, who had been at the firſt Conference, and delivered the Reſolution of the two Lords as impoſſible to be compaſſed, not without Inſinuation as if it were affected only to indiſpoſe the Houſe to the War (yet They did not think fit to vary from the Proportion, till They ſaw the Succeſs of the Propoſition, which the Lords were engaged to procure a fit Perſon to make); when They found the Concluſion to be ſuch as could be wiſhed, They commended the Counſel, and fell into another Extreme, that in the Thing itſelf and in the Conſequence did very much Harm; which ſhall be next mentioned, after I have ſaid that there appeared great Joy and Exaltation of Spirit upon this Vote, and not more in the Court than upon the Exchange, the Merchants generally being unſkilfully inclined to that War, above what their true Intereſt could invite them to, as in a ſhort Time afterwards They had Cauſe to confeſs.

The King ſent to the Lord Mayor to call a Common Council, and commanded the Chancellor, Treaſurer, and other Lords of his Council, to go thither; who, upon the Credit of this Vote of the Houſe of Commons for this noble Supply, prevailed with the City preſently to furniſh the King with the Loan of two hundred thouſand Pounds; which being within few Days paid into the Hands of the Treaſurer of the Navy, all Preparations for the Fleet, and of whatever elſe was neceſſary for the Expedition, were provided with marvellous Alacrity: And the Parliament made what Haſte was poſſible to diſpatch the Bill, by which their great Preſent might be collected from the People.

It hath been ſaid before, that in moſt vacant Places, upon the Death of any Members, Ways were found out to procure ſome of the King's domeſtick Servants to be elected in their Places; ſo that his Majeſty had many Voices there at his Devotion; which did not advance his Service. Theſe Men confidently ran out of the Houſe ſtill to inform the King of what was doing, commended this Man, and diſcommended another who deſerved better; and would many Times, when his Majeſty ſpake well of any Man, aſk his Majeſty "if He would give them Leave to let that Perſon know how "gracious his Majeſty was to him, or to bring him to kiſs his Hand." To which He commonly conſenting, every one of his Servants delivered ſome Meſſage from him to a Parliament-Man, invited him to Court as if the King would be willing to ſee him. And by this Means the Rooms at Court, where the King was, were always full of the Members of the Houſe of Commons; this Man brought to kiſs his Hand, and the King induced to confer with that Man, and to thank him for his Affection, which never could conclude without ſome general Expreſſion of Grace or Promiſe, which the poor Gentleman always interpreted to his own Advantage, and expected ſome Fruit from it that it could never yield: All which, being contrary to all former Order, did the King no Good, and rendered thoſe unable to do him Service who were inclined to it.

Sir H. Bennet *and Sir* C. Berkley *careſs and amuſe Sir* Rob. Paſton.

The new Secretary, and Sir *Charles Berkley*, who by this Time was entered very far into the King's Favour and his Confidence, were the chief, and by their Places had Acceſs to him in all Places and Hours: And They much diſliked the Officiouſneſs of the others, as if They preſumed to invade their Province. They thought it but their Due, that the King ſhould take his Meaſures of the Houſe of Commons by no other Report but theirs, nor diſpenſe his Graces there through any other Conduit. They took this Occaſion to careſs Sir *Robert Paſton*, who was a Stranger to them, and to magnify the Service He had done the King, and the great Senſe the King had of it, and that He did long to give him his own Thanks: They invited him to come to the Court, and Sir *Charles Berkley* told him as from the King, "that his Majeſty reſolved to make him a Baron." And by theſe daily Courtſhips and Importunities the Gentleman, who was well ſatisfied with what He had done, and never propoſed any Advantage to himſelf from it, was amuſed, and thought He was not to refuſe any Honour the King thought him worthy of, nor to neglect thoſe Graces which were offered to him by Perſons of their Intereſt. Yet He made not Haſte to go to the Court, believing that it might make him leſs capable of ſerving the King, and that any Favour his Majeſty ſhould do him would be more ſeaſonable hereafter than at preſent, leſt He might be thought to have made that Motion in the Houſe upon Promiſe of the other Reward. Yet after continued Invitations He went thither, and thoſe Gentlemen preſented him to the King, who ſpake very graciouſly to him, told him, "He had done him

"great Service, which He would never forget," and many other princely Expreſſions, and "that He ſhould be glad to ſee him often," but no Particular to that Purpoſe which had been mentioned to him.

WHEN He went next, He found his Majeſty's Countenance the ſame: But They, who had courted and amuſed him ſo much, grew every Day more dry and reſerved towards him; of which He complained to a Friend of his who He knew had Intereſt in the Chancellor, and deſired him to acquaint him with all that had paſſed, who had not till then heard that He had been at Court, and when He was informed of the whole Relation was very much troubled, well knowing, that how acceptable ſoever thoſe Kinds of Court-ſhips were for few Days, they were attended with many Inconveniences when the End was not correſpondent with the Beginning. He knew well the Reſolution the King had taken to create no more Noblemen, the Number whereof already too much exceeded: However He was very ſorry, that a Perſon of that Quality and Merit ſhould be expoſed to any Indignity, for having endeavoured in ſuch a Conjuncture to do his Majeſty a ſignal Service, and ſucceeded ſo well; and ſpake with the King at large of it, and gave his Majeſty a full Account of the Modeſty and Temper of the Gentleman, of his Quality and Intereſt, and what had been ſaid and promiſed to him. The King was troubled, owned all that He had ſaid himſelf to him, as being very hearty, and "that He would never forget the Service He "had done, but requite it upon any Opportunity;" but proteſted, "that "He had never made any ſuch Promiſe, nor given Sir *Charles Berkley* "any Authority to mention any ſuch Thing to him, which would prove "very inconvenient;" and therefore wiſhed, "that his Friend would divert "him from proſecuting ſuch a Pretence, which He knew to be contrary to "his Reſolution."

THE Chancellor knew not what to ſay, but truly advertiſed his Friend of all the King had ſaid, who again informed Sir *Robert Paſton*, who thought himſelf very hardly treated, and went to Sir *Charles Berkley*, who had not the ſame open Arms, yet aſſured him "that He had ſaid Nothing "to him but by the King's Direction, which He muſt aver. That He did "not uſe to interpoſe or move the King in any of his Affairs: But if He "would deſire the Chancellor to take Notice of it, who He knew had a "great Affection for him, and upon whoſe Deſire He had performed that "great Service, He was confident it would be attended with the Succeſs "He wiſhed, to which He would contribute all his Endeavours;" intimating, "that if He had not what He deſired, He might impute it to the Chancellor." Upon which Sir *Robert*, who was well aſſured of the Chancellor's Kindneſs, concluded that his Court-Friends had deluded him, or expected Money, which He would not give: And ſo the Matter ended with Prejudice to the King.

NOTWITHSTANDING theſe and the like very inconvenient Activities, which loſt more Friends than were gotten by them, the Noiſe of this ſtupendous Supply, given to the King at one Time, made good Impreſſions upon all who had any Affections for the King, and was wondered at in thoſe Places where Money was moſt Plenty. In *Holland* it wrought even to Conſternation, and the common People cried aloud for Peace, and the *States* pretended to have great Hope as well as Deſire of it, and ſent their Ambaſſadour, who remained ſtill in *England*, new Orders to ſolicit it.

The Condition of England in Reſpect to its Neighbours.

IN the mean Time the King neglected not to apply what Endeavours He could uſe, to diſpoſe his Allies to act ſuch Parts as their own Intereſt might reaſonably invite them to. From *France* He expected only Neutrality, by

Reaſon He knew He had renewed the Alliance with the *States*; but never ſuſpected, that it was in ſuch a Manner as would hinder the Neutrality. *Spain* could do little Good or Harm, nor durſt it to engage againſt *Holland*: Yet all was done that was neceſſary towards a good Correſpondence with it. The two Northern Kings would find themſelves concerned, at leaſt to wiſh better to one Side than to the other; and had been Both ſo diſobliged by the *Dutch*, that had it not been for the irreconcilable Jealouſy They had of each other, They might have been united to the Intereſt of *England*. But *Denmark* had in the late War given what They could not keep nor recover, and yet could hardly be without; and *Sweden* looked with too much Contempt upon the Weakneſs and Unactivity of their Neighbour, to give back any Thing They had got: And this reſtrained them Both from provoking an Enemy that might give Strength to the other.

YET *Denmark* had the Year before by *Hannibal Zeſted*, who went Ambaſſadour into *France* and made *England* his Way, made many Complaints to the King "of the Oppreſſion the Crown of *Denmark* underwent "by the *Dutch*, and the Reſolution it had to ſhake off that Yoke as ſoon "as an Opportunity ſhould be offered;" and made a Requeſt to the King, "that He would endeavour to make the Alliance ſo faſt between *Denmark* "and *Sweden*, that the Jealouſy of each other might hinder neither of them "from doing any Thing that was for their own Intereſt, without Prejudice "to the other." And when the Difficulty was alleged, in Regard that *Sweden* would never be perſuaded to part with *Elſenore*, and thoſe other Places which had been given up in the late Treaty; *Hannibal Zeſted* conſented that what was done in that Treaty ſhould be again confirmed, and ſaid "his Maſter was willing and deſirous that the King of *England* ſhould "undertake and be Caution for the Obſervation of this Treaty;" implying, "that if this were done, and thereby the Fear of any further Attempt from "*Sweden* were extinguiſhed, *Denmark* would not be long without redeem-"ing itſelf from the Vexation which it endured from *Holland*, which, "upon former Neceſſities and ill Bargains, upon the Matter had an Exemp-"tion from paying all Duties upon their own great Trade through the "*Sound*, as much to the Prejudice of all other Princes as of the poor Crown "of *Denmark*." This having ſo lately paſſed from a Miniſter of that Crown, the King thought it a good Time to endeavour to do that Office between the two Crowns, and thereby to unite them Both to the King in this Conjunction againſt the *Dutch*; at leaſt that They might Both remain good Friends to his Majeſty, and ſupply him with all thoſe Proviſions without which his Navy could not be ſupported, and as far as was poſſible reſtrain the *Dutch* from thoſe Supplies, by making ſuch large Contracts with the *Engliſh*, that there would not be enough left for the other.

Ambaſſadours ſent to Denmark and Sweden.

UPON this Ground He ſent Mr. *Henry Coventry* of his Bedchamber to the *Swede*, whoſe Friendſhip He much more valued as more able to aſſiſt him, and upon whoſe Word He could more firmly depend. And to *Denmark* He ſent Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, who was acceptable to that Crown by his having performed many Offices of Reſpect to the Prince of *Denmark*, when He had been *incognito* in *England*, and waited upon him to ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom which He had a Mind to ſee, and ſo cauſed him to be entertained in ſeveral Gentlemens Houſes in his Journey, of which the Prince ſeemed very ſenſible when He departed. That which was expected from that Negotiation, except the Confidence could be created between the two Crowns, was only to preſerve *Denmark* a Friend, that He might not favour the *Dutch*, and might recall all his Subjects out of their Service; and that We

might have the ſame Freedom of Trade, and the Security of his Ports for our Men of War.

WHILST the King took this Care for the Advancement of his Affairs abroad, there was an Advantage offered him that looked as if it came from Heaven. There came one Day a Gentleman, who looked rather like a Carter, who ſpoke ill *Engliſh*, and deſired that He might have a private Audience with the Chancellor; who preſently ſent for him, and in a ſhort Time knew him to be a *Benedictine* Monk, who had been ſometimes with him at *Cologne*, and belonged to the *Engliſh* Abbey at *Lamſpring* in *Weſtphalia*, where a very reverend Perſon of the Family of *Gaſcoigne* in *Yorkſhire* was Abbot, with whom the Chancellor had much Acquaintance, and eſteemed him very much; and He had, during the Time the King ſtayed in *Cologne*, ſent this Monk ſeveral Times thither, who was likewiſe a Gentleman, but by living long in *Germany* had almoſt forgot the Language as well as the Manners of his own Country. His Buſineſs now was to deliver him a Letter (whereof He knew little of the Contents) from the Biſhop of *Munſter*, upon the Edge of whoſe Dominions that *Engliſh* Abbey was ſeated, which had likewiſe a Territory that extended to the Principality of the other, and received much Favour and Protection from the other; who deſired the Abbot to give him an honeſt Man, that would carry a Letter from him to the Court of *England:* Upon which this Monk was deputed, the rather becauſe He was known to the Chancellor. The Matter of the Letter was no more, than "that if the War againſt *Holland* was to be reſolutely proſecuted by the "King of *England*, He (the Biſhop) conceived that a Conjunction with "thoſe Allies, who could infeſt the *Dutch* by Land as his Majeſty would "do by Sea, might not be unacceptable to his Majeſty; and in that Caſe, "upon the Anſwer to this Letter, He would ſend a fit Perſon to make "ſome Propoſitions to the King and to treat with him." The Inſtructions the Monk had, were "to make all poſſible Haſte back, and that as ſoon as "He returned on that Side the Sea, He ſhould ſend the Anſwer He had "received, by the Poſt, ſo directed as was appointed; and then that himſelf "ſhould ſtay at *Bruſſels* till He received farther Orders."

Propoſals made by the Biſhop of Munſter for an Alliance againſt the Dutch.

THE Chancellor quickly informed the King of this Diſpatch, to whom the Monk was likewiſe known; and his Majeſty immediately aſſembled thoſe Lords with whom He conſulted in the moſt ſecret Caſes. Every Body knew ſo much of the Biſhop of *Munſter*, that He was a warlike Prince, having had Command in Armies before He dedicated himſelf to the Church, and that He had a great Animoſity againſt *Holland*, which had diſobliged him in the higheſt Point, by encouraging his Subjects to rebel againſt him, and thoſe of his City of *Munſter* to ſhut their Gates againſt him: And when He endeavoured to reduce them by Force, and to that Purpoſe had beſieged them with his Army, the *Dutch* ſent an Army to relieve it, and declared that They would protect that City. And by this Means, and by the Mediation of the neighbour Princes, who had no Mind that the Peace of their Country ſhould be diſturbed by ſuch an Incurſion, the Biſhop was hindered from taking that Vengeance upon his rebel Subjects which He intended, and compelled to accept of ſuch Conditions as did not pleaſe him. And all this was but two Years before, and boiled ſtill in his Breaſt, that was naturally very hot. But He was a poor Prince, unable to give any Diſturbance to the *United Provinces*, whoſe Dominions extended within a Day's March of his. However every Man was of Opinion, that the Propoſition ought to be very kindly received, and the Biſhop invited to ſend his Agent. And to that Purpoſe the Chancellor wrote to

him, and the Monk was diſpatched the next Day. And having obſerved his Orders in ſending away the Anſwer, He was very few Days at *Bruſſels*, when a Servant of the Biſhop arrived with Orders that the Monk ſhould accompany him back into *England:* And ſo They Both arrived in *London* in leſs Time than could be expected.

THE Gentleman who came from the Biſhop was a very proper Man, well-bred, a Baron of that Country, but a Subject to the Biſhop: He brought with him a Letter of Credit from the Biſhop to the King, and full Authority to treat and conclude according to his Inſtructions, which He likewiſe preſented to his Majeſty. He brought likewiſe a Letter to the Chancellor from the Elector of *Mentz*, in which He recommended to him the Perſon whom the Biſhop of *Munſter* ſhould ſend, and declared "that He believed the Biſhop of *Munſter* would be able to perform what-"ſoever He ſhould undertake:" Which Letter was a very great Encouragement to the King; for his Majeſty knew the Elector of *Mentz* very well to be a very wiſe Prince and notoriouſly his Friend, and that He would not ſay ſo much of the Ability of the Biſhop to perform, except He knew particularly his Deſign, and what He would undertake to do.

THE Baron's Inſtructions were to propoſe, "that his Majeſty would "cauſe one hundred thouſand Pounds to be immediately paid, by Bills of "Exchange at *Hamburgh* or *Cologne* or *Francfort*, to ſuch Perſons as the "Biſhop ſhould appoint to receive it; and ſhould promiſe to pay fifty thou-"ſand Pounds by the Month in the ſame Places for three Months to come: "Afterwards He hoped the Army would provide for its own Support. This "being undertaken on his Majeſty's Part, the Biſhop would be engaged, "within one Month after the firſt Bills of Exchange for the one hundred "thouſand Pounds ſhould be delivered into the Hands of his Agent the "Baron, that He would be in the Dominions of the *States General* with an "Army of ſixteen thouſand Foot and four thouſand Horſe; with which "He was very confident He ſhould within few Days be poſſeſſed of *Arn-*"*heim*, and ſhortly after of *Utrecht:* And if the King's Fleet came before "*Amſterdam*, that Army of the Biſhop ſhould march to what Place or "Quarter his Majeſty ſhould direct."

THE Baron was aſked, "how it could be poſſible for the Biſhop, though "a gallant Prince and very active, to draw together ſuch an Army in ſo "ſhort a Time out of his ſmall Province; and how He was ſure that his "Neighbours, who two Years before had compelled him to make ſo diſad-"vantageous a Peace with the *Dutch*, would not again uſe the ſame violent "Importunity to obſtruct his Proceedings." To which He anſwered, "that "the Biſhop would never undertake to bring ſuch an Army together in ſo "ſhort a Time, in which They could not be levied, but that He knows "They are already levied, and upon an Aſſurance of Money can be brought "together in the ſhort Time propoſed: For the other, the Interpoſition of his "Neighbours, He had not then, when They prevailed, Half that Army "which He was ſure He ſhould now have; beſides thoſe Neighbours were "now as much incenſed againſt the *Dutch* as his Maſter was, and would "all engage with him againſt them; and that many of the Army that is de-"ſigned were at preſent quartered in their Dominions; and that the Biſhop "intended not to march in his own private Capacity, but as General of the "Empire, for which the Elector of *Mentz* had undertaken to procure him "a Commiſſion." He was demanded "how his Maſter ſtood with *France*, "and whether He did not fear that it would either prevent the Enterpriſe "by Mediation, or diſappoint it by ſending Aid to *Holland*." He an-

ſwered, "his Maſter was confident *France* would not do him any Harm: "That He had ſent an Agent, from whom He ſhould be ſure to receive "Letters by every Poſt." And within few Days after, He ſhewed a Letter that He had received from that Agent, in which He ſaid, "that *Monſieur* "*de Lionne* bade him aſſure the Biſhop, that his *Chriſtian* Majeſty would "do Nothing to his Prejudice."

THIS being the State of that Affair, the King conſidered what He was to do. The Propoſitions made by the Biſhop were ſuch, as it was not poſſible for him to comply with. But then it was preſumed by every Body, that very much would be abated of the Money that was demanded: For it was not an auxiliary Army that was to be raiſed for the King's Service, whoſe Conqueſts were to be applied to his Benefit, but an Army raiſed to revenge the Injuries which himſelf had received, and what He ſhould get muſt be to his own Account; and his Majeſty's Hoſtility at Sea would as much facilitate his Enterpriſe at Land, as the marching of his Army might probably diſturb and diſtract their Preparations for the Sea. Yet it could not be expected, that the Biſhop could draw this Army together (and the Attempt was not to be made with leſs Force) without a good Supply of Money, nor keep it together without Pay.

THE Advantage, that would with God's Bleſſing attend this Conjunction, ſpread itſelf to a very large Proſpect. That the People generally in the *Provinces* were very unſatisfied with this War, was a Thing notorious; and that the Province of *Holland* which began it, and was entirely governed by *De Wit*, did even compel the other Provinces to concur with them, partly upon Hope that a farther Progreſs would be prevented by Treaty, or that a Peace would follow upon the firſt Engagement. But when They ſhould ſee an Army of twenty thouſand Men, which They ſuſpected not, to invade their Country at Land, and in that Part where They were moſt ſecure, and from whence ſo much of their neceſſary Proviſions were daily brought; They muſt be in great Conſternation, and draw all their Land Army together, which They had not done in near twenty Years, and could not be done to any Effect without vaſt Charge, which would put the People into a loud Diſtraction. Finally, there was great Reaſon to cheriſh the Deſign: And therefore the King reſolved by an unanimous Advice to undertake any Thing towards it, that could be in his Power to perform.

THERE was one Difficulty occurred, that had not been thought of nor ſo much as apprehended by the Baron, which was the Return of the Money, whatſoever ſhould be aſſigned to that Service; for of the three Places propoſed by him, beſides the Secrecy that was requiſite, all the Trade of *London* could not aſſign one thouſand Pounds in the Month to be paid upon *Cologne* and *Francfort*; nor could *Hamburgh* itſelf be charged with twenty thouſand Pounds in three Months Time: Which when the Agent knew, He ſeemed amazed, and ſaid "They had believed that it had been as eaſy to "have tranſmitted Money to thoſe three Towns, as it was for them to re-"ceive it from thence."

IN Concluſion, the King gave his Anſwer in Writing, what Sum of Money He would cauſe to be paid at once for the firſt Advance, that the Biſhop might begin his March, and what He would afterwards cauſe to be paid by the Month; which being leſs than the Baron's Inſtructions would admit him to accept, He ſent an Expreſs with it to the Biſhop: And "till "his Return," He deſired, "that the King would appoint ſome Perſon of "Experience to conſer with him; and They might together inform them-"ſelves of the beſt Expedients to return Money into *Germany*, ſince his Ma-

"jeſty had hitherto only undertaken to pay his Aſſignations in *London*." What Succeſs this Treaty afterwards had will be related in its Place.

THESE Advantages from abroad being in this Manner deliberated and deſigned, it may be very ſeaſonable to look back, and conſider what Preparations were made at Home towards the carrying on this War, for which the Parliament had provided ſo bountifully: And if ordinary Prudence had been applied to the Managery, if any Order and Method had been conſulted and ſteadily purſued for the conducting the Whole, the Succeſs would have been anſwerable, and at leaſt any Inconvenience from the ſudden Want of Money would have been prevented. But whoever was at any near Diſtance in that Time when thoſe Tranſactions were in Agitation, as there are yet many worthy Men who were, or ſhall be able to procure a ſincere Information of the Occurrences of that Time, will be obliged to confeſs, that They who contrived the War had the entire conducting it, and were the ſole Cauſes of all the ill Effects of it; which cannot be ſet down particularly without wounding thoſe, who were by their Confidence in ill Inſtruments made acceſſary to thoſe Miſchiefs, in which themſelves ſuffered moſt. Nor is it the End of this true Relation to fix a Brand upon the Memory of thoſe, who deſerve it from the Publick and from very many worthy Men, but is to ſerve only for a Memorial to caſt my own Eyes upon, when I cannot but reflect upon thoſe Proceedings; and by my Conſent ſhall never come into any Hands but theirs, who for their own Sakes will take Care to preſerve it from any publick View or Peruſal.

The State of the Navy from the King's Reſtoration.

IT cannot be denied and may very truly be averred, that from the Hour of the King's Return and being poſſeſſed of the entire Government, the Naval Affairs were never put into any Order. That Province, being committed to the Duke as Lord High Admiral of *England*, was entirely engroſſed by his Servants, in Truth by Mr. *Coventry*, who was newly made his Secretary, and who made Uſe of his other Servants, who were better known to him, to infuſe into his Highneſs the Opinion, "that whoever "preſumed to meddle in any Thing that related to the Navy or the Ad- "miralty, invaded his Juriſdiction, and would leſſen him in the Eyes of the "People; and that He ought to be jealous of ſuch Men, as of thoſe who "would undermine his Greatneſs; and that as He was ſuperiour to all Men "by being the King's Brother, ſo being High Admiral He was to render "Account to none but to the King, nor ſuffer any Body elſe to interpoſe "in any Thing relating to it." Whereas in Truth there is no Officer of the Crown more ſubject to the Council-Board than the Admiral of *England*, who is to give an Account of all his Actions and of every Branch of his Office conſtantly to the Board, and to receive their Orders: Nor hath He the Nomination of the Captains of the Ships, till upon the Preſentation of their Names He receives their Approbation, which is never denied. Nor was there any Counſellor who had ever ſate at the Board in the laſt King's Time, to whom this was not as much known as any Order of the Table.

BUT there was no retrieving this Authority, not only from the Influence Mr. *Coventry*, and They of the Family who adhered to him, had upon the Duke, but from the King's own Inclination, who thought that thoſe Officers, who immediately depended upon himſelf and only upon himſelf, were more at his Devotion than They who were obliged to give an Account to any other Superiour. And from the Time that He came firſt into *France*, He had not been accuſtomed to any Diſcourſe more than to the undervaluing the Privy Council, as if it ſhadowed the King too much, and

uſurped too much of his Authority, and too often ſuperſeded his own Commands. And the Queen his Mother had, upon theſe Diſcourſes, always ſome Inſtances of the Authority which in ſuch a Caſe the Council had aſſumed againſt the King's Judgment; the Exception to which, according to the Relation which Nobody could queſtion, ſeemed to be very reaſonable. This Kind of Diſcourſe, being the Subject of every Day, made ſo great Impreſſion that it could never be defaced, and made the Election and Nomination of Counſellors leſs conſidered, ſince They were to be no more adviſed with afterwards than before.

ANOTHER Argument, that uſed to be as frequently inſiſted upon by the Queen, and with more Paſſion and Indignation, was of the little Reſpect and Reverence, that by the Law or Cuſtom of *England* was paid to the younger Sons of the Crown; and though there was Nobody preſent in thoſe Converſations who knew any Thing of the Law or Cuſtom in thoſe Caſes, yet all that was ſaid was taken as granted. And not only the Duke but the King himſelf had a marvellous Prejudice to the Nation in that Part of good Manners: And it was eaſily agreed, that the Model of *France* was in thoſe and other Caſes much more preferable, and which was afterwards obſerved in too many.

THIS being then the State and Temper of the Royal Family when the King returned, which then conſiſted of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, and two Princeſſes more than it now hath; the very next Morning after the Fleet came to *Scheveling*, the Duke went on Board and took Poſſeſſion of it as Lord High Admiral: And ſo his Secretary provided new Commiſſions for all the Officers who were in preſent Command, for which it is probable They all paid very liberally; for with him the Cuſtom began to receive five Pounds for every Warrant ſigned by the Duke, and for which no Secretary to any Lord Admiral formerly had ever received above twenty Shillings. Mr. *Coventry*, who was utterly unacquainted with all the Rules and Cuſtoms of the Sea, and knew none of the Officers, but was much courted by all, as the Secretary to the Admiral always is, made Choice of Captain *Pen*, whom the King knighted as ſoon as He came on Board; who from a common Man had grown up under *Cromwell* to the higheſt Command, and was in great Favour with him till He failed in the Action of *St. Domingo*, when He went Admiral at Sea, as *Venables* was General at Land, for which They were Both impriſoned in the *Tower* by *Cromwell*, nor ever employed by him afterwards: But upon his Death He had Command again at Sea, as He had at this Time under *Mountague* when He came to attend the King. With this Man Mr. *Coventry* made a faſt Friendſhip, and was guided by him in all Things.

ALL the Offices which belonged to the Ships, to the Navy, to the Yards, to the whole Admiralty (except the three ſuperiour Officers, which are not in the Diſpoſal of the Admiral), were now void, and to be ſupplied by the Duke, that is, by Mr. *Coventry*; who by the Advice of Sir *William Pen*, who was ſolely truſted by him in the Brocage, conferred them upon thoſe (without obſerving any other Rule) who would give moſt Money, not conſidering any honeſt Seaman who had continued in the King's Service, or ſuffered long Impriſonment for him. And becauſe an incredible Sum of Money did and would riſe this Way, ſome principal Officers in the Yards, as the Maſter Smith and others, and the Keepers of the Stores, yielding ſeven, eight hundred or a thouſand Pounds; He had the Skill to move the Duke to beſtow ſuch Money as would ariſe upon ſuch Place upon Sir *Charles Berkley*, for another to another, and for ſome to be divided be-

tween two or three: By which Means the whole Family was obliged, and retained to juſtify him; and the Duke himſelf looked upon it as a Generoſity in Mr. *Coventry*, to accommodate his Fellow Servants with what He might have aſked or kept for himſelf. But it was the beſt Huſbandry He could have uſed: For by this Means all Mens Mouths were ſtopped, and all Clamour ſecured; whilſt the leſſer Sums for a Multitude of Offices of all Kinds were reſerved to himſelf, and which, in the Eſtimation of thoſe who were at no great Diſtance, amounted to a very great Sum, and more than any Officer under the King could poſſibly get by all the Perquiſites of his Place in many Years. By this Means, the whole Navy and Ships were filled with the ſame Men who had enjoyed the ſame Places and Offices under *Cromwell*, and thereby were the better able to pay well for them; whereof many of the moſt infamous Perſons which that Time took Notice of were now become the King's Officers, to the great Scandal of their honeſt Neighbours, who obſerved that They retained the ſame Manners and Affections, and uſed the ſame Diſcourſes They had formerly done.

Besides many other irreparable Inconveniences and Miſchiefs which reſulted from this Corruption and Choice, one grew quickly viſible and notorious, in the ſtealing and embezzling all Manner of Things out of the Ships, even when they were in Service: But when they returned from any Voyages, incredible Proportions of Powder, Match, Cordage, Sails, Anchors, and all other Things, inſtead of being reſtored to the ſeveral proper Offices which were to receive them, were embezzled and ſold, and very often ſold to the King himſelf for the ſetting out other Ships and for repleniſhing his Stores. And when this was diſcovered (as many Times it was) and the criminal Perſon apprehended, it was alleged by him as a Defence or Excuſe, "that He had paid "ſo dear for his Place, that He could not maintain himſelf and Family without "practiſing ſuch Shifts:" And none of thoſe Fellows were ever brought to exemplary Juſtice, and moſt of them were reſtored to their Employments.

The three ſuperiour Officers of the Navy were poſſeſſed of their Offices by Patents under the Great Seal of *England* before the King's Return; and They are the natural eſtabliſhed Council of the Lord High Admiral, and are to attend him when He requires it, and always uſed of Courſe to be with him one certain Day in a Week, to render him an Account of all the State of the Office, and to receive his Orders and to give their Advice. And now becauſe theſe three depended not enough upon him, but eſpecially out of Animoſity againſt Sir *George Carteret*, who beſides being Treaſurer of the Navy was Vice-Chamberlain of the King's Houſhold, and ſo a Privy Counſellor; Mr. *Coventry* propoſed to the Duke, "that "in Regard of the Multiplicity of Buſineſs in the Navy, much more than in "former Times, and the ſetting out greater Fleets than had been accuſtomed "in that Age when thoſe Officers and that Model for the Government of the "Navy had been eſtabliſhed, his Royal Highneſs would propoſe to the King "to make an Addition, by Commiſſioners, of ſome other Perſons always "to ſit with the other Officers with equal Authority, and to ſign all Bills "with them;" which was a Thing never heard of before, and is in Truth a leſſening of the Power of the Admiral. It is very true, there have frequently been Commiſſioners for the Navy; but it hath been in the ſame Place of the Admiral and to perform his Office: But in the Time of an Admiral Commiſſioners have not been heard of. One principal End in this was, to draw from the Treaſurer of the Navy (whoſe Office Mr. *Coventry* thought too great, and had implacable Animoſity againſt him from the firſt Hour after He had made his Friendſhip with *Pen*) out of his

Fees (which, though no greater than were granted by his Patent and had been always enjoyed by his Predeceſſors, were indeed greater than had uſed to be in Times of Peace, when much leſs Money paſſed through his Hands) what ſhould be enough to pay thoſe Commiſſioners; for it was not reaſonable They ſhould ſerve for Nothing, nor that They ſhould be upon the King's Charge, ſince the Treaſurer's Perquiſites might be enough for all.

THE Duke liked the Propoſition well, and without conferring with any Body elſe upon it propoſed it to the King at the Council-Board, where Nobody thought fit to examine or debate what the Duke propoſed; and the King approved it, and ordered "that the Commiſſioners ſhould receive each "five hundred Pounds by the Year:" But finding afterwards that the Treaſurer of the Navy's Fees were granted to him under the Great Seal, his Majeſty did not think it juſt to take it from him, but would bear it himſelf, and appointed the Treaſurer to pay and paſs thoſe Penſions in his Account. The Commiſſioners named and commended by the Duke to the King were the Lord *Berkley*, Sir *John Lawſon*, Sir *William Pen*, and Sir *George Ayſcue*, the three laſt the moſt eminent Sea-Officers under *Cromwell*, but it muſt not be denied but that They ſerved the King afterwards very faithfully. Theſe the King made his Commiſſioners, with a Penſion to each of five hundred Pounds the Year, and in ſome Time after added Mr. *Coventry* to the Number with the ſame Penſion: So that this firſt Reformation in the Time of Peace coſt the King one Way or other no leſs than three thouſand Pounds yearly, without the leaſt viſible Benefit or Advantage. The Lord *Berkley* underſtood Nothing that related either to the Office or Employment, and therefore very ſeldom was preſent in the Execution. But after He had enjoyed the Penſion a Year or thereabout, He procured Leave to ſell his Place, and procured a Gentleman, Mr. *Thomas Harvey*, to give him three thouſand Pounds for it: So ſoon this temporary Commiſſion, which might have expired within a Month, got the Reputation of an Office for Life by the good Managery of an Officer.

The State of the Navy at the Commencement of the War.

THIS was the State of the Navy before the War with *Holland* was reſolved upon. Let us in the next Place ſee what Alterations were made in it, or what other Preparations were made, or Counſels entered upon, for the better Conduct of this War: And a clear and impartial View or Reflection upon what was then ſaid and done, gave diſcerning Men an unhappy Preſage of what would follow. There was no Diſcourſe now in the Court, after this Royal Subſidy of five and twenty hundred thouſand Pounds was granted, but "of giving the Law to the whole Trade of *Chriſtendom*; of "making all Ships which paſſed by or through the narrow Seas to pay an "Impoſition to the King, as all do to the King of *Denmark* who paſs by "the *Sound*; and making all who paſs near to pay Contribution to his "Majeſty;" which muſt concern all the Princes of *Chriſtendom:* And the King and Duke were often deſired to diſcountenance and ſuppreſs this impertinent Talk, which muſt increaſe the Number of the Enemies. Commiſſioners were appointed to reſide in all or the moſt eminent Port-Towns, for the Sale of all Prize-Goods; and theſe were choſen for the moſt Part out of thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons, who were active to advance the King's Service or who promiſed to be ſo, to whom liberal Salaries were aſſigned.

Commiſſioners of Appeals appointed.

THERE were then Commiſſioners appointed to judge all Appeals, which ſhould be made upon and againſt all Sentences given by the Judge of the Admiralty and his Deputies; and theſe were all Privy Counſellors, the

Earl of *Lautherdale*, the Lord *Aſhley*, and the Secretaries of State, who were like to be moſt careful of the King's Profit. But then the Rules which were preſcribed to judge by were ſuch as were warranted by no former Precedents, nor acknowledged to be juſt by the Practice of any neighbour Nation, and ſuch as would make all Ships which traded for *Holland*, from what Kingdom ſoever, lawful Prize; which was foreſeen would bring Complaints from all Places, as it did as ſoon as the War begun. *French* and *Spaniard* and *Swede* and *Dane* were alike treated; whilſt their Ambaſſadours made loud Complaints every Day to the King and the Council for the Injuſtice and the Rapine, without Remedy, more than References to the Admiralty, and then to the Lords Commiſſioners of Appeal, which increaſed the Charge, and raiſed and improved the Indignity. Above all, the *Hanſe-Towns* of *Hamburgh*, *Lubeck*, *Bremen*, and the reſt (who had large Exemptions and Privileges by Charter granted by former Kings and now renewed by this) had the worſt Luck; for none of them could ever be diſtinguiſhed from the *Dutch*. Their Ships were ſo like, and their Language ſo near, that not one of their Veſſels were met with, from what Part of the World ſoever they came, or whitherſoever they were bound, but they were brought in; and if the Evidence was ſuch as there could be no Colour to retain them, but that they muſt be releaſed, they always carried with them ſad Remembrances of the Company they had been in.

The Injuſtice of their Sentences.

THERE was one ſure Rule to make any Ship Prize, which was, *if above three* Dutch *Mariners were aboard it there need no further Proof for the Forfeiture*; which being no where known could not be prevented, all Merchants Ships, when they are ready for their Voyage, taking all Seamen on Board of what Nation ſoever who are neceſſary for their Service: So that thoſe *Dutchmen* who run from their own Country to avoid fighting (as very many did, and very many more would have done), and put themſelves on Board Merchants Ships of any other Country, where They were willingly entertained, made thoſe Ships lawful Prize in which They ſerved, by a Rule that Nobody knew nor would ſubmit to.

IT was reſolved that all poſſible Encouragement ſhould be given to Privateers, that is, to as many as would take Commiſſions from the Admiral to ſet out Veſſels of War, as They call them, to take Prizes from the Enemy; which no Articles or Obligations can reſtrain from all the Villany They can act, and are a People, how countenanced ſoever or thought neceſſary, that do bring an unavoidable Scandal, and it is to be feared a Curſe, upon the juſteſt War that was ever made at Sea. A Sail! A Sail! is the Word with them; Friend or Foe is the ſame; They poſſeſs all They can maſter, and run with it to any obſcure Place where They can ſell it (which Retreats are never wanting), and never attend the Ceremony of an Adjudication. Beſides the horrible Scandal and Clamour that this *Claſſis* of Men brought upon the King and the whole Government for Defect of Juſtice, the Prejudice which reſulted from thence to the Publick and to the carrying on the Service is unſpeakable: All Seamen run to them. And though the King now aſſigned an ample Share of all Prizes taken by his own Ships to the Seamen, over and above their Wages; yet there was great Difference between the Condition of the one and the other: In the King's Fleet They might gain well, but They were ſure of Blows, Nothing could be got there without fighting; with the Privateers there was rarely fighting, They took all who could make little Reſiſtance, and fled from all who were too ſtrong for them. And ſo thoſe Fellows were always well manned, when the King's Ships were compelled to ſtay many Days for Want of Men, who were

Too much Encouragement given to Privateers.

raiſed by preſſing and with great Difficulty. And whoever ſpake againſt thoſe lewd People, upon any Caſe whatſoever, was thought to have no Regard for the Duke's Profit, nor to deſire to weaken the Enemy.

IN all former Wars at Sea, as there was great Care taken to appoint Commiſſioners for the Sale of all Prize-Goods, who underſtood the Value of thoſe Commodities They had to ſell, yet were compelled to ſell better Bargains than are uſually got in publick Markets; ſo there was all Strictneſs uſed in bringing all Receivers to as punctual an Account, as any other of the King's Receivers are bound to make, and to compel them to pay in all the Money They receive into the Exchequer, that it might be iſſued out to the Treaſurer of the Navy or to other Officers for the Expenſe of the War. And it had been a great Argument in the firſt Conſultations upon this War, "that it would ſupport itſelf; and that after one good Fleet ſhould be "ſet out once to beat the *Dutch*" (for that was never thought worthy of a Doubt), "the Prizes, which would every Day after be taken, would plen-"tifully do all the reſt: Beſides the great Sum that the *Dutch* would give to "purchaſe their Peace, and the yearly Rent They would give for the Liberty "of fiſhing;" with all which it was not thought fit to allow them "to keep "above ſuch a Number of Ships of War, limited to ſo many Ton and to "ſo many Guns;" with many Particulars of that Nature, which were carefully digeſted by thoſe who promoted the War. But now, after this Supply given by the Parliament, there was no more Danger of Want of Money: And many Diſcourſes there were, "that the Prize-Money might "be better diſpoſed in rebuilding the King's Houſes, and many other good "Uſes which would occur;" and the King forbore to ſpeak any more of appointing Receivers and Treaſurers for that Purpoſe, when all or moſt other Officers, who were judged neceſſary for the Service, were already named; and the Lord Treaſurer, who by his Office ſhould have the Recommendation of thoſe Officers to the King, had a Liſt of Men, who for the Reputation and Experience They had were in his Judgment worthy to be truſted, to be preſented to the King when He ſhould enter upon that Subject.

Lord Aſhley obtains a Grant appointing him Treaſurer of Prize-Money.

BUT one Evening a Servant of the Lord *Aſhley* came to the Chancellor with a Bill ſigned, and deſired in his Maſter's Name "that it might be ſealed "that Night." The Bill was, "to make and conſtitute the Lord *Aſhley* Trea-"ſurer of all the Money that ſhould be raiſed upon the Sale of all Prizes, which "were or ſhould be taken in this preſent War, with Power to make all "ſuch Officers as ſhould be neceſſary for the Service; and that He ſhould "account for all Monies ſo received to the King himſelf, and to no other "Perſon whatſoever, and pay and iſſue out all thoſe Monies which He "ſhould receive, in ſuch Manner as his Majeſty ſhould appoint by Warrant "under his Sign Manual, and by no other Warrant; and that He ſhould "be free and exempt from accounting into the Exchequer." When the Chancellor had ſeen the Contents, He bade the Meſſenger tell his Lord, "that He would ſpeak with the King before He would ſeal that Grant, "and that He deſired much to ſpeak with himſelf."

The Chancellor remonſtrates againſt ſealing this Grant.

THE next Morning He waited upon the King, and informed him "of "the Bill that was brought to him, and doubted that He had been ſur-"priſed: That it was not only ſuch an Original as was without any Pre-"cedent, but in itſelf in many Particulars deſtructive to his Service and to "the Right of other Men. That all Receivers of any Part of his Revenue "were accountable in the Exchequer, and could receive their Diſcharge in "no other Place: And that if ſo great a Receipt, as this was already" (for the Fleet of Wine and other Ships already ſeized were by a general Compu-

tation valued at one hundred thouſand Pounds), "and as it evidently would "be, ſhould paſs without the moſt formal Account; his Majeſty might "be abominably cozened, nor could it any other Way be prevented. And in "the next Place, that this Grant was not only derogatory to the Lord Trea- "ſurer, but did really degrade him, there being another Treaſurer made "more abſolute than himſelf, and without Dependence upon him." And therefore He beſought his Majeſty, "that He would reconſider the Thing "itſelf and hear it debated, at leaſt that the Treaſurer might be firſt heard, "without which it could not be done in Juſtice:" To which He added, "that He would ſpeak with the Lord *Aſhley* himſelf, and tell him how "much He was to blame to affect ſuch a Province, which might bring great "Inconveniences upon his Perſon and his Eſtate."

He quickly found that the King had not been ſurpriſed in what He had done, "which" He ſaid "was abſolutely in his own Power to do; and that "it would bring Prejudice only to himſelf, which He had ſufficiently pro- "vided againſt." However He ſeemed willing to decline any Thing that looked like an Affront to the Treaſurer, and therefore was content that the ſealing it might be ſuſpended till He had further conſidered.

The Lord *Aſhley* came ſhortly to the Chancellor, and ſeemed "to take "it unkindly that his Patent was not ſealed:" To which He anſwered, "that "He had ſuſpended the immediate ſealing it for three Reaſons; whereof "one was, that He might firſt ſpeak with the King, who He believed "would receive much Prejudice by it; another, that it would not conſiſt "with the Reſpect He owed to the Lord Treaſurer, who was much af- "fronted in it, to ſeal it before He was made acquainted with it. And in "the laſt Place, that He had ſtopped it for his, the Lord *Aſhley's*, own Sake: "And that He believed He had neither enough conſidered the Indignity that "was offered to the Lord Treaſurer, to whom He profeſſed ſo much Reſ- "pect, and by whoſe Favour and powerful Interpoſition He enjoyed the "Office He held, nor his own true Intereſt, in ſubmitting his Eſtate to "thoſe Incumbrances which ſuch a Receipt would inevitably expoſe it to. "And that the Exemption from making any Account but to the King him- "ſelf would deceive him: And as it was an unuſual and unnatural Privi- "lege, ſo it would never be allowed in any Court of Juſtice, which would "exact both the Account and the Payment or lawful Diſcharge of what Mo- "ney He ſhould receive; and if He depended upon the Exemption He "would live to repent it."

He anſwered little to the Particulars more than with ſome Sullenneſs, "that the King had given him the Office, and knew beſt what is good for his "own Service; and that except his Majeſty retracted his Grant, He would "look to enjoy the Benefit of it. That He did not deſire to put an Af- "front upon the Lord Treaſurer; and if there were any Expreſſions in his "Commiſſion which reflected upon him, He was content they ſhould be "mended or left out: In all other Reſpects He was reſolved to run the "Hazard."

The Treaſurer himſelf, though He knew that He was not well uſed, and exceedingly diſdained the Behaviour of his Nephew (for the Lord *Aſhley* had married his Niece), who He well knew had by new Friendſhips cancelled all the Obligations to him, would not appear to oppoſe what the King reſolved, but ſate unconcerned and took no Notice of any Thing. And ſo within a ſhort Time the King ſent a poſitive Order to the Chancellor to ſeal the Commiſſion; which He could no longer refuſe, and did

The King obliges him to ſeal it.

it with the more Trouble, becauſe He very well knew, that few Men knew the Lord *Aſhley* better than the King himſelf did, or had a worſe Opinion of his Integrity. But He was now gotten into Friendſhips which were moſt behooveful to him, and which could remove or reconcile all Prejudices: He was faſt linked to Sir *Harry Bennet* and Mr. *Coventry* in a League offenſive and defenſive, the ſame Friends and the ſame Enemies, and had got an entire Truſt with the Lady, who very well underſtood the Benefit ſuch an Officer would be to her. Nor was it difficult to perſuade the King (who thought himſelf more rich in having one thouſand Pounds in his Cloſet that Nobody knew of, than in fifty thouſand Pounds in his Exchequer) how many Conveniences He would find in having ſo much Money at his own immediate Diſpoſal, without the Formality of Privy Seals and other Mens Warrants, and the Indecency and Miſchief which would attend a formal Account of all his generous Donatives and Expenſe, which ſhould be known only to himſelf.

Meaſures taken to prejudice the King againſt the Chancellor.

THOUGH the King ſeemed to continue the ſame gracious Countenance towards the Chancellor which He had uſed, and frequently came to his Houſe when He was indiſpoſed with the Gout, and conſulted all his Buſineſs, which He thought of publick Importance, with him with equal Freedom; yet He himſelf found, and many others obſerved, that He had not the ſame Credit and Power with him. The nightly Meetings had of late made him more the Subject of the Diſcourſe; and ſince the Time of the new Secretary They had taken more Liberty to talk of what was done in Council, than They had done formerly: And the Duke of *Buckingham* pleaſed himſelf and all the Company in acting all the Perſons who ſpake there in their Looks and Motions, in which Piece of Mimickry He had an eſpecial Faculty; and in this Exerciſe the Chancellor had a full Part. In the Height of Mirth, if the King ſaid "He would go ſuch a Journey or "do ſuch a trivial Thing to-morrow," Somebody would lay a Wager that He would not do it; and when He aſked Why, it was anſwered, "that "the Chancellor would not let him:" And then another would proteſt, "that He thought there was no Ground for that Imputation; however He "could not deny that it was generally believed abroad, that his Majeſty was "entirely and implicitly governed by the Chancellor." Which often put the King to declare in ſome Paſſion, "that the Chancellor had ſerved him "long, and underſtood his Buſineſs, in which He truſted him: But in "any other Matter than his Buſineſs, He had no other Credit with him "than any other Man;" which They reported with great Joy in other Companies.

A Propoſal made to the King for Liberty of Conſcience.

IN the former Seſſion of the Parliament, the Lord *Aſhley* out of his Indifferency in Matters of Religion, and the Lord *Arlington* out of his Good-Will to the *Roman Catholicks*, had drawn in the Lord Privy Seal, whoſe Intereſt was moſt in the *Preſbyterians*, to propoſe to the King an Indulgence for Liberty of Conſcience: For which They offered two Motives; the one, "the Probability of a War with the *Dutch*," though it was not then declared; "and in that Caſe the Proſecution of People at Home for their ſeveral "Opinions in Religion would be very inconvenient, and might prove miſ"chievous." The other was, "that the Fright Men were in by Reaſon "of the late Bill againſt Conventicles, and the Warmth the Parliament ex"preſſed with Reference to the Church, had ſo prepared all Sorts of Non"Conformiſts, that They would gladly compound for Liberty at any rea"ſonable Rates: And by this Means a good yearly Revenue might be raiſed "to the King, and a firm Concord and Tranquillity be eſtabliſhed in the

"Kingdom, if Power were granted by the Parliament to the King to grant "Diſpenſations to ſuch whom He knew to be peaceably affected, for their Ex- "erciſe of that Religion which was agreeable to their Conſcience, without "undergoing the Penalty of the Laws." And They had prepared a Schedule, in which They computed what every *Roman Catholick* would be willing to pay yearly for the Exerciſe of his Religion, and ſo of every other Sect; which, upon the Eſtimate They made, would indeed have amounted to a very great Sum of Money yearly.

The King approves it. THE King liked the Arguments and the Project very well, and wiſhed them to prepare ſuch a Bill; which was done quickly, very ſhort, and without any Mention of other Advantage to grow from it, than "the Peace "and Quiet of the Kingdom, and an entire Reference to the King's own Judg- "ment and Diſcretion in diſpenſing his Diſpenſations." This was equally approved: And though hitherto it had been managed with great Secrecy, that it might not come to the Knowledge of the Chancellor and the Treaſurer, who They well knew would never conſent to it; yet the King reſolved to impart it to them. And the Chancellor being then afflicted with the Gout, the Committee that uſed to be called was appointed to meet at *Worceſter-Houſe:* And thither likewiſe came the Privy Seal and the Lord *Aſhley*, who had never before been preſent in thoſe Meetings.

The Chancellor and Treaſurer oppoſe it at the private Committee. THE King informed them of the Occaſion of their Conference, and cauſed the Draught for the Bill to be read to them; which was done, and ſuch Reaſons given by thoſe who promoted it, as They thought fit; the chief of which was, "that there could be no Danger in truſting the King, "whoſe Zeal to the Proteſtant Religion was ſo well known, that Nobody "would doubt that He would uſe this Power, when granted to him, other- "wiſe than ſhould be for the Good and Benefit of the Church and State." The Chancellor and the Treaſurer, as had been preſaged, were very warm againſt it, and uſed many Arguments to diſſuade the King from proſecuting it, "as a Thing that could never find the Concurrence of either or "Both Houſes, and which would raiſe a Jealouſy in Both, and in the Peo- "ple generally, of his Affection to the *Papiſts*, which would not be good "for either, and every Body knew that He had no Favour for either of the "other Factions." But what the others ſaid, who were of another Opinion, prevailed more; and his Majeſty declared, "that the Bill ſhould be preſented "to the Houſe of Peers as from him, and in his Name; and that He hoped "none of his Servants, who knew his Mind as well as every Body there did, "would oppoſe it, but either be abſent or ſilent:" To which Both the Lords anſwered, "that They ſhould not be abſent purpoſely, and if They "were preſent, They hoped his Majeſty would excuſe them if They ſpake "according to their Conſcience and Judgment, which They could not for- "bear to do;" with which his Majeſty ſeemed unſatisfied, though the Lords of the Combination were better pleaſed than They would have been with their Concurrence.

The Bill preſented to the Houſe of Lords. WITHIN few Days after, the Chancellor remaining ſtill in his Chamber without being able to go, the Bill was preſented in the Houſe of Peers by the Lord Privy Seal, as by the King's Direction and Approbation, and thereupon had the firſt Reading: And as ſoon as it was read, the Lord Treaſurer ſpake againſt it, "as unfit to be received and to have the Counte- "nance of another Reading in the Houſe, being a Deſign againſt the Pro- "teſtant Religion and in Favour of the *Papiſts*," with many ſharp Reflections upon thoſe who had ſpoken for it; and many of the Biſhops ſpake to the ſame Purpoſe, and urged many weighty Arguments againſt it. However

The Treaſurer and Biſhops oppoſe it at the firſt Reading.

it was moved, "that ſince it was averred *that it was with the King's Pri-* "*vity*, it would be a Thing unheard of to deny it a ſecond Reading:" And that there might be no Danger of a Surpriſal by its being read in a thin Houſe, it was ordered "that it ſhould be read the ſecond Time" upon a Day named "at ten of the Clock in the Morning;" with which all were ſatisfied.

IN the mean Time great Pains were taken to perſuade particular Men to approve it: And ſome of the Biſhops were ſharply reprehended for oppoſing the King's Prerogative, with ſome Intimation "that if They continued in that "Obſtinacy They would repent it;" to which They made ſuch Anſwers as in Honeſty and Wiſdom They ought to do, without being ſhaken in their Reſolution. It was rather inſinuated than declared, "that the Bill "had been peruſed," ſome ſaid "drawn, by the Chancellor," and averred "that He was not againſt it:" Which being confidently reported, and believed or not believed as He was more or leſs known to the Perſons preſent, He thought himſelf obliged to make his own Senſe known. And ſo on the Day appointed for the ſecond Reading, with Pain and Difficulty He was in his Place in the Houſe: And ſo after the ſecond Reading of the Bill, He was of Courſe to propoſe the Commitment of it. Many of the Biſhops and others ſpake fiercely againſt it, as a Way to undermine Religion; and the Lord Treaſurer with his uſual Weight of Words ſhewed the ill Conſequence that muſt attend it, and "that in the Bottom it was a Project to get Money "at the Price of Religion; which He believed was not intended or known "to the King, but only to thoſe who had projected it, and it may be im-"poſed upon others who meant well." *The Treaſurer and Biſhops oppoſe it at the ſecond Reading.*

THE Lord Privy Seal, either upon the Obſervation of the Countenance of the Houſe or Advertiſement of his Friends, or unwilling to venture his Reputation in the Enterpriſe, had given over the Game the firſt Day, and now ſpake not at all: But the Lord *Aſhley* adhered firmly to his Point, ſpake often and with great Sharpneſs of Wit, and had a Cadence in his Words and Pronunciation that drew Attention. He ſaid, "it was the King's "Misfortune that a Matter of ſo great Concernment to him, and ſuch a "Prerogative as it may be would be found to be inherent in him without "any Declaration of Parliament, ſhould be ſupported only by ſuch weak "Men as himſelf, who ſerved his Majeſty at a Diſtance, whilſt the great "Officers of the Crown thought fit to oppoſe it; which He more wondered "at, becauſe Nobody knew more than They the King's unſhakeable Firm-"neſs in his Religion, that had reſiſted and vanquiſhed ſo many great "Temptations; and therefore He could not be thought unworthy of a "greater Truſt with Reference to it, than He would have by this Bill." *Lord* Aſhley *ſpeaks for it.*

THE Chancellor, having not been preſent at the former Debate upon the firſt Day, thought it fit to ſit ſilent in this, till He found the Houſe in ſome Expectation to hear his Opinion: And then He ſtood up and ſaid, "that "no Man could ſay more, if it were neceſſary or pertinent, of the King's "Conſtancy in his Religion, and of his underſtanding the Conſtitution and "Foundation of the Church of *England*, than He; no Man had been Wit-"neſs to more Aſſaults which He had ſuſtained than He had been, and "of many Victories; and therefore if the Queſtion were how far He might "be truſted in that Point, He ſhould make no Scruple in declaring, that "He thought him more worthy to be truſted than any Man alive. But "there was Nothing in that Bill that could make that the Queſtion, which "had confounded all Notions of Religion, and erected a Chaos of Policy "to overthrow all Religion and Government: So that the Queſtion was *The Chancellor ſpeaks againſt it.*

"not, whether the King were worthy of that Truſt, but whether that Truſt "were worthy of the King. That it had been no new Thing for Kings to "diveſt themſelves of many particular Rights and Powers, becauſe They "were thereby expoſed to more Trouble and Vexation, and ſo deputed that "Authority to others qualified by them: And He thought it a very unrea- "ſonable and unjuſt Thing to commit ſuch a Truſt to the King, which "Nobody could ſuppoſe He could execute himſelf, and yet muſt ſubject "him to daily and hourly Importunities, which muſt be ſo much the more "uneaſy to a Nature of ſo great Bounty and Generoſity, that Nothing is ſo "ungrateful to him as to be obliged to deny."

And drops ſome unguarded Expreſſions.

In the Vehemence of this Debate, the Lord *Aſhley* having uſed ſome Language that He knew reflected upon him, the Chancellor let fall ſome unwary Expreſſions, which were turned to his Reproach and remembered long after. When He inſiſted upon the Wildneſs and Illimitedneſs in the Bill, He ſaid, "it was Ship-Money in Religion, that Nobody could know "the End of, or where it would reſt; that if it were paſſed, Dr. *Goffe* "or any other Apoſtate from the Church of *England* might be made a Bi- "ſhop or Archbiſhop here, all Oaths and Statutes and Subſcriptions being "diſpenſed with:" Which were thought two envious Inſtances, and gave his Enemies Opportunities to make Gloſſes and Reflections upon to his Diſ- advantage. In this Debate it fell out that the Duke of *York* appeared very much againſt the Bill; which was imputed to the Chancellor, and ſerved to *heap Coals of Fire upon his Head.* In the End, very few having ſpoken for it, though there were many who would have conſented to it, beſides the Catholick Lords, it was agreed that there ſhould be no Queſtion put for the Commitment; which was the moſt civil Way of rejecting it, and left it to be no more called for.

The King offended with the Chancellor and Treaſurer.

The King was infinitely troubled at the ill Succeſs of this Bill, which He had been aſſured would paſs notwithſtanding the Oppoſition that was expected; and it had produced one Effect that was foreſeen though not believed, in renewing the Bitterneſs againſt the *Roman Catholicks.* And They, who watched all Occaſions to perform thoſe Offices, had now a large Field to expreſs their Malice againſt the Chancellor and the Treaſurer, "whoſe Pride only had diſpoſed them to ſhew their Power and Credit in "diverting the Houſe from gratifying the King, to which They had been "inclined;" and his Majeſty heard all that could be ſaid againſt them without any Diſlike. After two or three Days He ſent for them Both together into his Cloſet, which made it generally believed in the Court, that He reſolved to take Both their Offices from them, and They did in Truth believe and expect it: But there was never any Cauſe appeared after to think that it was in his Purpoſe. He ſpake to them of other Buſineſs, without taking the leaſt Notice of the other Matter, and diſmiſſed them with a Countenance leſs open than He uſed to have towards them, and made it evident that He had not the ſame Thoughts of them He had formerly.

And when the next Day the Chancellor went to him alone, and was admitted into his Cabinet, and began to take Notice "that He ſeemed to "have Diſſatisfaction in his Looks towards him;" the King, in more Choler than He had ever before ſeen him, told him, "his Looks were ſuch as "they ought to be; that He was very much unſatisfied with him, and "thought He had uſed him very ill; that He had deſerved better of him, "and did not expect that He would have carried himſelf in that Manner as "He had done in the Houſe of Peers, having known his Majeſty's own Opi-

"nion from himſelf, which it ſeemed was of no Authority with him if it dif-
"fered from his Judgment, to which He would not ſubmit againſt his Reaſon."

THE other, with the Confidence of an honeſt Man, entered upon the Diſcourſe of the Matter, aſſured him "the very propoſing it had done his "Majeſty much Prejudice, and that They who were beſt affected to his "Service in Both Houſes were much troubled and afflicted with it: And of "thoſe who adviſed him to it, one knew Nothing of the Conſtitution of "*England*, and was not thought to wiſh well to the Religion of it; and the "other was ſo well known to him, that Nothing was more wonderful than "that his Majeſty ſhould take him for a ſafe Counſellor." He had Recourſe then again to the Matter, and uſed ſome Arguments againſt it which had not been urged before, and which ſeemed to make Impreſſion. He heard all He ſaid with Patience, but ſeemed not to change his Mind, and anſwered no more than "that it was no Time to ſpeak to the Matter, which was now "paſſed; and if it had been unſeaſonably urged, He might ſtill have "carried himſelf otherwiſe than He had done;" and ſo ſpake of Somewhat elſe.

HIS Majeſty did not withdraw any of his Truſt or Confidence from him in his Buſineſs, and ſeemed to have the ſame Kindneſs for him: But from that Time He never had the ſame Credit with him as He had before. The Lord *Aſhley* got no Ground, but Sir *Harry Bennet* very much, who, though He ſpake very little in Council, ſhewed his Power out of it, by perſuading his Majeſty to recede from many Reſolutions He had taken there. And afterwards in all the Debates in Council which were preparatory to the War, and upon thoſe Particulars which have been mentioned before, which concerned the Juſtice and Policy that was to be obſerved, whatſoever was offered by the Chancellor or Treaſurer was never conſidered. It was Anſwer enough, "that They were Enemies to the War;" which was true, as long as it was in Deliberation: But from the Time it was reſolved and remedileſs, none of them who promoted it contributed any Thing to the carrying it on proportionably to what was done by the other two.

THERE was another and a greater Miſchief than hath been mentioned, that reſulted from that unhappy Debate; which was the Prejudice and Diſadvantage that the Biſhops underwent by their ſo unanimous Diſlike of that Bill. For from that Time the King never treated any of them with that Reſpect as He had done formerly, and often ſpake of them too ſlightly; which eaſily encouraged others not only to mention their Perſons very negligently, but their Function and Religion itſelf, as an Invention to impoſe upon the free Judgments and Underſtandings of Men. What was preached in the Pulpit was commented upon and derided in the Chamber, and Preachers acted, and Sermons vilified as laboured Diſcourſes, which the Preachers made only to ſhew their own Parts and Wit, without any other Deſign than to be commended and preferred. Theſe grew to be the Subjects of the Mirth and Wit of the Court; and ſo much Licenſe was manifeſted in it, that gave infinite Scandal to thoſe who obſerved it, and to thoſe who received the Reports of it: And all ſerious and prudent Men took it as an ill Preſage, that whilſt all warlike Preparations were made in Abundance ſuitable to the Occaſion, there ſhould ſo little Preparation of Spirit be for a War againſt an Enemy, who might poſſibly be without ſome of our Virtues, but aſſuredly was without any of our Vices.

And with the Biſhops.

THERE begun now to appear another Enemy, much more formidable than the *Dutch*, and more difficult to be ſtruggled with; which was the Plague, that brake out in the Winter, and made ſuch an early Progreſs in

The Plague breaks out.

the Spring, that though the weekly Numbers did not riſe high, and it appeared to be only in the Outſkirts of the Town, and in the moſt obſcure Alleys, amongſt the pooreſt People; yet the ancient Men, who well remembered in what Manner the laſt great Plague (which had been near forty Years before) firſt brake out, and the Progreſs it afterwards made, foretold a terrible Summer. And many of them removed their Families out of the City to Country-Habitations; when their Neighbours laughed at their Providence, and thought They might have ſtayed without Danger: But They found ſhortly that They had done wiſely. In *March* it ſpread ſo much, that the Parliament was very willing to part: Which was likewiſe the more neceſſary, in Regard that ſo many of the Members of the Houſe of Commons were aſſigned to ſo many Offices and Employments which related to the War, and which required their immediate Attendance. For though the Fleet was not yet gone out, yet there were many Prizes daily brought in, beſides the firſt Seizure, which by this Time was adjudged lawful Prize; in all which great Loſs was ſuſtained by the Licenſe of Officers as well as common Men, and the Abſence of ſuch as ſhould reſtrain and puniſh it: So that, as ſoon as the Bill was paſſed the Houſes for the good Aid They had given the King, and was ready for the Royal Aſſent, his Majeſty paſſed it, and prorogued the Parliament in *April* (which was in 1665) till *September* following; his Majeſty declaring, "that if it pleaſed God to extinguiſh or allay the Fierceneſs of the Plague," which at that Time raged more, "He ſhould be glad to meet them then; by which Time They "would judge by ſome Succeſs of the War, what was more to be done. "But if that Viſitation increaſed, They ſhould have Notice by Proclama- "tion that They might not hazard themſelves."

The Parliament prorogued.

The Fleet prepared.

The Parliament being thus prorogued, there was the ſame Reaſon to haſten out the Fleet; towards which the Duke left Nothing undone, which his unwearied Induſtry and Example could contribute towards it, being himſelf on Board, and having got all Things neceſſary into his own Ship that He cared for. But He found that it was abſolutely requiſite to put out to Sea, though many Things were wanting in other Ships, even of Beer and other Proviſion of Victual; not only to be before the Enemy, but becauſe He ſaw it would be impoſſible, whilſt the Ships were in Port, to keep the Seamen from going on Shore, by which They might bring the Plague on Board with them; and there was already a Suſpicion that the Infection was got into one of the ſmaller Ships.

The Duke of York conſults much with three eminent Sea Officers.

It hath been ſaid before, that all Things relating to the Fleet were upon the Matter wholly governed by Mr. *Coventry*. It is very true, that the Officers of the Navy conſtantly attended the Duke together with thoſe three Sea-Captains who have been named before: But from the Time that the War was declared, his Highneſs conſulted daily, for his own Information and Inſtruction, with Sir *John Lawſon* and Sir *George Ayſcue* and Sir *William Pen*, all Men of great Experience, and who had commanded in ſeveral Battles. Upon the Advice of theſe Men the Duke always made his Eſtimates and all Propoſitions to the King. There was ſomewhat of Rivalſhip between the two laſt, becauſe They had been in equal Command: Therefore the Duke took Sir *William Pen* into his own Ship, and made him Captain of it; which was a great Truſt, and a very honourable Command, that exempted him from receiving any Orders but from the Duke, and ſo extinguiſhed the other Emulation, the other two being Flag-Officers and to command ſeveral Squadrons.

IN all Conferences with theſe Men Mr. *Coventry's* Preſence and Attendance was neceſſary, both to reduce all Things into Writing which were agreed upon, and to be able to put the Duke in Mind of what He was to do. *Lawſon* was the Man of whoſe Judgment the Duke had the beſt Eſteem: And He was in Truth, of a Man of that Breeding (for He was a perfect Tarpawlin), a very extraordinary Perſon; He underſtood his Profeſſion incomparably well, ſpake clearly and pertinently, but not pertinaciouſly enough when He was contradicted. *Ayſcue* was a Gentleman, but had kept ill Company too long, which had blunted his Underſtanding, if it had been ever ſharp: He was of few Words, yet ſpake to the Purpoſe and to be eaſily underſtood. *Pen*, who had much the worſt Underſtanding, had a great Mind to appear better bred, and to ſpeak like a Gentleman; He had got many good Words which He uſed at Adventure; He was a formal Man, and ſpake very leiſurely but much, and left the Matter more intricate and perplexed than He found it. He was entirely governed by Mr. *Coventry*, who ſtill learned enough of him to offer any Thing rationally in the Debate, or to croſs what was not agreeable to his own Fancy, by which He was ſtill ſwayed out of the Pride and Perverſeneſs of his Will.

UPON Debate and Conference with theſe Men, the Duke brought Propoſitions to the King reduced into Writing by Mr. *Coventry*; and the King commonly conſulted them with the Lord Treaſurer in his Preſence, the Propoſitions being commonly for Increaſe of the Expenſe, which Mr. *Coventry* was ſolicitous by all the Ways poſſible to contrive. To thoſe Conſultations the Duke always brought the Sea-Officers, and Mr. *Coventry*, who ſpake much more than They, to explain eſpecially what Sir *William Pen* ſaid, who took upon himſelf to ſpeak moſt, and often what the others had never thought though They durſt not contradict; and Sir *John Lawſon* often complained, "that Mr. *Coventry* put that in Writing which had never been "propoſed by them, and would continue diſputing it till They yielded." Every Conference raiſed the Charge very much; and what They propoſed Yeſterday as enough was To-day made twice as much; if They propoſed ſix Fire-Ships to be provided, within two or three Days They demanded twelve: So there could be no poſſible Computation of the Charge.

The Duke puts out to Sea.

BY this Means the Fleet that was now ready to put to Sea amounted to fourſcore Sail; and the King willingly conſented, upon the Reaſons the Duke preſented to him, that they ſhould ſet Sail as ſoon as was poſſible. And before the End of *April* the Duke was with the whole Fleet at Sea, and viſited the Coaſt of *Holland*, and took many Ships in their View, their Fleet being not yet in Readineſs. Many Noblemen, the Earl of *Peterborough*, the Lord Viſcount *Ferrers*, and others, with many Gentlemen of Quality, went as Volunteers, and were diſtributed into the ſeveral Ships with much Countenance by the Duke, and as many taken into his own Ship as could be done with Convenience.

Many Noblemen go as Volunteers.

THE Duke of *Buckingham* had from the firſt Mention of the War, which He promoted all He could, declared "that He would make one in "it:" And when it was declared, He deſired to have the Command of a Ship, which the Duke poſitively denied to give him, except the King commanded it (and his Majeſty was content to refer that, as He did the Nomination of all the other Officers, to his Brother), and did not think fit that a Man, of what Quality ſoever, who had never been at Sea, ſhould his firſt Voyage have the Command of any conſiderable Ship (and a ſmall one had not been for his Honour); at which He was much troubled.

Yet his Friends told him that He was too far engaged, to ſtay at Home when his Royal Highneſs ventured his own Perſon: And thereupon He reſolved to go a Volunteer, and put himſelf on Board a Flag-Ship, the Captain whereof was in his Favour. And then He deſired, "that in Reſpect "of his Quality, and his being a Privy Counſellor, He might be preſent in "all Councils of War." The Duke thought this not reaſonable, and would not make a new Precedent. There were many of the ancient Nobility, Earls and Barons, who were then on Board as Volunteers; and if the Conſideration of Quality might entitle them to be preſent in Council, all Orders would be broken, there being none called but Flag-Officers: And therefore his Royal Highneſs poſitively refuſed to gratify him in that Point; which the Duke of *Buckingham* thought (it being enough known that the Duke had neither Eſteem or Kindneſs for him) to be ſuch a perſonal Diſobligation, that would well excuſe him for declining the Enterpriſe. And pretending that He did appeal to the King in Point of Right, He left the Fleet, and returned to the Shore to complain. And We return back too to the View of other Particulars.

Some new Peers made.

THERE were two Perſons, whom the King and his Brother did deſire to make remarkable by ſome extraordinary Favours: One of which was equally grateful to Both, Sir *Charles Berkley*, who had been lately created an *Iriſh* Viſcount by the Name of Lord *Fitzharding*, the old and true Surname of the Family; upon whom the King had, for Reaſons only known to himſelf, ſet his Affection ſo much, that He had never denied any Thing He aſked for himſelf or for any Body elſe, and was well content that He ſhould be looked upon as his Favourite. He had been long thought ſo to the Duke, who was willing to promote any Thing to his Advantage: And the King had deferred thoſe Inſtances only till the Parliament ſhould be prorogued, leſt it ſhould raiſe the Appetites of others to make Suits, which He had hitherto defended himſelf from, by declaring He would make no more Lords. But the Parliament was no ſooner prorogued, than it was reſolved to be put in Execution: And when it was to be done, the Chancellor had the Honour to be preſent alone with the King and Duke, when it ſeemed to be firſt thought of. And when the Duke propoſed it as a Suit to the King, that He would make the Lord *Fitzharding* an Earl, extolling his Courage and Affection to the King; He was pleaſed with the Motion to that Degree, that He extolled him with Praiſes which could be applied to few Men: And it was quickly reſolved that He ſhould be an Earl of *England*, and a Title was as ſoon found out; and ſo He was created Earl of *Falmouth*, before He had one Foot of Land in the World.

Sir Charles Berkley *created Earl of* Falmouth.

And Sir H. Bennet *Lord* Arlington.

AND to gratify the King for this Favour, the Duke likewiſe propoſed that the King would make Sir *Harry Bennet* a Lord, whom all the World knew He did not care for; which was as willingly granted: And He had no more Eſtate than the other, and could not ſo eaſily find a Title for his Barony. But becauſe He had no Mind to retain his own Name, which was no good one, his firſt Warrant was to be created *Cheney*, which was an ancient Barony expired, and to which Family He had not the leaſt Relation: And for ſome Days upon the ſigning the Warrant He was called Lord *Cheney*, until a Gentleman of the beſt Quality in *Buckinghamſhire*, who though He had no Title to the Barony was yet of the ſame Family, and inherited moſt Part of the Eſtate, which was very conſiderable, and was married to a Daughter of the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, heard of it, and made Haſte to ſtop it. He went firſt to Sir *Harry Bennet* himſelf, and deſired him "not to affect a Title to which He had no Relation; and to

"which though He could not pretend of direct Right, yet He was not so "obscure but that himself or a Son of his might hereafter be thought worthy "of it by the Crown; and in that Respect it would be some Trouble to "him to see it vested in the Family of a Stranger." The Secretary did not give him so civil an Answer as He expected, having no Knowledge of the Gentleman. Yet shortly after, upon Information of his Condition and Quality (as He was in all Respects very worthy of Consideration), the Patent being not yet prepared, He was contented to take the Title of a little Farm that had belonged to his Father and was sold by him, and now in the Possession of another private Person; and so was created Lord *Arlington*, the proper and true Name of the Place being *Harlington*, a little Village between *London* and *Uxbridge*.

Mr. Freschеville created Lord Freschеville.

THE King took the Occasion to make these two Noblemen from an Obligation that lay upon him to confer two Honours at the same Time; the one upon Mr. *Freschеville*, of a very ancient Family in *Derbyshire* and a fair Estate, who had been always bred in the Court, a menial Servant of the last King, and had served him in the Head of a Troop of Horse raised at his own Charge in the War, and whom his late Majesty had promised to make a Baron.

And Mr. Richard Arundel Lord Arundel of Trerice.

THE other was Mr. *Richard Arundel* of *Trerice* in *Cornwall*, a Gentleman as well known by what He had done and suffered in the late Time, as by the Eminency of his Family, and the Fortune He was still Master of after the great Depredation of the Time. *John Arundel*, his Father, was of the best Interest and Estate of the Gentlemen of *Cornwall:* And in the Beginning of the Troubles, when the Lord *Hopton* and the other Gentlemen with him were forced to retire into *Cornwall*, He and his Friends supported them, and gave the first Turn and Opposition to the Current of the Parliament's Usurpation; and to them, their Courage and Activity, all the Success that the Lord *Hopton* had afterwards was justly to be imputed as to the first Rise. The old Gentleman was then above seventy Years of Age, and infirm; but all his Sons He engaged in the War: The two eldest were eminent Officers, Both Members of the House of Commons, and the more zealous Soldiers by having been Witnesses of the naughty Proceedings of those who had raised the Rebellion. The eldest was killed in the Head of his Troop, charging and driving back a bold Sally that was made out of *Plymouth* when it was besieged: And this other Gentleman of whom We now speak, and who was then the younger Brother, was an excellent Colonel of Foot to the End of the War.

The eminent Services of this Gentleman and his Family.

WHEN Sir *Nicholas Slanning*, who was Governour of *Pendennis*, lost his Life bravely in the Siege of *Bristol*, the King knew not into what Hands to commit that important Place so securely, as by sending a Commission to old *John Arundel* of *Trerice* to command, well knowing that it must be preserved principally by his Interest; and in Respect of his Age joined his eldest Son with him: And after his Death He added the younger Brother to the Command, of whom We are speaking, who was in Truth then looked upon as the most powerful Person in that County.

WHEN the King, then Prince, was compelled after almost the whole *West* was lost to retire into *Cornwall*, He remained in *Pendennis Castle*, and from thence made his first Embarcation to *Scilly:* And at parting, out of a princely Sense of the Affection and Service of that Family, He took the old Gentleman aside, and in the Presence of his Son wished him "to defend "the Place as long as He could, because Relief might come, of which there "was some Hope from abroad;" and promised him, "if He lived to come

"back into *England* He would make him a Baron, and if He were dead "He would make it good to his Son." The old Man behaved him bravely to his Death, having all his Eſtate taken from him; and his Son remained as eminently faithful, and had as deep Marks of it as any Man: So that at the King's Return, who never forgat his Promiſe, He might have received the Effect of it in the firſt Creation, if He had deſired it; but He choſe rather to recover the Bruiſes his Fortune had endured by Seizures and Sequeſtrations, before He would embark him in a Condition that muſt preſently raiſe his Expenſe in his Way of Living. And as ſoon as He found himſelf at Eaſe in that Reſpect, He got a Friend to inform the King, "that "He was ready to receive his Bounty."

AND his Majeſty, being under theſe two Obligations, was willing to take the ſame Opportunity to prefer the two other Perſons He loved ſo well. But at the ſame Time that He declared his Reſolution for the laſt two (but what concerned the others had been long known and expected), his Majeſty reflected upon the Number of the Houſe of Peers, which was in many Reſpects found grievous, and declared to his Brother and the Chancellor, who were only preſent, "that no Importunity ſhould prevail with him to make "any more Lords in many Years, and till the preſent Number ſhould be "leſſened;" in which Reſolution the Duke willingly concurred, and proteſted "that He would never more importune him in that Point." The Reaſon of mentioning this Declaration and Reſolution will appear hereafter. This Creation was no ſooner over, than the new Earl of *Falmouth* went with the Duke to Sea: For though his Relation was now immediately to the King and near his Perſon, yet He thought himſelf obliged not to be from the Duke when He was to be engaged in ſo much Danger; and He was confeſſed by all Men to abound in a moſt fearleſs Courage.

A particular Relation of paſſing the Canary Patent.

IT will not be unſeaſonable in this Place to take a View of an Act of State that paſſed about this Time, and which afterwards adminiſtered Matter of Reproach againſt the Chancellor, and was made Uſe of by his Enemies as an Evidence of his Corruption; for the better underſtanding whereof, it will be neceſſary to begin the Relation from the original Ground of the Counſel. About the firſt *Chriſtmas* after the King's happy Return into *England*, the Chancellor, Treaſurer, Privy Seal, and the two Chief Juſtices (being the Perſons appointed by the Statute for that Purpoſe) met together to ſet the Prices upon the ſeveral Sorts of Wines; and were attended, according to Cuſtom, by the Company of Vintners, and the chief Merchants in the City who traded in that Commodity. And being firſt to limit the Merchants to a reaſonable Rate, before They could preſcribe any Price to the Vintners upon the Retail, They found, by the beſt Enquiry They could make, that the firſt Prices beyond the Seas which the Merchants paid for their Wines were ſo exceſſive, that the Retail could not be brought within any Compaſs; and that ſince the Beginning of the Troubles the Price of Wines in general was exceedingly increaſed, and particularly that of the *Canaries* was almoſt double to what it had been in the Year 1640.

THE Chancellor knew very well, by the Correſpondence He had held in the *Canaries* (during the Time that He had ſerved his Majeſty as his Ambaſſadour in *Spain*), that the whole Trade for the *Canary* Wine was driven ſolely by the *Engliſh*, and the Commodity entirely vended in the King's Dominions, all *Chriſtendom* beſide not ſpending any Quantity of that Wine: And thereupon He aſked the Merchants "whether what He had reported was "not true, and what would be the Way to remedy that Miſchief."

THEY all confeſſed it to be very true, and "that it was a great Reproach "to the Nation to be ſo much impoſed upon in a Trade that They might "govern themſelves: And that the unreaſonable Prices of the Wine were not "the greateſt Prejudice that was befallen that Trade. That before the Troubles "They had been ſo far from employing any Stock of Money for the Support "of that Traffick, that They uſed to ſend their Ships fully laden with all "Commodities thither, which yielded very good Markets, being ſent from "thence into the *Weſt-Indies* with their *Plate* Fleets; and that the very "Pipe-Staves which They carried did very near ſupply the Value of their "Wine, ſo that They brought Home the Proceed of their Commodities "either in Pieces of *Eight*, or ſuch other Merchandiſes as had been brought "thither from the *Indies*, and upon which They received great Profit. On "the contrary, that the Trade was now wholly driven by ready Money; "that the Commodities They ſend thither are not taken off, except at their "own Prices, ſo that They have for the late Years ſent their Veſſels empty "thither, except only with ſome few Pipe-Staves, which by the Deſtruction "in *Ireland* They could not ſend in any great Proportion; and that their "Ships return from thence with no other Lading but thoſe Wines, which "They trade for in ready Money, either by Pieces of *Eight* ſent in their "Ships from hence, or by Bills of Exchange charged upon ſome known "Merchants in *Spain*. That over and above theſe Diſadvantages, the "*Spaniards* in thoſe Iſlands had of late impoſed new Duties upon the Wine, "and laid other Impoſitions upon the Merchants than the *Engliſh* Nation "had been ever accuſtomed to." They ſaid, "all theſe Inconveniences pro-"ceeded from the immoderate Appetite this Nation hath for that Sort of "Wine, and therefore They take from them as much as They can make; "and from our own Diſorder and Irregularity in buying them, and con-"tending who ſhall get the moſt, and ſo raiſing the Price upon one ano-"ther, and making the *Spaniards* themſelves the Judges what the Mer-"chants ſhall pay."

THE Lords, upon Conſultation between themſelves, found the Matter too hard for them, and that the Reformation of ſo much Evil muſt be made by Degrees, and upon a Repreſentation of the Whole, with the Difficulties which attended it, to the King and his Privy Council, whoſe Wiſdoms only could provide a Remedy proportionable to the Miſchiefs. For the preſent, as They reſolved not to raiſe the Prices at which Wine was at that Time bought and ſold (which They believed, how reaſonably ſoever it might be done, would yet be very unpopular), ſo They thought it not juſt to draw down and abate thoſe Prices, ſince it appeared to them that the Wines coſt more in Proportion upon the Places of their Growth. They declared therefore to the Merchants and to the Vintners, "that though for "the preſent They would permit the ſame Prices to continue for the next "Year, which they had been ſold for the preſent Year," and which indeed were confirmed by the late Act of Parliament, "They ſhould hereafter take "Care what Markets They made; for that They were reſolved the next "Year to make the Prices much lower both to the Merchant and to the "Vintner:" And ſo, upon the Report made by the Lords of the whole Matter to the King in Council, and of what They thought fit to be done for the preſent, a Proclamation was publiſhed accordingly.

THE next Year both the Merchants and Vintners were very earneſt Suitors to the Lords at their accuſtomed Meeting, that greater Prices might be allowed, or at leaſt that the ſame might be continued; making it very evident, that their Wines coſt them more than they had done the Year before.

Upon the Debate the *Canary* Merchants were much divided. Some of them inſiſted very importunately to have the Price raiſed, "becauſe it was "notorious that They had paid much more than formerly, by Reaſon," as They alleged, "that the Vintage had not yielded near the Proportion that "it uſed to do." Others, though confeſſing the Increaſe of Price, yet pretended a more publick Spirit and the Neceſſity of a Reformation: And therefore They preſſed as earneſtly, "that the Price might not be raiſed, "but that They might be permitted to take what They had done already "for this Year." It was quickly diſcovered whence this Moderation proceeded; and that the laſt Propoſers had a great Quantity of Wine upon their Hands, which had been provided the Year before, and ſo might well be ſold at the ſame Price; but that the former had no old Wine left, but were ſupplied with a full Proviſion of new, which had coſt them ſo much dearer. Both the one and the other deſired the Lords, "that whatever Reſolution "They took for the preſent, a Clauſe might be inſerted in the Proclama- "tion, *That, the next Year which followed,* Canary *Wine ſhould not be ſold for* "*above four and twenty Pounds the Pipe, and that every Year after it ſhould* "*be drawn lower*," as it might well be, it having been ſold in the Year 1640 for twenty Pounds the Pipe; though, in the Year when his Majeſty returned, it had been permitted to be ſold at ſix and thirty Pounds the Pipe. "Such a Clauſe," They ſaid, "would give Notice to the Iſlanders, and "oblige them to ſell their Wines at more reaſonable Rates, and would ren- "der the Merchants unexcuſable if They ſhould give greater." Notwithſtanding all their Allegations, the Lords remembered what They had declared to them the laſt Year, which was as fair a Warning as any Thing They could now ſay would be. And accordingly They ſet lower Prices upon all Wines for the Year to come than had been allowed the laſt, as the moſt effectual Warning for the future: Which was thought a very rigorous Proceeding; but being reported to the King and Council, what They had done was allowed and confirmed, and his Majeſty was well contented that ſuch a Clauſe as They had propoſed ſhould be inſerted in the Proclamation; which was accordingly done.

THE Year following, when the Lords met again according to Cuſtom, which is as hath been ſaid about *Chriſtmas*, They found not the leaſt Reformation; on the contrary, that the *Canary* Merchants had paid dearer than ever, which made them all more ſolicitous to have the Price raiſed, and the Vintners as importunate for their Retail. And indeed the Vintners ſeemed to be in a much worſe Condition than the Merchants. And They made it appear, "that They were often compelled to pay higher Prices to the "Merchant than were impoſed by their Lordſhips; without which They "could get no good Wine, and ſo muſt give over their keeping Houſe: "That the Penalty upon the Merchant was very ſmall, being not above "forty Shillings a Pipe, and the Crime not eaſy to be diſcovered, as was "evident by there not having been one Merchant queſtioned in many Years "for that common Tranſgreſſion; whereas on the Vintner's Part the Pe- "nalty was very ſevere, and eaſily diſcovered by any Man who went to a "Tavern and would be an Informer, and that moſt of the Vintners in "*London* were at that very Time ſued in the *Exchequer* upon thoſe very "Penalties, which if exacted muſt produce their Ruin."

THE Merchants excuſed themſelves for their preſent Pretence, and for their having given more for their Wines than was lawful for them to have done by their own Deſire: "That They had done their beſt, and that the "greateſt Traders amongſt them had conſented between themſelves not to

"ſuffer the Prices to be raiſed upon them; but that They found it ineffec-
"tual, and that though They ſhould give over their Trades it would pro-
"duce no Reformation. That the Trade was open to all Adventurers, and
"that there had been many Ships ſent from *England* in that very Year by
"*Jews*, and People of ſeveral Trades, who had never been before known to
"trade to the *Canaries*: Inſomuch as when They who had been long bred
"up to the Trade, and had been long Factors in thoſe Iſlands, ſent their
"Ships thither, They found other *Engliſh* Ships there, and the Wines
"bought at a greater Price than They had allowed their Factors to give;
"ſo that They muſt either have their Ships return empty and unladen, or
"take the Wines at the Prices other Men gave. That They had choſen
"the latter, as well to continue their Trade, as to draw Home ſome Part
"of the Stock They had in that Country. That They could imagine but
"two Ways to reform that Exceſs: The one, by putting the Trade into
"ſuch a Method and under ſuch Rules, as might reſtrain that Licenſe,
"and not leave it in the Power of Perſons who never had been in the Trade
"to give the Law to it; and by this Means the Iſlanders would find it neceſ-
"ſary to ſet reaſonable Prices upon their Commodities, and to yield ſuch
"other Advantages and Privileges to the Merchants as They had heretofore
"enjoyed. The other, that the King would by his Proclamation prohibit
"the Importation of any *Canary* Wines into his Dominions: And hereby
"He would quickly receive ſuch Propoſitions from *Spain*, as would put it
"into his own Power to make the Reformation; otherwiſe the Iſlanders had
"been perſuaded that *England* could not live without their Wines."

THE Lords were reſolved, notwithſtanding all that had been ſaid, that They would execute the former Proclamation, and reduce the Prices of Wines to what had been then determined: And after They had given a full Account of the whole Buſineſs to the King in Council, the Reſolution was approved, and a Proclamation was iſſued out to that Purpoſe. The Merchants and Vintners applied themſelves to his Majeſty, and to many of the Lords of the Council, and thought They had Encouragement enough to hope for a Relief in an Appeal to the King and Council by Petition; and They had thereupon a Day aſſigned to be heard. Many of the Lords thought it very hard, if not unjuſt, to compel Men to ſell cheaper than They bought, which was the Truth of the Caſe, and which muſt oblige both Merchants and Vintners to ſophiſticate and corrupt their Wines to preſerve their Eſtates; which might probably turn to the great Damage of the whole Kingdom, in producing Sickneſs and Diſeaſes: And this charitable and generous Conſideration prevailed with the major Part of the Lords to be well contented, and to wiſh that ſome Indulgence might be exerciſed towards them. On the contrary, when the King had well weighed the whole Proceedings, and with Trouble and Indignation conſidered the obſtinate Vice of the Nation, which made it ridiculous to all the World, He expreſſed a poſitive Reſolution to vindicate himſelf and his Government from this Reproach. He thought the adhering firmly to the Prices which had been reſolved upon by the Lords would be the beſt Preface to this Reformation, though it might be attended with particular Damage to particular Perſons, who had yet leſs Cauſe to complain, becauſe their own Advice had been followed. And thereupon his Majeſty declared, "that He would make no Alteration;" but withal told them, "that if They could make any Propoſition to him for
"the better Regulation of the Trade" (for They had themſelves mentioned a Charter), "He would graciouſly receive any Propoſitions They would
"make, and gratify them in what was juſt:" And ſo, notwithſtanding all

Attempts which were often repeated, the Price ſet by the Lords was ratified for the Year following.

The principal Canary Merchants petition for a Charter.

SHORTLY after, many of the Merchants who had always traded to the *Canaries* did petition the King, "that They might be incorporated; and that "none might be permitted to trade thither but ſuch who would be of that "Corporation, and obſerve the Conſtitutions which ſhould be made by "them:" Which Petition was preſented to the King at the Council-Board; and being read, his Majeſty (according to his Cuſtom in Matters of Difficulty and publick Concernment) directed it to be read again on that Day Month, at which Time his Majeſty preſumed that all who would oppoſe it would preſent their Reaſons and Objections againſt it, which He deſired to hear. At the Day appointed, though there was no Petition againſt it, yet it was obſerved that there were many of the moſt eminent Merchants of that Trade, whoſe Names were not to the Petition, nor who otherwiſe appeared deſirous to have a Charter granted: Which his Majeſty conſidering, He put off the Debate for another Week, and directed "that the other Merchants "by Name ſhould be deſired to be preſent, and to give their Advice freely "upon the Point."

AND there was at that Day a very full Appearance; when his Majeſty directed, "that a Relation ſhould be made to them of the whole Progreſs "that had been in the Buſineſs, and the Damage and Diſhonour the Na-"tion underwent in the carrying on that Trade: That many Merchants had "preſented a Petition to him, containing an Expedient to bring it into "better Order; but finding them not to appear in it, and being informed "that They were beſt acquainted with and moſt engaged in that Trade, "He had ſent for them to know their Opinion, whether They thought what "was propoſed to be reaſonable and fit to be granted, and if ſo, why They "did not concern themſelves in it." They anſwered, "that the Reaſon "why They had not appeared in it was, becauſe They thought They "ſhould be Loſers by it, and therefore were not ſolicitous to procure a "Grant from his Majeſty to their own Damage;" and ſo enlarged "upon "the Nature of the Trade, their long Experience in it, and the Greatneſs "of their Stock, which They ſhould not be allowed to continue under any "Regulation. But as They did not think themſelves in a Situation to be "ſolicitous for a Change, ſo They could not deny, being required by his "Majeſty to ſpeak the Truth, but that the Propoſition that was made was "for the publick Good and Benefit of the Kingdom, and that They con-"ceived no other Way to redeem that Trade, and the Nation from the In-"ſolence which the *Spaniard* exerciſed upon them;" implying, "that if "his Majeſty would command them, They would likewiſe concur and join "in the carrying on the Service:" To which his Majeſty giving them gracious Encouragement, They all ſeemed to depart of one Mind; and his Majeſty remained confirmed in the former Opinion He had of it.

The King approves the Petition.

BUT there remained yet an Objection, which was principally inſiſted on by the Miniſters of the Revenue, who alleged very reaſonably, "that this "new-modelling the Trade muſt produce ſome Alteration, and would meet "ſome Oppoſition from the *Spaniard*, which for the Time would leſſen the "Cuſtoms and entitle the Farmers to a Defalcation." The Petition was therefore referred to the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, who were to attend the next Council-Day: And being then called, They did acknowledge, "that the "Deſign propoſed would prove very profitable to the Kingdom in many "Reſpects," upon which They enlarged, "and that in the End it would "not be attended with any Diminutions of the Cuſtoms; but for the preſent,"

They ſaid, "They could not but expect, that the Obſtinacy and Contradiction of the *Spaniard* would give ſuch a Stop to Trade, at leaſt for "one Year, that if his Majeſty did not reimburſe them for what ſhould fall "ſhort in the Receipt of Cuſtom, They muſt look to be very great Loſers." The Merchants on the other Hand offered "to be bound, that if They "did not the firſt Year bring in as much as had been uſually entered, They "would make good what ſhould be wanting to the Farmers upon a Medium." Whereupon his Majeſty himſelf declared, "that He would not, "for a ſmall Damage to himſelf, hinder the Kingdom from enjoying ſo great "a Benefit:" And He commanded his Solicitor General, who then attended the Board, "to prepare ſuch a Charter as might provide for all thoſe good "Ends which were deſired in the Petition," and which had been ſo largely debated; and it was notorious, that there had never been a greater Concurrence of the Board in any Direction.

MANY Months paſſed before the Charter was prepared; in which Time there was never the leaſt new Objection made againſt it, nor was it known that any Man was unſatisfied with it. After it was engroſſed and had paſſed the King's Hand, it was brought to the Great Seal; and there the Lord Mayor of *London* and the Court of Aldermen had entered a Caveat to ſtop the paſſing of it. The Chancellor, according to Courſe, appointed a Time when He would hear all Parties. The City alleged an Order made a Year or two before by the King in Council, upon a Complaint then exhibited by the Court of Aldermen againſt the *Turkey* Company and other Corporations, "in which" They ſaid "there were very many Merchants of the "beſt Trade and of the greateſt Eſtates in the City, who would never "take out their Freedom, and ſo refuſed to bear any Charge or Office "in it, to the very great Prejudice and Diſhonour of the City and of "the Government thereof; ſince They were thereby compelled to call inferiour Citizens to be Aldermen, before They had Eſtates to bear the "Charge of it, whilſt the graveſt and the richeſt Men, who were moſt "fit, could not be obliged to accept of it, becauſe They were not Freemen." The Perſons concerned, which were indeed a great Number of very valuable and ſubſtantial Men and of great Eſtates, anſwered, "that They "had traded very many Years without finding any Reaſon to take out their "Freedom, which They might do or not do as They thought beſt for themſelves; that They had always paid Scot and Lot in the ſeveral Pariſhes "where They lived with the higheſt of the Inhabitants, and were taxed the "more becauſe They had not taken out their Freedom, They who taxed "them being always Freemen; that They were grown old now, and had "no Mind to become young Freemen, but would rather give over their "Trade, and retire into the Country where They had Eſtates."

The City of London oppoſes it.

BESIDES the Rules which the King gave upon the Difference then in Queſtion, He was pleaſed to declare, and appointed it to be entered as an Order in the Council-Book, "that Care ſhould be taken, that in all Charters which He ſhould hereafter renew or grant to any Companies or "Corporations in the City of *London*, They ſhould firſt make themſelves "Freemen of the City; by which They might be liable to the Charges of "it, as other Citizens are." They ſaid, "that there were many of this "Company that was now to be incorporated who were not Freemen:" And therefore the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen deſired the Benefit of the King's Order, which was read.

THE Merchants confeſſed, "that many of them were not Freemen, and "reſolved not to be:" They ſaid, "They had never heard of this Order, and

"were ſorry that They had ſpent ſo much Money to no Purpoſe." The Chancellor declared to them, "that He could not ſeal their Charter till "They had complied with the King's Determination, and given the Court "of Aldermen Satisfaction;" and They all ſeemed as poſitive that They would rather be without their Charter, than They would ſubmit to the other Inconveniences: And ſo They departed. But after ſome Days Deliberation and Conſultation between themſelves, and when They found that there was no Poſſibility to procure a Diſpenſation from that Order, They treated with the City, and agreed with them in the preparing a Clauſe to be inſerted in their Charter, by which They were obliged in ſo many Years to become Freemen; which Clauſe, being approved by all Parties, was in the King's Preſence entered in the Bill that his Majeſty had ſigned, and being afterwards added to the Engroſſment, it was again thus reformed and ſent to the Great Seal, and preſented to the Chancellor to be ſealed.

The Chancellor refuſes to put the Seal till the Merchants had ſatisfied the City.

THERE were by this Time ſeveral new Caveats entered againſt it at the Seal; all which the Chancellor heard, and ſettled every one of them to the joint Satisfaction of all Parties, and all Caveats were withdrawn. There was then a Rumour, that there would be ſome Motions made againſt it in the Houſe of Commons: And ſome Parliament-Men, who ſerved for the Weſtern Boroughs, came to the Chancellor, and deſired him "that He "would defer the ſealing it for ſome Days till They might be heard, ſince "it would undo their Weſtern Trade; and" They ſaid "They reſolved to "move the Houſe of Commons to put a Stop to it." The Chancellor informed them of the whole Progreſs it had paſſed, and told them, "He be-"lieved that They would hardly be able to offer any good Reaſons againſt "it:" However, ſince it was then well known that the Parliament would be prorogued within ten or twelve Days, He ſaid "He would ſuſpend the "ſealing it till then, to the End that They might offer any Objections againſt "it there or any where elſe." But though the Parliament ſate longer than it was then conceived it would have done, there was no Mention or Notice taken of it: And after the Prorogation no Application was farther made for the ſtopping it, and the Merchants preſſed very importunately that it might be ſealed, alleging with Reaſon "that the deferring it ſo long had been very "much to their Prejudice." Whereupon the Chancellor conceived that it would not conſiſt with his Duty to delay it longer, and ſo affixed the Great Seal to it.

THE Company then choſe a Governour and other Officers according to their Charter, and made ſuch Orders and By-Laws as They thought fit for the carrying on and Advancement of their Trade, which They might alter when They thought convenient; and for the preſent They reſolved upon a joint Stock, and aſſigned ſo many Shares to each particular Man. In this Compoſition and Diſtribution there fell out ſome Difference between themſelves, which could not be taken Notice of abroad: And even ſome of them, who firſt petitioned and were moſt ſolicitous to procure the Charter, did what They could to hinder the Effect of it; ſent privately to their Factors at the *Canaries*, "to oppoſe any Orders that ſhould be ſent from the "Governour and the Company, and that They ſhould do all They could "to incenſe the *Spaniards* againſt the Charter," and bade them promiſe "that all their Wine ſhould be taken off in Spite of the Corporation." Whereupon great Diſorders did ariſe in the *Canaries* between the *Engliſh* themſelves; and by the Conjunction of the *Spaniards* with thoſe few *Engliſh* who oppoſed the Charter, They proceeded ſo far as to ſend the principal Factors for the Company out of the Iſland into *Spain*, and to make

Some Differences in the Company after their Incorporation.

a publick Act by the Governour and Council there, "that no Ship belonging to the Company ſhould be ſuffered to come into the Harbour, or to take in any Lading from the Iſland:" All which was tranſacted there many Months before it was known in *England*, and probably would have been prevented or eaſily reformed, if it had not pleaſed God that the Plague at this Time ſpread very much in *London*, and if the War with the *Dutch* had not reſtrained all *Engliſh* Ships from going to the *Canaries* for the Space of a Year; which Intermiſſion, not to be prevented nor in Truth foreſeen, gave ſome Advantage to the Merchants at Home who oppoſed their Charter, who complained for the Not-Return of their ſeveral Stocks within the Time that the Company had promiſed they ſhould be returned.

I AM not willing to reſume this Diſcourſe in another Place, which I ſhould be compelled to do if I diſcontinued the Relation in this Place, as in Point of Time I ſhould do; but I chooſe rather to inſert here what fell out afterwards, and to finiſh the Account of that Affair, that there may be no Occaſion in the Current of this Narration to mention any Particulars that related to it.

WHEN the King was at *Oxford*, and was informed of what had paſſed at the *Canaries*, ſome Merchants appeared there to petition againſt the Charter, whereof there were ſome who were the firſt Petitioners for it. His Majeſty appointed a Day for the ſolemn hearing it in the Preſence of his Privy Council, the Governour being likewiſe ſummoned and preſent there. Upon opening all their Grievances the Petitioners themſelves confeſſed, "that They could not complain of the Charter; that it was a juſt and neceſſary Charter, and for the great Benefit of the Kingdom, though ſome private Men might for the preſent be Loſers by it: That their Complaint was only againſt their Conſtitutions and By-Laws, and the ſevere Proſecution thereupon contrary to the Intention of the Charter itſelf;" inſtancing, amongſt other Things, "the very ſhort Day limited by the Charter, after which They could not continue their Trade without being Members of the Corporation; and that Day was ſo ſoon after the ſealing the Charter, that it was not poſſible for them to draw their Stocks from thence in ſo ſhort a Time." *Which are referred to the King.*

WHEN They had finiſhed all their Objections, the King obſerved to them, "that They complained only of what themſelves had done, and not at all of the Charter, which gave them only Authority to chooſe a Governour and to make Conſtitutions and By-Laws, but directed not what the Conſtitutions and By-Laws ſhould be, which were the Reſult of their own Conſultations, in which the major Part muſt have concurred; and of that Kind the Reſolution for a joint Stock was one, which and all the reſt They might alter again at the next Court, if the major Part were grieved with it." But becauſe They had complained of ſome Particulars, in which They might have Reaſon on their Side, his Majeſty expreſſed a Willingneſs to mediate and to make an Agreement between them: And thereupon He required the Governour to anſwer ſuch and ſuch Particulars which ſeemed to have moſt of Juſtice; but the Governour anſwered all at large, and made it clearly appear, that They had in Truth no Cauſe of Complaint. As to the ſhort Day that was aſſigned for the drawing away of their Stocks, which had the greateſt Semblance of Reaſon in all They complained of, He ſaid, "They had no Reaſon to mention their Want of Warning, for that the Day was well enough known to them long before the ſealing the Charter, and might very well have been complied with" (the Reaſons why the ſealing the Charter was ſo long deferred are ſet down before),

"and could be no Reaſon to them to neglect the giving Direction in their "own Concernments; but that They knew likewiſe, that the Day was en- "larged to a Day deſired by themſelves, that there might be no Pretence "for Diſcontent:" And thereupon the Order of the Court to that Purpoſe was read to his Majeſty, and They could not deny it to be true.

In Concluſion, ſince it did appear that their Stock did in Truth ſtill remain in the *Canaries*, and in Juſtice belonged to them, whether it was their Fault or their Misfortune that it had not been drawn over in Time; *Who ſatisfies all Parties.* the King perſuaded the Governour and his Aſſiſtants to give them ſuch Satisfaction in that and other Particulars, that before They retired from his Majeſty's Preſence They were unanimouſly agreed upon all their Pretences: And though ſome of the Lords, upon ſome Inſinuations and Diſcourſes which They had heard, had believed the Company to have been in the Wrong, They were now fully convinced of the contrary, and believed the Charter to be founded upon great Reaſon of State, and that the Execution of it had been very juſtifiable and with great Moderation. And it is to be obſerved, that the Parliament being then aſſembled at *Oxford*, there was not the leaſt Complaint againſt that Charter or Corporation.

And this was the whole Progreſs of that Affair, until it ſerved ſome Mens *A Vindication of the Chancellor in this Affair.* Turns to make it afterwards Matter of Reproach to the Chancellor, in a Time when He had too great a Weight of the King's Diſpleaſure upon him to defend himſelf from that and other Calumnies, which few Men thought him guilty of. And if the Motives of State were not of Weight enough to ſupport the Patent, more ought not to be objected to him than to every other Counſellor, there having never been a more unanimous Concurrence at that Board in any Advice They have given: And the Delays He uſed in the paſſing the Charter after it came to his Hand, his giving ſo long Time for the making Objections againſt it, and his ſo poſitively oppoſing the Company with Reference to their being Freemen of the City, are no Signs that He had ſuch a Mind to pleaſe them, as a Man would have who had been corrupted by them, or who was to have a Share in the Profit of the Patent, as was afterwards ſuggeſted, but never believed by any to whom He was in any Degree known, who knew well that He frequently refuſed to receive Money that He might very lawfully have done, and never took a Penny which He was obliged to refuſe. He was indeed, as often as that Affair came to be debated, very clear in his Judgment for the King's granting it, and always continued of the ſame Opinion: Nor did He ever deny, that ſome Months after the Patent was ſealed the Governour made him a Preſent in the Name of the Corporation, as it is preſumed He did to many other Officers through whoſe Hands it paſſed, and which was never refuſed by any of his Predeceſſors when it came from a Community upon the paſſing a Charter; which He never concealed from the King, who thought He might well do it. In the laſt Place it is to be remembered, that after all the Clamour againſt this Charter in Parliament, and upon the arguing againſt the Legality of it by eminent Lawyers before the Houſe of Peers, it was ſo well ſupported by the King's Attorney General and other learned Lawyers, that the Lords would not give Judgment againſt it: But the Governour and the Corporation durſt not diſpute it farther with the Houſe of Commons, but choſe to ſurrender their Charter into the King's Hands.

The *French* had their Ambaſſadour, *Monſieur Comminge*, remaining ſtill in *England*, who pretended to be ready to finiſh ſtill the Treaty of Commerce, but formalized ſo much upon every Article, though Nothing was demanded but what had been granted to *Cromwell*, that it was concluded

that He wanted Power, though Somewhat was imputed to the Capriciouſneſs of his Nature, which made him hard to treat with, and not always vacant at the Hours himſelf aſſigned, being hypochondriack and ſeldom ſleeping without Opium. As ſoon as the War was declared the King of *France* ſent two other Ambaſſadours, whereof, for the Countenance and Splendour of it, the Duke of *Vernueil* was one, who being Uncle to Both the Kings was received rather under that Relation than in the other Capacity, and was lodged and treated by the King during the whole Time of his Stay. With him came likewiſe *Monſieur Courtine*, a Maſter of Requeſts, and much the quickeſt Man of the three, and upon whoſe Parts and Addreſs moſt of the Buſineſs depended. The former Ambaſſadour was joined in Commiſſion with the other two: And their declared Buſineſs was to mediate a Peace between the King and the *Dutch*, when there had been yet little Harm done, only great Preparations made on Both Sides for the War; which They did not ſeem very ſolicitous to interrupt, but contented themſelves with declaring at their firſt Audience, "that the King their Maſter out of Chriſtianity, and to prevent the Effuſion of Chriſtian Blood, deſired to mediate "a Peace, which the *States* of the *United Provinces* were very willing He "ſhould do, and profeſſed to have a very great Deſire of Peace; which "made his *Chriſtian* Majeſty hope that He ſhould find the ſame good Inclinations here, and if He might be informed what his Majeſty did require "or what would be grateful to him, He did not doubt but that He ſhould "perſuade the *States* to ſubmit to it."

The French ſend Ambaſſadours into England under Pretence of Mediation.

AND with this general Diſcourſe, and without delivering any Memorial in Writing, the Ambaſſadours acquieſced for many Months, as if their Buſineſs was only that the *Dutch* Ambaſſadour, who remained ſtill in *London*, might know and ſend Word to his Maſters that They had begun their Mediation. Otherwiſe They ſeemed in all their Diſcourſes to make ſome Kind of Apology for being ſent, implying "as if the extraordinary Importunity "of the *Dutch* had prevailed with the King to undertake this Mediation, "and which He did the rather, upon their Promiſe that They would yield "to any Thing He ſhould adviſe them; and He was very far from deſiring "that his Majeſty might not receive ample Satisfaction in whatſoever He required:" So that the King did not imagine, whatever Information He had received before, and whatever Jealouſy He had entertained, that this Embaſſy would be concluded in the Denunciation of a War againſt him. Nor is it probable that the Ambaſſadours themſelves at that Time knew that They were to perform that Office, though it was afterwards evident that the Matter had been long before reſolved in *France*. They lived between the two Courts, for the Queen Mother was likewiſe at that Time at her Palace of *Somerſet-Houſe*, in much Jollity, and as vacant from any Affairs till They might receive new Orders from Court, but ſpending much Time with the *Dutch* Ambaſſadour, whom They perſuaded "that They were very intent upon and had much advanced the Treaty," as appeared by the Ambaſſadour's Letters to the *Hague*.

THE Plague increaſed ſo faſt, that the Queen Mother, who had all the Winter complained of her Indiſpoſition of Health, and declared that She would in the Summer go again into *France*, took that Occaſion, albeit She was recovered to a very good State; and about the End of *July* removed and embarked for *France*, and took ſo many Things with her, that it was thought by many that She did not intend ever to return into *England*. Whatever her Intentions at that Time were, She never did ſee *England* again, though She lived many Years after.

The Queen Mother leaves England.

The Duke continually ſends for Reinforcements.

It was in *April* that the Duke went to Sea: And from the Day of his going thither with the Fleet Letters and Orders came from him to the Day of the Battle for an Addition of more Ships, upon Intelligence of an Increaſe of Strength added to the Enemy, though They yet lay ſtill in the Harbours, whilſt the Duke was upon their Coaſts. But Mr. *Coventry* ſtill made new Demands, and wrote to the Chancellor, "that whilſt the King's Brother "was at Sea and ventured his own Perſon, Nobody who wiſhed him well "would, for ſaving Money, hinder any Thing from being ſent that his "Highneſs thought neceſſary for his Defence:" And all Things were ſent, though procured with wonderful Difficulty.

The Treaſurer had believed, when all the Proviſions were delivered which had been demanded, and all Computations ſatisfied which had been made, and the Fleet at Sea, that there would have been no more Expenſe till its Return; whereas every Day added new Expenſe which had not been thought of: And the requiring of more Ships was then believed, and more afterwards, to proceed from the reſtleſs Spirit of Mr. *Coventry*, who cared not how much He increaſed the Expenſe, and was willing to put the Treaſurer and all the King's Miniſters to contend with all Difficulties, that He might reproach their Lazineſs or Want of Ability. But They did not gratify him in that, but all the Ships and whatever elſe was ſent for were ſent; inſomuch as the Fleet amounted to no leſs than one hundred Sail, and was now retired for Want of Somewhat to do to our own Coaſt, where They reſolved to attend the Motion of the Enemy: And in this Time moſt of the Volunteers, having endured the Unpleaſantneſs of the Sea above a Month, begun to think that the War was not ſo neceſſary as They had thought it to be.

He retires to the Engliſh Coaſt.

The Duke's Family that was numerous in his own Ship were not at Eaſe, and found leſs Reſpect from the Seamen than They had looked for: They grew into Factions between themſelves, and the Earl of *Falmouth* and Mr. *Coventry* were Rivals who ſhould have moſt Intereſt in the Duke, who loved the Earl beſt but thought the other the wiſer Man, who ſupported *Pen* (who diſobliged all the Courtiers) even againſt the Earl, who contemned *Pen* as a Fellow of no Senſe, and not worthy of the Charge and Truſt that was repoſed in him. In this Diſcompoſure and having Nothing to do, every Body grew angry at the Occaſion that brought them thither, and wiſhed for Peace.

The Earl of *Falmouth*, as in a Time of Leiſure, was ſent by the Duke with Compliments to the King, and to give him an Account of the good State of the Fleet: He viſited the Chancellor, to whom He had always paid great Reſpect and made many Profeſſions; and He told him, "that "They were all mad who had wiſhed this War, and that himſelf had been "made a Fool to contribute to it, but that his Eyes were open, and a "Month's Experience at Sea had enough informed him of the great Hazards "the King ran in it." He reproached *Pen* "as a Sot, and a Fellow that "He thought would be found without Courage." He told him, "that the "King and the Duke too were Both inclined to Peace, and diſcerned that "the Charge and Expenſe of the War would be inſupportable;" and concluded, "that as ſoon as this Action ſhould be over, which could not be "avoided many Days if the *Dutch* Fleet put to Sea, as it could not be "doubted it would, it would be good Time to make a Peace, which He "deſired him to think of, and to ſpeak with the King, whom He would "find diſpoſed to it:" And ſo He returned to the Fleet.

AND by that Time the *Dutch* were come out, and the next Day were in View. They were near of equal Number, and well manned, under the Command of *Opdam* the Admiral of the whole Fleet, upon whom the *States* had conferred that Charge, that the Prince of *Orange* his Party might conclude, that They never intended that He ſhould have the Charges of his Father and Grandfather, and likewiſe to gratify the Nobility of *Holland*, that had a very ſmall Share in the Government. And this Gentleman, who had never been at Sea before, and had but a ſmall Fortune, was of that Number, and had joined with that Faction which was averſe from the Family of *Orange*. The Fleets came within Sight of each other on the firſt of *June*, and had ſome Skirmiſhes which continued on the ſecond, the Wind favouring neither Party, as willing to keep them aſunder: But upon the third it ſerved Both their Turns, and brought them as near each other as They could deſire to be. *The Dutch Fleet puts out to Sea under Opdam.*

NOR did the *Dutch* ſeem to advance with leſs Courage and Reſolution. *Opdam* the *Dutch* Admiral with his Squadron bore directly upon the Duke with a Reſolution to board him: But before He came near enough, and very little before, whether by an Accident within his own Ship, or from a Grenado or other Shot out of the Duke's Ship, his Gun-Room took Fire, and in a Moment the Ship ſunk without any Man being ſaved. The Vice-Admiral of the ſame Squadron, being a *Zealander*, purſued the ſame Reſolution, and had boarded the Duke if Captain *Jeremy Smith*, a Captain of the Duke's Squadron, had not put himſelf between and boarded the Vice-Admiral, who was equally attacked by the Duke: And ſo that Ship was taken after moſt of the Men were killed; and the Captain himſelf was ſo wounded, that He only lived to be brought on Board the Duke's Ship, and to complain of his Companions "for not having ſeconded him according to an "Oath They had taken on Board their Admiral the Day before," and died within Half an Hour to the great Trouble of the Duke, who gave him a great Teſtimony for a very gallant Man, and much deſired to preſerve him. *The firſt general Engagement.*

THE Fight continued all the Day with very great Loſs of Men on all Sides, though after the firſt two Hours the *Dutch*, ſeeing many of their beſt Ships burned and more taken, did all that the Wind would give them Leave to ſeparate themſelves from the *Engliſh* Fleet, which purſued them ſo cloſe, that They found They loſt more by flying than by fighting, and did leſſen their Sails to give ſome Stop to the Purſuit till the Night might favour them: And the Evening no ſooner came, but They hoiſed up all their Sails, and intended Nothing but their Eſcape. *The Dutch are worſted.*

WHEN there was no more to be done by the Approach of the Night, the Duke, who was infinitely tired with the Labour of the Day, having loſt above two hundred Men aboard his own Ship, whereof ſome were Perſons of Quality, who ſtood next his own Perſon and ſhall be named anon, was prevailed with to repoſe himſelf after He had taken ſome Suſtenance; which He did, after He had given the Maſter of the Ship, an honeſt and a ſkilful Seaman, direct and poſitive Charge "to bear up in that Manner upon the "*Dutch* Fleet that He might loſe no Ground, but find himſelf as near, "when the Day ſhould appear, as He was then when He went to Sleep." The Fleet had no Guide but the Lanthorn of the Admiral, and were not to outſail him of Courſe, and behaved themſelves accordingly. But when the Duke aroſe and the Day appeared, the *Dutch* Fleet was out of View; and before He could reach them, They were got into their Ports or under the Shelter of their Flats, that it was not counſellable for the great Ships to purſue *The Remainder of their Fleet eſcapes by Night.*

ſue them farther: Yet ſome of thoſe Ships which made not ſo much Way, or had not ſteered ſo directly, were taken by the leſſer Ships that followed them. And the Duke had received ſo many Blows on his own and the other Ships, that it was neceſſary to retire into Port, where they might be repaired.

The great Loſs of the Dutch.

It was a Day of ſignal Triumph, the Action of it having much ſurpaſſed all that was done in *Cromwell's* Time, whoſe Navals were much greater than had ever been in any Age: But the *Dutch* had never then fought with ſo much Courage and Reſolution; nor were their Ships then in Strength to be compared to the *Engliſh*, as *Van Trump* aſſured them, "and that except "They built better Ships They would be as often beaten as They fought "with the *Engliſh*." And from that Time They new-built all their Navy, and brought now with them as good Ships as any the King had: And the Men for ſome Hours behaved themſelves well. In that Day the Duke ſunk, burned, and took eighteen good Ships of War, whereof Half were of the beſt They had, with the Loſs of one ſingle ſmall Ship, for there was no more miſſing of his whole Fleet. It is true the Number of the killed and wounded Men was very great, and was thought the greater, becauſe in the great Maſſacre that was on the other Side there was no Man, except *Opdam* their Admiral, who had a Name. There were many excellent Officers killed and taken, Men of Courage and of great Experience in naval Affairs, and therefore an irreparable Damage to them; but They had grown up from common Seamen, and ſo were of no other Quality than every Mariner of the Fleet.

Perſons ſlain on the Side of the Engliſh. *The Earl of* Falmouth. *Lord* Muskerry.

On the Part of the *Engliſh*, beſides above two hundred Men that were killed on Board the Duke's own Ship, there fell the Earl of *Falmouth*, who hath been lately ſpoken of, and the Lord *Muskerry*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Clancarty*, a young Man of extraordinary Courage and Expectation, who had been Colonel of a Regiment of Foot in *Flanders* under the Duke, and had the general Eſtimation of an excellent Officer: He was of the Duke's Bedchamber, and the Earl and He were at that Time ſo near the Duke, that his Highneſs was all covered with their Blood. There fell likewiſe in the ſame Ship Mr. *Richard Boyle*, a younger Son of the Earl of *Burlington*, a Youth of great Hope, who came newly Home from Travel, where He had ſpent his Time with ſingular Advantage, and took the firſt Opportunity to loſe his Life in the King's Service. There were many other Gentlemen Volunteers in the ſame Ship, who had the ſame Fate.

Mr. Richard Boyle.

In Prince *Rupert's* Ship, who did Wonders that Day, and in that of the Earl of *Sandwich*, who behaved him with notable Courage and Conduct, there were very many Men ſlain, and ſome Gentlemen Volunteers of the beſt Families whoſe Memories ſhould be preſerved. The Earl of *Marlborough*, who had the Command of one of the beſt Ships, and had great Experience at Sea, having made many long Voyages at Sea, and being now newly returned from the *Eaſt-Indies*, whither the King had ſent him with a Squadron of Ships to receive the Iſland of *Bombayne* from *Portugal*, was in this Battle likewiſe ſlain. He was a Man of wonderful Parts in all Kinds of Learning, which He took more Delight in than his Title; and having no great Eſtate deſcended to him, He brought down his Mind to his Fortune, and lived very retired, but with more Reputation than any Fortune could have given him. The Earl of *Portland* was a Volunteer on Board his Ship, and loſt his Life by his Side, being a young Man of very good Parts, newly come of Age, and the Son of a very wiſe and worthy Father, who died few Months before: And He having a long and entire Friendſhip with the Earl

The Earl of Marlborough.

The Earl of Portland.

of *Marlborough*, his Son, though of a melancholick Nature, intended to lead an active Life, and to apply himself to it under the Conduct of his Father's Friend, with whom He died very bravely.

THERE was another almost irreparable Loss this Day in Sir *John Lawson*, who was Admiral of a Squadron, and of so eminent Skill and Conduct in all maritime Occasions, that his Counsel was most considered in all Debates, and the greatest Seamen were ready to receive Advice from him. In the Middle of the Battle He received a Shot with a Musket-Bullet upon the Knee, with which He fell: And finding that He could no more stand and was in great Torment, He sent to the Duke to desire him to send another Man to command his Ship; which He presently did. The Wound was not conceived to be mortal; and They made Haste to send him on Shore, as far as *Deptford* or *Greenwich*, where for some Days there was Hope of his Recovery; but shortly his Wound gangrened, and so He died with very great Courage, and Profession of an entire Duty and Fidelity to the King. *And Sir John Lawson.*

HE was indeed of all the Men of that Time, and of that Extraction and Education, incomparably the modestest and the wisest Man, and most worthy to be confided in. He was of *Yorkshire* near *Scarborough*, of that Rank of People who are bred to the Sea from their Cradle. And a young Man of that Profession He was, when the Parliament first possessed themselves of the Royal Navy; and *Hull* being in their Hands, all the Northern Seamen easily betook themselves to their Service: And his Industry and Sobriety made him quickly taken Notice of, and to be preferred from one Degree to another, till from a common Sailor He was promoted to be a Captain of a small Vessel, and from thence to the Command of the best Ships. *His Character.*

HE had been in all the Actions performed by *Blake*, some of which were very stupendous, and in all the Battles which *Cromwell* had fought with the *Dutch*, in which He was a signal Officer and very much valued by him. He was of that *Classis* of Religion which were called *Independents*, most of which were *Anabaptists*, who were generally believed to have most Aversion to the King, and therefore employed in most Offices of Trust. He was Commander in Chief of the Fleet when *Richard* was thrown out: And when the Contest grew between the *Rump* and *Lambert*, He brought the whole Fleet into the River, and declared for that which was called the Parliament; which brake the Neck of all other Designs, though He intended only the better Settlement of the *Commonwealth*.

WHEN the *Council of State* was settled between the Dissolution of the *Rump* and the calling the Parliament, They did not like the Temper of the Fleet, nor especially of *Lawson*, who under the Title of Vice-Admiral had the whole Command of the Fleet, which was very strong, and in which there were many Captains They liked well: Yet They durst not remove the Vice-Admiral, lest his Interest in the Seamen, which was very great, should give them new Trouble. The Expedient They resolved upon was to send Colonel *Mountague* as Admiral to command the Fleet, without removing *Lawson*, who continued still in his Command, and could not refuse to be commanded by *Mountague*, who had always been his superiour Officer, and who had likewise a great Interest in very many of the Officers and Seamen. Yet *Mountague*, who brought with him a firm Resolution to serve the King, which was well known to his Majesty, had no Confidence in *Lawson* till the Parliament had proclaimed the King: And when He brought the Fleet to *Scheveling* to receive the King, all Men looked upon the Vice-Admiral as a great *Anabaptist* and not fit to be trusted. But when

the King and the Duke had conferred with him, They liked him very well: And He was from Time to Time in the Command of Vice-Admiral in all the Fleets which were ſent into the *Mediterranean*. Nor did any Man perform his Duty better: He cauſed all Perſons, how well qualified ſoever, who He knew were affected to a Republick, to be diſmiſſed from the Service, and brought very good Order into his own Ship, and frequented the Church-Prayers himſelf, and made all the Seamen do ſo. He was very remarkable in his Affection and Countenance towards all thoſe who had faithfully ſerved the King, and never commended any Body to the Duke to be preferred but ſuch; and performed to his Death all that could be expected from a brave and an honeſt Man.

It looked like ſome Preſage that He had of his own Death, that before He went to Sea He came to the Treaſurer and the Chancellor, to whom He had always borne much Reſpect, and ſpake to them in a Dialect He had never before uſed, for He was a very generous Man, and lived in his Houſe decently and plentifully, and had never made any the leaſt Suit or Pretence for Money. Now He told them, "that He was going "upon an Expedition in which many honeſt Men muſt loſe their Lives: "And though He had no Apprehenſion of himſelf, but that God would "protect him as He had often done in the ſame Occaſions, yet He "thought it became him againſt the Worſt to make his Condition known "to them, and the rather, becauſe He knew He was eſteemed generally to "be rich." He ſaid, "in Truth He thought himſelf ſo ſome few Months "ſince, when He was worth eight or nine thouſand Pounds: But the Marriage "of his Daughter to a young Gentleman in Quality and Fortune much "above him (Mr. *Richard Norton* of *Southwick* in *Hampſhire*, who had "fallen in Love with her, and his Father out of Tenderneſs to his Son had "conſented to it) had obliged him to give her ſuch a Portion as might "in ſome Degree make her worthy of ſo great a Fortune; and that He "had not reſerved ſo much to himſelf and Wife, and all his other Children which were four or five, as He had given to that Daughter." He deſired them therefore, "that if He ſhould miſcarry in this Enterpriſe, the "King would give his Wife two hundred Pounds a Year for her Life; if "He lived He deſired Nothing, He hoped He ſhould make ſome Proviſion "for them by his own Induſtry: Nor did He deſire any other Grant or Security for this two hundred Pounds yearly, than the King's Word and "Promiſe, and that They would ſee it effectual." The Suit was ſo modeſt, and the Ground of making it ſo juſt and reaſonable, that They willingly informed his Majeſty of it, who as graciouſly granted it, and ſpake himſelf to him of it with very obliging Circumſtances; ſo that the poor Man went very contentedly to his Work, and periſhed as gallantly in it with an univerſal Lamentation. And it is to be preſumed that the Promiſe was as well performed to his Wife: Sure it is, it was exactly complied with whilſt either of thoſe two Perſons had any Power.

The Victory and Triumph of that Day was ſurely very great, and a juſt Argument of publick Joy: How it came to be no greater ſhall be ſaid anon. And the Trouble and Grief in many noble Families, for the Loſs of ſo many worthy and gallant Perſons, could not but be very lamentable in Wives, in Fathers and Mothers, and the other neareſt Relations: But no Sorrow was equal, at leaſt none ſo remarkable, as the King's was for the Earl of *Falmouth*. They who knew his Majeſty beſt, and had ſeen how unſhaken He had ſtood in other very terrible Aſſaults, were amazed at the Flood of Tears He ſhed upon this Occaſion. The Immenſeneſs of the Victory, and the Conſequences

The King greatly troubled at the Death of the Earl of Falmouth.

ſequences that might have attended it; the Safety and Preſervation of his Brother with ſo much Glory, on whoſe Behalf He had had ſo terrible Apprehenſions during the three Days Fight, having by the Benefit of the Wind heard the Thunder of the Ordnance from the Beginning, even after by the leſſening of the Noiſe as from a greater Diſtance He concluded that the Enemy was upon Flight: Yet all this, and the univerſal Joy that He ſaw in the Countenance of all Men for the Victory and the Safety of the Duke, made no Impreſſion in him towards the Mitigation of his Paſſion for the Loſs of this young Favourite, in whom few other Men had ever obſerved any Virtue or Quality which They did not wiſh their beſt Friends without; and very many did believe that his Death was a great Ingredient and conſiderable Part of the Victory. He was young and of inſatiable Ambition; and a little more Experience might have taught him all Things which his weak Parts were capable of. But They who obſerved the ſtrange Degree of Favour He had on the ſudden arrived to, even from a Deteſtation the King had towards him, and concluded from thence, and more from the deep Sorrow the King was poſſeſſed with for his Death, to what a prodigious Height He might have reached in a little Time more, were not at all troubled that He was taken out of the Way.

THE Duke, after He had given Directions for the ſpeedy repairing of the Fleet, and for the preſent ſending out ſuch Ships as could quickly be made ready to ride before the Coaſt of *Holland*, made Haſte to preſent himſelf to the King, and to the Queen his Mother, who was ready to begin her Journey to *France*, and had ſtayed ſome Days to ſee the Succeſs of the naval Fight, and afterwards to ſee the Duke; and within few Days after his Arrival her Majeſty left the Kingdom.

The Reaſon why the Victory was no farther improved.

AND now the Whiſper began in the Duke's Family of the Reaſon, why the Victory after ſo great Advantages had not been purſued with that Vigour that might have made it more deſtructive to the Enemy than it proved to be. The Maſter of the Duke's Ship (Captain ———) purſued his Orders very punctually after the Duke was gone to Sleep, and kept within a juſt Diſtance of the *Dutch* Fleet that remained in Order together, for many fled in Confuſion and ſingly to that Part of the Coaſt that They thought They knew beſt; and many of them were taken. But the Duke was no ſooner in Sleep, but Mr. *Brounker* of his Bedchamber, who with wonderful Confuſion had ſuſtained the Terrour of the Day, reſolved to prevent the like on the Day ſucceeding. He firſt went to Sir *William Pen*, who commanded the Ship, and told him, "that He knew well how miraculouſly the Duke was preſerved that Day, and that They ought not farther to tempt God;" wiſhed him to remember, "that the Duke was not only the King's Brother but the "Heir Apparent of the Crown, and what the Conſequence would be if He "ſhould be loſt. And therefore it would concern him not to ſuffer the "Duke's known and notorious Courage to engage him in a new Danger, which He would infallibly be expoſed to the next Morning, if They "continued to make ſo much Sail as They did, and to keep ſo near the "*Dutch*, who fled, but if They were preſſed and in Deſpair would fight as "ſtoutly as They had done in the Beginning. And therefore He deſired and "adviſed him to give the Maſter Order to ſlacken the Sails, that the *Dutch* "might get what Ground They could, to avoid a farther Encounter." *Pen* anſwered him honeſtly, and told him, "He durſt give no ſuch Orders except He had a Mind to be hanged, for the Duke had himſelf given poſitive Charge to the contrary."

Mr. *Brounker*, when He could not prevail there, confidently went to the Maſter of the Ship, who was an honeſt and a ſtout Man, and carefully kept the Steerage himſelf that He might be ſure to obſerve the Order He had received from his Highneſs, and told him, "that it was the Duke's "Pleaſure that He ſhould ſlack the Sails without taking Notice of it to "any Man." Whereupon the Maſter did as He was commanded, making no Doubt that a Servant ſo near the Perſon of his Highneſs, and in ſo much Favour with him, would not have brought ſuch an Order without due Authority.

And by this Means the Remainder of the Fleet eſcaped, which otherwiſe would probably have been all taken: For it was afterwards known, that there was ſuch a Confuſion amongſt the Officers, that Nobody would obey; for though in Truth the Right of commanding, according to the Courſe obſerved amongſt them, after the Death of *Opdam* was in the Vice-Admiral of *Zealand*, yet, He being likewiſe killed, the other could not agree. But young *Trump* the Son of the old famous Admiral, who had behaved himſelf very bravely all the Day, challenged the Command in the Right of *Holland*; but *John Evertſon* of *Zealand*, Brother to him that was killed, required it as his Right: Which begat ſo great an Animoſity as well as Confuſion amongſt them, that the Morning, if They had been purſued, would in all Probability have proved as diſmal to them as the Day before had done.

But the Duke never ſuſpected this, nor did any preſume to tell him of it, which made many Men preſume that it was done with Privity of Mr. *Coventry*, not only for the great Friendſhip between him and *Brounker*, but becauſe both *Pen* and the Maſter were ſo ſilent when the Duke was ſo much troubled the next Morning: Nor did the Duke come to hear of it till ſome Years after, when Mr. *Brounker's* ill Courſe of Life and his abominable Nature had rendered him ſo odious, that it was taken Notice of in Parliament, and upon Examination found to be true, as is here related; upon which He was expelled the Houſe of Commons, whereof He was a Member, as an infamous Perſon, though his Friend *Coventry* adhered to him, and uſed many indirect Arts to have protected him, and afterwards procured him to have more Countenance from the King than moſt Men thought He deſerved, being a Perſon throughout his whole Life never notorious for any Thing but the higheſt Degree of Impudence, and ſtooping to the moſt infamous Offices, and playing very well at Cheſs, which preferred him more than the moſt virtuous Qualities could have done.

With this Victory a new vaſt Charge and Expenſe (beſide the repairing the hurt Ships, Maſts and Rigging, and fitting out new Ships of War, and buying more Fireſhips) appeared, that was never foreſeen or brought into any Computation; which was a Proviſion for ſick and wounded Men, which amounted to ſo great a Number upon all the Coaſt, that the Charge amounted in all Places, notwithſtanding the general Charity of the People, and the Convenience that many Hoſpitals yielded, to above two thouſand Pounds the Week for ſome Weeks, and though leſs afterwards by the Death and Recovery of many, yet continued very great; beſides the Charge of keeping the *Dutch* Priſoners, which were above two thouſand, and every Day increaſed.

The Queen Mother prevents the Duke's going to Sea again.

The Duke was very impatient to repair and ſet out the Fleet again to Sea, and reſolved Nothing more than to go in Perſon again to command it, his Family remaining ſtill on Board, and preparing ſuch Things as were wanting for his Accommodation: But the Queen Mother had prevailed with

the King at parting to promiſe her, "that the Duke ſhould not go again "in Perſon in that Expedition;" which was concealed from the Duke, his Majeſty believing that the Confidence of his Royal Highneſs's going contributed very much to the ſetting out the Fleet, as it did ſo much, that but for that, it had been impoſſible to have procured ſo much Money as was with infinite Difficulty procured, to ſatisfy the Expenſes of ſo many Kinds, whereof many had been unthought of. And towards this there was a Benefit that flowed from a Fountain of extreme Miſery, which was the Increaſe of the Plague, which ſpread ſo faſt that the King's ſtaying ſo long in Town was very dangerous. Yet the Approach of this great Calamity, that in other Reſpects produced great Miſchiefs, advanced the preſent Enterpriſe: For all People who had Money knew not what to do with it, not daring to leave it in their Houſes where They durſt not ſtay themſelves; ſo that They willingly put it into the Bankers Hands, who ſupplied the King upon ſuch Aſſignations as the late Act of Parliament and other Branches of the King's Revenue would yet bear.

The French Ambaſſadours neglect an Opportunity of making Peace.

AND if at this Time the *French* Ambaſſadours had purſued their Office of Mediation, it is very probable that it might have been with Succeſs. For beſides the great Loſs the *Dutch* had received in the Battle and in their being deprived of ſo many of the Merchants Ships, the Factions were irreconcilable in the Fleet: There were many Officers who had behaved themſelves very baſely and cowardly in the Action, but They knew not how to puniſh them; *Evertſon* and *Trump*, who were their beſt Seamen, would not ſubmit to be commanded by each other; the People were ready to riſe upon *De Wit*, upon whom They looked as the Occaſion of the War, and cried aloud for Peace. And the Faction amongſt the *States* themſelves was very viſible: All the other complained bitterly againſt the Province of *Holland*, "which" They ſaid "had engaged them in a War againſt their Will and "without their Privity, which was directly contrary to the Form and Con-"ſtitution of their Government." In a Word, Peace was univerſally deſired and prayed for; and in the Opinion of all Men, any reaſonable Conditions would at that Time have been yielded to. And as the People of *England* generally had not been pleaſed with the beginning the War, ſo the Court was weary of it; and the King would have been willing to have received any good Overtures for the compoſing it, and the Duke, ſince He was kept from bearing a Part in it, would not have oppoſed it. But the Ambaſſadours preſſed no ſuch Matter, but congratulated the Victory with the ſame Joy They found in the Court, and ſeemed to think that any Misfortune that could befall the *Dutch* would be but a juſt Puniſhment for their Pride and Inſolence towards all their neighbour Princes: The two Nations had not yet worried themſelves enough, entirely to ſubmit to the Arbitration of *France*; which it reſolved They ſhould do.

The Fleet again prepared.

WITHIN leſs than a Month the Fleet was again prepared and ready for the Sea, as ſtrong and in as good a Condition as it had been before the Battle; and the King and the Duke went thither, the Duke making no Doubt of putting his Perſon on Board. And the King at that Time reſolved that Prince *Rupert* and the Earl of *Sandwich* ſhould have the joint Command of it: In order to which Prince *Rupert* was prepared, of whoſe eaſy Concurrence only there was ſome Doubt, his Majeſty promiſing himſelf all Conformity and Reſignation from the Earl of *Sandwich*; which He met with in Both, for the Prince very cheerfully ſubmitted to his Majeſty's Pleaſure. In the Journey the King acquainted his Brother with his Reſolution, and the Promiſe He had made to the Queen their Mother; with which the Duke

was much troubled, and offered many Reaſons to divert his Majeſty from laying his Command upon him: But when He found there was no Remedy, He ſubmitted, and gave Orders for diſembarking his Family and Goods.

But when this was communicated to Mr. *Coventry*, who was to prepare ſuch Commiſſions and Warrants as upon this Alteration of Counſels were neceſſary, He perſuaded the Duke, and prevailed with him to believe, "that it would be much better to commit the ſole Command of the Fleet "to the Earl of *Sandwich*, than to join Prince *Rupert* in it with him," who, for no other Reaſon but for not eſteeming him at the Rate He valued himſelf, had been long in his Diſfavour. He ſuggeſted ſome Defects in the Prince, which Nobody could abſolve him from, and which the gentle Temper of the Earl of *Sandwich*, who knew him as well as the other, could have complied with: And many thought it would have in the Conjunction produced a very good Mixture, the Danger from the Prince being too ſudden Reſolutions from too much Heat and Paſſion, and the Earl having enough of Phlegm and Wariness in deliberating, and much Vigour in the executing what was concluded; and They were Both well prepared and inclined to perform the Function.

But Mr. *Coventry's* Advice prevailed both with the Duke and King: And ſo in the Inſtant that the King and Duke were to return from the Fleet that was ready to ſet Sail with the firſt Wind, and not till then, the King told Prince *Rupert*, without enlarging upon the Reaſons, "that "He would have him to return with him to *London* and accompany him "this Summer, and that the Earl of *Sandwich* ſhould have the ſole Com-"mand of the Fleet;" with which the Prince was wonderfully ſurpriſed and perplexed and even heart-broken, but there was no contending. He ſtayed behind the King only till He could get his Goods and Family diſembarked, and then returned with very much Trouble to the Court: And the Earl of *Sandwich* ſet Sail with the Fleet, with Direction firſt to viſit the Coaſt of *Holland*, and if He found that the *Dutch* Fleet was not ready to come out, that He ſhould go to the Northward to watch the *Eaſt-India* Fleet, which had Orders from their Superiours to come by the *North*, that They might avoid the *Engliſh* Fleet, that was Maſter of the Sea.

The Fleet puts out to Sea under the Earl of Sandwich.

It was in the End of *June* or Beginning of *July* that the King and Duke returned from the Fleet; and within few Days after, it ſet Sail: When the Plague increaſed ſo faſt, that there died about two thouſand in a Week; ſo that all Men cried out againſt the King's ſtaying ſo long at *Whitehall*, the Sickneſs being already in *Weſtminſter*. Whereupon the King, after He had taken the beſt Care He could with the Lord Mayor for the good ordering the City, and publiſhed ſuch Orders as were thought neceſſary for the Relief and Regulation of infected Perſons, and prevailed with ſome Juſtices of the Peace in the *Strand* and in *Weſtminſter* to promiſe to reſide there (which They were the more eaſily perſuaded to do by the General's declaring that He would ſtay in his Lodgings at *Whitehall*, which He did during the whole Time of the Peſtilence; and the Lord *Craven* out of Friendſhip to him ſtayed likewiſe in his Houſe in *Drury-Lane*: And it cannot be denied that the Preſence of thoſe two great Perſons prevented many Miſchiefs which would have fallen out by the Diſorder of the People, and was of great Convenience and Benefit to that End of the Town): I ſay, when the King had ſettled all this He removed to *Hampton*, reſolving there to conſider how to diſpoſe of himſelf for the Remainder of the Summer. And becauſe there were many Particulars ſtill unreſolved concerning the Buſineſs of *Ireland*, his Majeſty for ſome Days appointed that

The King moves to Hampton-Court *on Account of the Plague.*

 numerous

numerous People, that They might have no Pretence to come to *Hampton-Court*, to attend at *Sion*; where for many Days together his Majeſty ſpent many Hours, till He had compoſed that Affair as well as it was for the preſent capable of.

THE Plague ſtill increaſed at *London*, and ſpread about the Country; ſo that it was not thought ſafe for the Court to remain longer where it then was, the Sickneſs being already in ſome of the adjacent Villages. Whereupon the King reſolved that his own Family and his Brother's ſhould remove to *Salisbury*, and ſpend the Summer there. And becauſe it was already in View, that it would not be fit for the Parliament to aſſemble again at *Weſtminſter* in *September*, to which Time it was prorogued, nor could it be computed at what Time it could be ſafe to meet in that Place; and it was as notorious that if the Parliament met not ſomewhere, whereby the King might have another Supply before the Winter, there would be very great Confuſion for Want of Money: He cauſed therefore a Proclamation to iſſue out, "that He intended to adjourn the Parliament to meet at *Oxford* "upon the tenth of *October* next, and that the Members need not to attend "at *Weſtminſter* in *September*." And then He directed the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, who lived within Half a Day of *London*, and the General and the Lord *Craven*, to give Notice to the Members of Both Houſes, who lived within that Diſtance, to be preſent in Both Houſes at the Day to which They were prorogued, and then to adjourn to *Oxford* according to the Proclamation. And this being ſettled, his Majeſty appointed a Day for beginning his Progreſs from *Hampton-Court* to *Saliſbury*; againſt which Time all Carriages and whatſoever was neceſſary for the Journey were prepared.

The Parliament adjourned to Oxford.

IN the Morning, when every Body believed that the King and Queen and Duke and Dutcheſs, with Both their Families, were to go together one Way, Mr. *Coventry* found a Way to break that Reſolution, having no Mind to be in ſo great a Court that his Greatneſs would not appear. He told the Duke, "that there were general Diſcontents throughout the Kingdom," which was true, "and a Probability of Inſurrections," which were much ſpoken of and apprehended; "and therefore it might be better that the "King and the Duke might not be together, but in ſeveral Places, that "They might draw what Forces were neceſſary to them, which the Pre-"ſence of their own Perſons would eaſily do: That the Fleet would pro-"bably be all the Summer upon the Northern Coaſt in Expectation of the "*Dutch Eaſt-India* Fleet;" for it was not then thought that the *Hollanders* would have been able to have ſet out another Fleet able to have encountered ours. Upon the whole Matter He propoſed to him, "that ſince "the King meant to ſpend the Summer in the *Weſt*, with which there "could very hardly be any Correſpondence from the Fleet, his Highneſs "ſhould go into the *North* and reſide at *York*; by which He would have "an Influence upon all thoſe Parts where the moſt diſaffected Perſons were "moſt inhabitant, and from *Hull* and thoſe maritime Parts He could not "be long without receiving ſome Intelligence from the Fleet."

Mr. W. Coventry perſuades the Duke to ſpend the Summer at York.

THE Truth is; the Conſtitution of the Court at this Time was ſuch, the Prevalence of the Lady ſo great, and the Queen's Humour thereupon ſo inconſtant, and all together ſo diſcompoſed the King, that there was no Pleaſure in being a Part of it: And therefore the Advice was as ſoon embraced, as given, by the Duke and his Wife, who were well content to enjoy themſelves in their own Family apart. And the Duke preſently propoſed it to the King, and Mr. *Coventry* diſcourſed all the Motives to him ſo fully

that his Majeſty approved it. And then, if it were to be done at all, the firſt attending the King to *Salisbury*, which was ſo much out of the Way, would be to no Purpoſe: And therefore it was reſolved (all the Coaches and Carriages being then at the Doors to go to *Farnham*, which was the firſt Day's Journey towards *Salisbury*), that the King and his Brother would part upon the Place, and that the King and Queen ſhould continue their Purpoſe for *Farnham*, and the Duke and his Wife ſhould go that Night to *St. Albans*, and ſo proſecute his Journey for *York*; and all Orders were in the Inſtant given out to this Purpoſe.

The King removes to Saliſbury.

WHETHER the Reaſons of this Counſel were of Importance or not, the Alteration on ſuch a ſudden from what had been before determined was thought very ſtrange, and wondered at, and made many believe that ſome Accident was fallen out that muſt not be diſcovered: For on the ſudden it was, there having been no ſuch Thought Overnight, when the Chancellor left the Court to go to his own Houſe at *Twickenham*. And when He returned the next Morning, the Reſolution was taken, and every Body well pleaſed with the Change, and both the King and the Duke told him with Satisfaction of it; nor did He underſtand it enough to make Objections againſt it, which would have been ingrateful; nor was it convenient to ſpend longer Time in Deliberation at that Place, where ſome of the inferiour Servants had died the Night before of the Plague: And ſo They all entered upon their Journey by Nine of the Clock the ſame Morning.

The Biſhop of Munſter *engages to invade the* United Provinces.

IT is neceſſary in this Place to remember, that the Expreſs, that had been ſent by the Biſhop of *Munſter's* Agent with the Conditions which were offered by the King, returned with great Expedition, and brought the Biſhop's Acceptation and Engagement, "that, upon the Payment of the firſt Sum "that was agreed upon, He would draw his Army together, and march "with an Army of twenty thouſand Horſe and Foot into the *States* Domi-"nions." And the King before He left *London* had ſigned the Treaty, and made the firſt Payment, and provided for the ſecond: So that He now expected that the Biſhop ſhould be ſhortly upon his March, and fix his Winter-Quarters in thoſe *Provinces*; which He did reſolve and intend with Courage and Sincerity, and which in that Conjuncture muſt have put the Counſels of *Holland* into great Confuſion, when they began to be again reduced into ſome Order.

De Wit *perſuades the* Dutch *to prepare another Fleet.*

THE indefatigable Induſtry and Dexterity of the Penſionary *De Wit* prevailed with the *States* to believe, "that He thought a Peace to be ne-"ceſſary for their Affairs, and deſired Nothing but that it might be upon "honourable and ſafe Conditions, and that *France* was very real in the en-"deavouring it: But that the Enemy was ſo inſolent upon their late Suc-"ceſs, that They neglected all Overtures, and believed that the Factions and "Diviſions amongſt themſelves would hinder them from being able to ſet out "another Fleet; and therefore that ought to be the firſt Deſign. And if "their Fleet were ready to go out, He doubted not but a Peace would "quickly follow: For that *France* was engaged, if the King ſhould not "conſent to what is juſt and reaſonable, to declare a War againſt *England*, "and to aſſiſt them with Men and Money, and all his own naval Power, "which the Duke of *Beaufort* was then preparing and making ready in all "the Ports of *France*. But that it was not to be expected that They would "ſend out their Fleet, which was much inferiour to the *Engliſh*, except "They firſt ſaw a *Dutch* Fleet at Sea ready to join with them." He wiſhed them to conſider "how much They were all concerned in their *India* Ships, "which were in their Voyage, and could not be far from their Coaſts in a

"ſhort Time; all which would inevitably fall into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, "if They had no Fleet at Sea to relieve them."

THESE Reaſons, of Weight in themſelves, and the Concernment of moſt of them in the Preſervation of the *Indian* Ships, prevailed with them to do all that could be done to ſet out a new Fleet: And to that Purpoſe They ſent very ſtrict and ſevere Orders to their ſeveral Admiralties, for the proceeding againſt all, without Diſtinction of Perſons, who had miſbehaved themſelves in the late Battle, and to provide new Ships and all neceſſary Proviſions, to the End that their Fleet might be at Sea by a Time. And this grew the more eaſy to them, by the ſeaſonable Return of *De Ruyter* with his Fleet from *Guinea*, which brought a preſent Addition of good Strength; and He had began the War upon the *Engliſh*, and was the beſt Sea-Officer They had, and had exerciſed thoſe Commands that no other Officer could refuſe to obey him.

The Dutch make a Reformation in their Navy.

FOR the ſpeedy carrying on theſe preſent Preparations, They made, according to their uſual Cuſtom in extraordinary Occurrences, Committees of the *States* to aſſiſt in the Admiralties of *Zealand*, *Amſterdam*, and *Rotterdam*; and to that Purpoſe *De Wit*, and ſuch other as He thought fitteſt at this Time to join with him, were appointed. They went firſt to the Fleet to reform the Diſorders there: And though They durſt not proceed with that Severity as had been fit, yet They caſhiered many Captains and other Officers, and put ſome other Marks of Diſgrace upon others, and cauſed one or two to die.

De Wit's Malice againſt Van Trump.

BUT that which *De Wit's* Heart was moſt ſet upon was to take Revenge upon *Van Trump*, and to remove him from ever having any Command at Sea: For though He was an excellent Officer, and upon the Stock of his Father's Credit of great Eſtimation with the Seamen, and inferiour to no Man but *De Ruyter*, and had behaved himſelf in the Battle with ſignal Courage; yet his Diſpute with *Evertſon* upon Command had brought much Prejudice to them. But that which was worſt of all and incenſed *De Wit* implacably was, that He was of entire Devotion to the Prince of *Orange*, as his Father had always been and all his Children continued to be, and He knew well had an eſpecial Part, how covertly ſoever, in fomenting the Murmurs of the People againſt him and the War: And He reſolved to take this Opportunity of the good Temper the *States* were in in their Concurrence for the ſetting out the Fleet, not only to provide for the better Government of their Ships and marine Conduct, but to puniſh and prevent the Murmurs at Land, by removing all thoſe out of any Power whom He ſuſpected to have ſecretly contributed to them. He did all He could to make *Van Trump's* Offence capital, as if the Right of Command had been ſo clear in *Evertſon* that the other could not diſpute it: But *Van Trump* defended himſelf ſo well and had ſo many Friends, that He was abſolved from that Guilt. Yet for ſome paſſionate and indiſcreet Words, in which He did naturally abound, He was deprived of his Command, with a Declaration "that He "ſhould no more be employed in the Service of the *States*;" which whilſt the Government was in thoſe Hands He cared not for, and had a good Eſtate to ſubſiſt without it. And ſo for the preſent all Differences were compoſed ſo far, as to have a general Concurrence in whatſoever was neceſſary, and in order to the making ready and ſetting out their Fleet to Sea.

The French Ambaſſadours ſeem deſirous of mediating a Peace.

THE King had been few Days at *Salisbury* before the *French* and *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadours arrived there, and then They made ſome Inſtance with the King, that there might be a Treaty for Peace; and the *French* Ambaſſadours declared, "that the King their Maſter was ſo far engaged by Treaty

"with the *Dutch*, that if the King would not accept of a juſt and an ho-
"nourable Peace, his Majeſty muſt declare himſelf on their Behalf, which
"He was unwilling to do." The King anſwered, "that if there were
"any ſuch Engagement He had not been well dealt with; for that the
"*French* King had given his Word to him, *that He would not enter into*
"*any Treaty with the* Dutch *but* pari paſſu *with his Majeſty*" (and
when his Majeſty had been informed that there was ſome Treaty concluded
with them, He was aſſured from *France* "that it was only a Treaty of
"Commerce, which He had been obliged to enter into to prevent an Edict
"in *Holland*, by which ſtrong Waters and other *French* Commodities would
"have been inhibited to be brought into thoſe *Provinces*, but that there
"was Nothing in that Treaty that could be to his Majeſty's Prejudice"):
"That his Majeſty had been always ready to embrace Peace, which had
"been never yet offered by the *Dutch*, nor did He know what Condi-
"tions They expected."

THE Ambaſſadours ſeemed to be much offended with the inſolent Beha-
viour of the *Dutch*; and confeſſed "that They were not ſolicitous for Peace,
"but only deſired to engage the King their Maſter in the War: But that
"if his Majeſty would make his Demands, which They preſumed would
"be reaſonable, the other ſhould be brought to conſent to them." To which
the King replied, "that They had begun the War upon him and not He
"upon them, and that God had hitherto given him the Advantage, which
"He hoped He ſhould improve; and till They were as deſirous of a Peace
"as He, it would not become him to make any Propoſitions." And in
this Manner that Affair ſtood whilſt the Court remained at *Salisbury*.

AND there now fell out an unexpected Accident, which looked as if
Providence had been inclined to repair the Miſchief and the Damage that
the Plague had produced to the Affairs of the King. It hath been men-
tioned before, that upon the firſt Thoughts of a War with the *Dutch*, the
King had ſent Mr. *Henry Coventry* to *Sweden*, and Sir *Gilbert Talbot* to
Denmark, to engage thoſe Crowns as far as might be on his Majeſty's
Behalf, Both of them being enough diſobliged and provoked by the *Dutch*.

Succeſs of Mr. Henry Coventry's Embaſſy to Sweden.

MR. *Coventry* in *Sweden* found a frank and open Reception, avowing a
hearty Affection to the King, and an Inclination to join in any Thing that
might not be deſtructive to their own Affairs: Nor did They diſſemble the
Injuries They had received from the *Hollander* even to the *Dutch* Ambaſ-
ſadour himſelf, who was at the ſame Time ſent thither to unite that Crown
to their Intereſt, to which Purpoſe He had made ſeveral ſpecious Overtures.
Nor did They conceal the Jealouſy They had of the *French*, who had not
complied with the Payment of the yearly Sum of Money which They were
obliged to make to them for the Support of their Army, of which They were
in a great Arrear, that diſcompoſed their Affairs very much. And though *M.*
Pompone, who had been long Reſident in that Court as an Envoy, was now
come thither as Ambaſſadour from *France*, and brought with him a good
Sum of Money to retain them faſt to their Dependance upon them; yet the
Money was not Half that was due to them, and They well knew what
dark Ends it was for: And They did exceedingly fear the Omnipotence
of *France*.

THERE were two Things, which kept them from a full Declaration on
the King's Behalf, and engaging preſently in his Intereſt. The firſt was the
Apprehenſion that They had of *Denmark*, that it would take this Opportu-
nity to unite themſelves more firmly to the *Hollander*, and ſo attempt to
deprive *Sweden* of all their late Conqueſt, which was confirmed to them by

their own Treaty of *Copenhagen*, which They were reſolved never to part from: And in this Particular They were to expect ſome Satisfaction and Security from the Negotiation of Sir *Gilbert Talbot*. The other was, that They might ſee the Biſhop of *Munſter* fully engaged, upon whoſe Expedition They had much Expectation. And Mr. *Coventry* had informed them of that whole Agreement, which would have given them Opportunity to have proſecuted their own Deſign upon *Bremen*, to which their Hearts were moſt devoted.

End of Sir Gilbert Talbot's to Denmark.

SIR *Gilbert Talbot* had been as well received in *Denmark*, with all the Profeſſions imaginable of Affection to the King, and of their Deteſtation of the *Dutch*, who in Truth had exerciſed a ſtrange Tyranny over them by the Advantage of their Neceſſities; nor is the Injuſtice, Oppreſſion and Indignities which They had ſuſtained from them to be expreſſed and deſcribed, without entering into a large Diſcourſe of Particulars which are foreign to this Relation: Let it ſuffice, that there needed few Arguments to perſuade that King to any Thing that was within his Power, and which would have done ſignal Miſchief to the *Dutch*. But the Truth is, the Kingdom was very poor, the People unwarlike, the King himſelf very good and very weak, jealous of all the great Men, and not yet recovered of the Fright that *Wolfelt* had put him into. His chief Miniſter, one *Gabell*, had gotten his Credit by having been his Barber, an illiterate and unbred Man, yet his ſole Confident in his Buſineſs of greateſt Truſt; which made all the Perſons of Quality in the Kingdom, who are as proud of their Nobility as any Nation, full of Indignation. And They were able to croſs many Reſolutions after they were taken, though They could not eſtabliſh others in the Place; which made the King very irreſolute and unfixed: So that what was concluded To-Day was reverſed or not purſued To-morrow. They profeſſed a great Jealouſy of the *Swede*, as the greateſt Argument, but their Weakneſs, againſt a War with the *Dutch*; yet were not willing to propoſe any Expedients which might ſecure them againſt thoſe Jealouſies. And the King abſolutely denied that He had ever given *Hannibal Zeſted* Authority to declare, "that He would "again confirm the Treaty He had made;" and ſeemed to take it unkindly that his Majeſty ſhould think it reaſonable, who therefore thought it ſo, becauſe it was propoſed by himſelf, and becauſe He ſtill confeſſed, "that He "could make no Attempt to recover what He had parted with." That which He did unreaſonably deſign, in all the Diſguiſes which were put on, was to engage the King to endeavour to perſuade the *Swede* to give up and reſtore *Elſenore* and the other Places to *Denmark*, or to aſſiſt him with Force for the Recovery of them when there ſhould be a Peace concluded with *Holland*: So that the King deſpaired of any Good from that Negotiation, and reſolved ſhortly to recall his Miniſter from thence.

A particular Account of the Attempt upon the Dutch at Bergen.

BUT there was on a ſudden a Change to Wonder. *Gabell* came early in a Morning to Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, and told him, "his Maſter was now re- "ſolved to unite his Intereſt entirely to that of the King of *England*, having "now an Opportunity to do it ſecurely to Both their Benefits." He told him, "that there were Letters arrived that Night from *Bergen*, with News "that the *Dutch Eaſt-India* Ships were all arrived in that Port with Orders "to remain there till they received new Orders from *Holland*, which they "ſhould have as ſoon as their Fleet ſhould be ready to join with them. "This had diſpoſed the King to reſolve to give the King of *England* Op- "portunity to poſſeſs himſelf of all that Treaſure, out of which He pre- "ſumed He would allow him ſuch a Share, as might enable him to declare, "and aſſiſt his Majeſty vigorouſly in his War againſt the *Dutch*. That if

"He gave ſpeedy Notice to the King's Fleet, which every Body knew was "then at Sea, it might eaſily go to *Bergen*, where They might as eaſily "ſurpriſe all thoſe Ships in the Port, ſince They ſhould receive no Oppo- "ſition from the Caſtles under whoſe Protection they lay."

And when He had done his Relation, He offered him to go with him to the King, that He might receive the Obligation from himſelf; which Sir *Gilbert Talbot* preſently did, and found his Majeſty as cheerful in the Reſolution as *Gabell* had been. He repeated all that the other had ſaid, and more particularly "that He thought it reaſonable that He might ex- "pect Half of the Value that the Whole would amount to; which He would "rely upon the King's Honour and Juſtice for, after the Ships ſhould be in "*England*, that He might not be ſuſpected by the *Hollander*, for He would "proteſt againſt the Act as a Violence that He could not reſiſt: And that He "would expect ſo many of his Majeſty's Ships to arrive in *Denmark*, and "to aſſiſt him, before He poſitively declared againſt the *Dutch*." He wiſhed Sir *Gilbert Talbot* "to ſend an Expreſs forthwith to the King with all theſe "Particulars;" which He did the next Day.

This Expreſs arrived within few Days after the King came to *Saliſbury*, and was diſpatched preſently back again with Letters to the King of *Denmark* of his Majeſty's Conſent and Ratification of all that He had propoſed, and with Letters likewiſe to the Earl of *Sandwich*, who according to his former Orders had ſailed Northward in Hope to meet with that Fleet, which was before got into *Norway*. The King's Letters to him came in a very good Seaſon, and He immediately continued his Courſe for *Norway*: And when He came to that Length, and near enough to that Land of Rocks which are terrible to all Seamen, He thought it beſt to remain at Sea with his Fleet, leſt *De Ruyter* might by this Time be come out with his Fleet (ſince his being come Northward could not be concealed, nor the Arrival of the *Eaſt-India* Fleet at *Bergen*; which would haſten the other), and ſent in a Squadron of fifteen or ſixteen good Ships (of Strength ſufficient for the Buſineſs) into the Harbour of *Bergen* with a Letter to the Governour. And with it He ſent a Gentleman that was a Volunteer on Board him, who hath been often mentioned before, Mr. *Clifford*, the Confident of the Lord *Arlington*, who was well inſtructed in all the Tranſactions which had been at *Copenhagen*. Before They went into the Harbour, Mr. *Clifford* and another Gentleman or two went by Boat to the Town, where He found all the *Dutch* Ships (about a Dozen in Number) riding very near the Shore, and all under the Protection of the Caſtle, into which They had put much of their richeſt Lading from the Time of their firſt coming thither, as to a Place of unqueſtionable Security.

The Governour was not ſurpriſed with the Meſſengers or the Letter, as appeared by the Reception of Both, but ſeemed troubled that They were come ſo ſoon, before the Manner of performing the Action was enough adjuſted: He could not deny but "that He had received Orders from "*Copenhagen*; but that He expected more perfect Directions within "four and twenty Hours, and expected likewiſe the Preſence of the "Vice-King of *Norway*, who was his ſuperiour Officer, and would in- "fallibly be there the next Day." The Behaviour of the Man was ſuch as made them believe it ſincere, as in Truth it was, for He meant well, and was content that the Ships, which though they were not come into the Port did not ride ſafe amongſt the Rocks, ſhould come into the Port, upon Aſſurance that They would not attempt any hoſtile Act without his Conſent, which was till all Things ſhould be agreed between them:

them: And ſo the Fleet entered; which the *Dutch* perceived with great Conſternation, yet changed the Poſture of ſome of their Ships, and new-moored the reſt, and put themſelves upon their Defence.

IT is a Port like no other that the World knows, a very great Number of formidable Rocks, between each of which the Sea runs deep enough for the greateſt Ships to ride ſecurely; ſo that the Ships were as in ſo many Chambers apart between the Rocks: And the *Dutch*, which came thither firſt, had poſſeſſed themſelves of that Line of the Sea that lay next to the Shore, to which They lay ſo near that They could deſcend from their Veſſels on Land; which had been much the better for the Enterpriſe, if the *Dane* had concurred in it.

IT was ſo late before the *Engliſh* Ships had taken their Places, which was as near the *Dutch* as the Rocks would permit, that they remained quiet all Night, which was ſpent in Conſultation between the Commander in Chief of the *Engliſh* Ships (who was a ſtout and a good Officer but a rough Man, who knew better how to follow his Inſtructions than to debate the Ground of them; but He was adviſed by Mr. *Clifford* and conformed to his Judgment) and the Governour of the Town and Caſtle, who ſeemed ſtill inclined not only to ſuffer the *Engliſh* to do what They would, but to be willing to act a Part in it himſelf from the Shore, and to expect hourly Orders to that Purpoſe, as likewiſe the Arrival of the Vice-King, whoſe Authority was more equal to that Attempt, and who was a Man well known to have a particular Reverence for the King, and as particular a Prejudice and Animoſity againſt the *Dutch*. The Night being over, the Governour continued all the next Day as deſirous and importunate that the Enterpriſe might be longer deferred; upon which there were ſome cholerick Words between the Governour and a Gentleman of Quality who was a Volunteer on Board the Ships, which many thought in ſome Degree irreconciled the Governour to the Affair.

IN Concluſion: The Commander of the Squadron was willing to think that the Governour had rather it ſhould be done without his declared Conſent than by it, and ſo told him, "that the next Morning He was reſolved "to weigh his Anchors and to fall upon the *Dutch*;" to which the other made ſuch a Reply as confirmed him in his former Imagination. And in the Morning the Ships were brought out of their ſeveral Channels, and placed as near the Sides of the *Dutch* as they could be, from whence They reſolved to board them as ſoon as They had ſent their Broadſides upon them. But They found that the *Dutch* had ſpent their Time well; for in the two Days and two Nights that the *Engliſh* had been in the Harbour, beſides the unlading the richeſt of their Commodities that were left into the Caſtle, They had drawn all their Ordnance, which lay on that Side of the Ships which was to the Shore, on Land, and planted them upon a riſing Ground, that They could ſhoot over their own Ships upon the *Engliſh:* And a Breaſtwork was caſt up, behind which all the Inhabitants of the Town were in Arms.

IT was a fair Warning, and might very well have perſuaded our Men to be glad to retire out of the Harbour, which yet They might have done: But their Courage or their Anger diſpoſed them to make farther Trial of the Governour, for They feared not the Ordnance from the Land which the *Dutch* had planted, nor the Muſkets from the Breaſtworks, if the Caſtle did them no Harm, under the Power of which They all were. And ſo They fell upon their Work: And in ſome Time, and with the Loſs of many Men from the Ships and from the Land, They had diſmounted many of the Ordnance upon

The ill Succeſs of it.

the Shore, and were even ready to board the Ships; when out of abſurd Rage or Accident a Ship or two of the *Engliſh* diſcharged ſome Guns both upon the Breaſtworks, from whence They had received no Prejudice, and upon the Town, which beat down ſome Houſes. But then all the Muſkets from the Breaſtworks were poured out, and Guns from the Caſtle, which killed very many common Men, and five or ſix Officers of very good Account, and ſome Gentlemen Volunteers, amongſt which was *Edward Mountague*, eldeſt Son to the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton* and Couſin German to the Earl of *Sandwich*, a proper Man and wellbred but not eaſy to be pleaſed, and who was then withdrawn from the Court, where He was Maſter of the Horſe to the Queen, and in ſome Diſcontent had put himſelf on Board the Fleet with a Captain, without the Privity of the Earl of *Sandwich*, and was now ſlain. There was now no farther Experiment to be made, but how They could get to Sea, which might eaſily have been prevented from the Shore and from the Rocks: But from the Minute that They prepared to be gone and gave over ſhooting, there was no more done againſt them, and They had Pilots from the Country that carried them ſafe out.

The Noiſe of the Guns had called the Earl of *Sandwich* as near the Mouth of the Harbour as could ſafely be, to diſcover what became of his Squadron; ſo that They came ſhortly to him with the whole Account of their ill Succeſs, and within a ſhort Time after a Shallop from the Governour, with a Letter to the Officer who had commanded the Squadron, complaining as much as He could do of the Miſbehaviour of the *Engliſh* in ſhooting upon the Town, and deſiring "that Mr. *Clifford* would give him a Meeting at a Place He "appointed, to which the Shallop ſhould convey him." Mr. *Clifford* was more willing to go than the Earl was to permit him; yet at laſt upon his earneſt Deſire He conſented, and He put himſelf into the Shallop. It happened that when the Action was over and the *Engliſh* under Sail, the Vice-King arrived at *Bergen* with two or three Regiments of the Country; and the Orders were likewiſe come from *Copenhagen*, whereby, at leaſt as They pretended, They were required to permit all that the *Engliſh* deſired: And the Vice-King had cauſed the Shallop to be ſent, and was himſelf with the Governour at the Place whither Mr. *Clifford* was to come, and there He ſpake with them together.

The Governour with many Proteſtations excuſed himſelf for ſhooting from the Caſtle, after the Town was aſſaulted, and many of the Burghers killed, who had ſtood in Arms only to defend the Town, without being concerned for the *Dutch* or their Ships; and made it an Argument of his Integrity and Reſpect, "that He had permitted them to depart when it was in his "Power to have ſunk them." He complained, "that the Commander "would not have the Patience to defer the Aſſault one Day longer, which "if He had done the Orders from *Copenhagen* had been come, and the "Vice-King had been preſent with his Forces, which would have ſecured "the Enterpriſe." The Vice-King ſeemed very much troubled for what had been done, and earneſtly deſired "that the ſame or another Squadron "might be again ſent in, when They ſhould be at Liberty to do what "They would upon the *Dutch*, and if They ſtood in Need of Aſſiſtance "They ſhould have as much as was neceſſary."

Mr. *Clifford* replied to many of the Excuſes which were made, and urged "the ſuffering the *Dutch* to bring their Ordnance on Shore, and the "Townſmen being in Arms to aſſiſt them;" and propoſed, "that They "would firſt begin by ſeizing upon ſome of their Ships, and then that their "Fleet ſhould anſwer:" But this the Vice-King did abſolutely refuſe, and

made another Propoſition that ſtartled more and was directly new, "that "when the *Engliſh* had ſeized upon all the *Dutch* Ships, They ſhould not "have carried any of them away till a perfect Diviſion of the Goods was "made, that the King of *Denmark* might have his juſt Proportion." Mr. *Clifford* made no Anſwer but "that He would preſent all that They propoſed "to the Earl of *Sandwich*, in whom the Power of concluding and executing "remained ſolely:" And ſo He returned to the Fleet, and They to the Town and expected an Anſwer.

The Earl of Sandwich declines making another Attempt.

THE Earl of *Sandwich* thought not fit to run any more Hazards, and was not ſatisfied that They had proceeded ſincerely. But that which moſt prevailed with him was, that He had received Intelligence "that *De Ruyter* "was come out with the Fleet," and He would not He ſhould find him entangled in thoſe Rocks, or obliged to fight with him upon that Coaſt; and the Seaſon of the Year now made that Station very unſecure, for it was already the Beginning of *October*, when thoſe Seas run very high and boiſterous: And therefore He reſolved to be Maſter of more Sea-Room, that He might fight *De Ruyter* if He came, and if He did not He might then meet thoſe *Eaſt-India* Ships more ſecurely in their Way to *Holland*, than by making another Attempt in the Harbour. And ſo, after ſome Letters had paſſed and repaſſed between the Vice-King and him, and both the Vice-King and Governour had undertaken to keep the *Dutch* Ships there for the Space of ſix Weeks, for They deſired to ſee the Succeſs of another Engagement between the two Fleets; the Earl ſteered that Way with his Fleet that moſt probably might bring him and *De Ruyter* together, which above all Things He deſired.

The Author's Reflections upon this Affair.

THIS whole Affair of *Bergen* and the Managery thereof was ſo perplexed and intricate, that it was never clearly underſtood. That which ſeemed to have moſt Probability was, that as ſoon as the *Dutch* Fleet came to *Bergen*, They had unladen many of their richeſt Commodities and put them into the Caſtle, before the Governour had received his Orders from *Copenhagen*: And ſo both his own and his Maſter's Faith and Honour were engaged to diſcharge the Truſt, of which He made Haſte to ſend an Account to the King, and thereupon expected new Directions, which were not arrived when the *Engliſh* Fleet came thither. And when they did come, whether that Court according to its Cuſtom did change its Mind, and believe They ſhould make a better Bargain by keeping what was already depoſited in their Hands in the Caſtle, than by making an uncertain Diviſion with the King; or whether They did in Truth continue firm to the firſt Agreement, and that the Meſſenger was ſtopped by extraordinary Accidents in his Journey (which was poſitively alleged), ſo that He did not arrive in Time; or whether the Governour was not able to maſter the Town that was much inclined to the *Hollanders*, before the Vice-King came with his Troops, who did make all poſſible Haſte as ſoon as He heard that the *Engliſh* were arrived; or whether the *Engliſh* did proceed more unadviſedly and raſhly than They ought to have done; remains ſtill in the Dark: And Both Parties reproached each other afterwards, as They found moſt neceſſary for their ſeveral Defences and Pretences; of which more hereafter.

The King and the Court remove to Oxford.

THE King ſtayed not altogether ſo long at *Saliſbury* as He had intended to have done: For beſides a little accidental Indiſpoſition which made him diſlike the Air, ſome inferiour Servants and their Wives came from *London* or the Villages adjacent, and brought the Plague with them; ſo that the Court removed to *Oxford* before the End of *September*, the Parliament being to aſſemble there on the tenth of the next Month. And before He

left *Salisbury*, his Majesty sent an Express to *York* to his Brother, "that He "would meet him as soon as He could." The Duke had lived in great Lustre in *York* all that Summer, with the very great Respect and continual Attendance of all the Persons of Quality of that large County: And the Duke no sooner received his Majesty's Summons than He took Post, and left his Wife and Family to follow by ordinary Journeys, and himself came to *Oxford* the next Day after the King, where there were indeed Matters of the highest Importance to be consulted and resolved.

The King had sent Mr. *Clifford* to *Denmark* to be satisfied, upon Conference with Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, concerning the Miscarriage at *Bergen*, and if the Ships remained still there according to the Promise the Vice-King had made, and if that King were ready to perform what He had undertaken, that all Particulars might be so adjusted that there might be no farther Mistake; and if He found that the Jealousy of *Sweden* was a real Obstruction to that Alliance, that He should make a Journey to *Sweden*, and upon Conference with Mr. *Coventry*, who by his Dexterity and very good Parts had reconciled the Affections of that Court to a very great Esteem of him, endeavour to remove all those Obstructions: And as soon as his Majesty should receive full Information of that whole Affair, He must consider what He was to do to vindicate himself in that Business of *Bergen*; for He knew well that He must suffer with all the World, for violating the Peace of a Port that was under the Government of a neighbour Prince with whom He was allied, if He did not make it appear that He had the Consent of that Prince, which He was not willing to do till He first knew what that King would do.

A farther Negotiation with the French *Ambassadours.*

In the next Place his Majesty was to resolve what Answer to make to the *French* Ambassadours, who now desired frequent Audiences, and positively declared, "that their Master was engaged by his Treaty with the "*Dutch*, that in Case They were invaded or assaulted by any Prince, He "would assist them with Men, Money and Ships, which He had hitherto de- "ferred to do out of Respect to the King, and in Hope that He would ac- "cept his Mediation, and make such Propositions towards Peace as He "might press the others to consent to." The *Dutch* Ambassadour was likewise come to Town, rather to treat concerning the Prisoners and to observe what the *French* Ambassadours did, than that He had any Thing to propose in Order to Peace, there appearing now since their Fleet was at Sea more Insolence in the *Dutch*, and a greater Aversion from the Peace, than had been formerly.

The King complained to the Ambassadours of the *French* King's Proceedings, "that the entering into that Treaty was expressly against his Word "given to the King: That the *Dutch* had first began the War, and ought "to make the first Approach towards Peace, but that their Ambassadour had "no Instruction to make any such Instance; and therefore it seemed very "strange to his Majesty, that the *French* King should press for that which "They had no Desire to have."

The Ambassadours confessed "that the *Dutch* did not desire a Peace; "that They thought They were too much behindhand, and that They "had at present great Advantages; that They looked upon the great "Plague in *London*" (which continued in its full Rage and Vigour, insomuch as at that Time in the End of *September* there died not so few as six thousand in the Week, amongst which some were of the best Quality in the City) "as of such insupportable Damage to the King, that He would not "be able to set out another Fleet the Year following: And therefore that,

" when They had been preſſed by the *French* King to make ſome Propoſitions " towards Peace, He could get no other Anſwer from them, than *that They* " *expected that the Iſland of* Poleroone *ſhould be releaſed to them, and that the* " *Fort at* Cabo Corſo *in* Guinea *ſhould be thrown down and ſlighted*, which " They confeſſed was an inſolent Propoſition. That They complained " *that the King their Maſter, inſtead of giving them the Aſſiſtance He was* " *obliged to do, ſpent the Time in procuring a Peace, which They cared not* " *for:* So that," They ſaid, " their Maſter continued the ſame Chriſtian Of- " fice principally to do his Majeſty of *Great Britain* a Service, who He " in Truth believed would be reduced to great Streights by the terrible Ef- " fect of the Plague; and in the next Place to defend himſelf from entering " into the War, which He could no longer defer to do, if his Majeſty did " not, by conſenting to ſome reaſonable Overture, give him a juſt Occaſion " to preſs them to yield to it, and in that Caſe He would behave himſelf in " that Manner that the King ſhould have no Cauſe to complain of his Par- " tiality." The King's Indignation was ſo provoked by the Pride and Impudence of the *Dutch* Demands, that He gave the Ambaſſadours no other Anſwer, than " that He hoped God Almighty had not ſent that heavy " Judgment of the Plague upon him and his People on the Behalf of the " *Hollanders*, and to expoſe him to their Inſolence."

THE

CONTINUATION

Of the LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of *CLARENDON*, &c.

THE Parliament convened at *Oxford* in greater Numbers than could reaſonably have been expected, the Sickneſs ſtill continuing to rage and ſpread itſelf in ſeveral Counties; ſo that between the Danger that was in the Towns infected, and the neceſſary Severity in other Towns to keep themſelves from being infected, it was a very inconvenient Seaſon for all Perſons of Quality to travel from their own Habitations. Upon the tenth of *October* the King commanded Both Houſes to attend him in *Chriſt-Church* Hall, and told them, "that He was "confident They did all believe, that if it had not been abſolutely neceſ- "ſary to conſult with them He would not have called them together at "that Time, when the Contagion had ſpread itſelf over ſo many Parts of "the Kingdom: And He thanked them for their Compliance ſo far with "his Deſires." *The Parliament meets at Oxford.* *The King's Speech to Both Houſes.*

His Majeſty ſaid, "the Truth was; as He had entered upon the War "by their Advice and Encouragement, ſo He deſired that They might as "frequently as was poſſible receive Information of the Effects and Conduct "of it, and that He might have the Continuance of their cheerful Supply "for the carrying it on. He would not deny to them, that it had proved

" more chargeable than He could imagine it would have been: The Addi-
" tion the Enemy had ſtill made to their Fleets, beyond their firſt Purpoſe,
" made it unavoidably neceſſary for him to make proportionable Prepara-
" tions, which God had hitherto bleſſed with Succeſs in all Encounters.
" And as They had uſed their utmoſt Endeavours by Calumnies and falſe
" Suggeſtions to gain Friends to themſelves, and to perſuade them to aſſiſt
" them againſt him, ſo He had not been wanting to encourage thoſe Princes
" who had been wronged by the *Dutch*, to recover their own by Force;
" and in Order thereunto, He had aſſiſted the Biſhop of *Munſter* with a
" great Sum of ready Money, and was to continue a Supply to him, who
" He believed was at that Time in the Bowels of their Country with a pow-
" erful Army."

" THOSE Iſſues, which He might tell them had been made with very
" much Conduct and Huſbandry (nor indeed did He know that any Thing
" had been ſpent that could have been well and ſafely ſaved);" He ſaid,
" thoſe Expenſes would not ſuffer them to wonder, that the great Supply
" which They gave him for this War in ſo bountiful a Proportion was upon
" the Matter already ſpent: So that He muſt not only expect an Aſſiſtance
" from them to carry on that War, but ſuch an Aſſiſtance as might enable
" him to defend himſelf and them againſt a more powerful Neighbour, if
" He ſhould prefer the Friendſhip of the *Dutch* before his."

HE put them in Mind, " that when He entered upon this War He had
" told them, *that He had not ſuch a brutal Appetite as to make War for*
" *War's Sake*; He was ſtill of the ſame Mind: He had been ready to re-
" ceive any Propoſitions that *France* had thought fit to offer to that End,
" but hitherto Nothing had been offered worthy his Acceptance; nor was
" the *Dutch* leſs inſolent, though He knew no Advantage They had got but
" the Continuance of the Contagion, and He hoped that God Almighty
" would ſhortly deprive them of that Encouragement."

Subſtance of the Chancellor's Speech.

THE Chancellor at the ſame Time, by the King's Command, made a ſhort Narrative of the Hiſtory of the War, the Circumſtances with which it was begun, and the Progreſs it had ſince made, and the Victory that the Duke had attained; of the vaſt Number of the Priſoners and ſick and wounded Men, a Charge that had never been computed.

HE told them, " the *French* King had indeed offered his Mediation, and
" that if He intended no more than a Mediation, it was an Office very
" worthy the moſt Chriſtian King; He wiſhed, that as a Mediator He
" would make equal Propoſitions, or that He would not ſo importunately
" preſs his Majeſty to conſent to thoſe He makes, upon an Inſtance and Ar-
" gument, *that He holds himſelf engaged by a former Treaty* (of which his
" Majeſty had never heard till ſince the Beginning of the War, and had
" ſome Reaſon to have preſumed the contrary) *to aſſiſt the* Dutch *with Men*
" *and Money if his Majeſty would not conſent.*"

HE ſaid, " his Majeſty had told them, *that He had no Appetite to make*
" *War for War's Sake*; but He would be always ready to make ſuch a
" Peace as might be for his Honour and the Intereſt of his Subjects. And
" no Doubt it would be a great Trouble and Grief to his Majeſty to find ſo
" great a Prince, towards whom He had manifeſted ſo great an Affection,
" in Conjunction with his Enemies: Yet even the Apprehenſion of ſuch a
" War would not terrify him to purchaſe a Peace by ſuch Conceſſions as
" He ſhould be aſhamed to make them acquainted with; of which Nature
" They would eaſily believe the Propoſitions hitherto made to be, when

"They knew the Releaſe of *Poleroone* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and the demoliſh-"ing the Fort of *Cabo Corſo* upon the Coaſt of *Guinea*, were two; which "would be upon the Matter to be contented with a very vile Trade in the "*Eaſt-Indies* under their Control, and with none in *Guinea*. And yet "thoſe are not Propoſitions unreaſonable enough to pleaſe the *Dutch*, who "reproached *France* for interpoſing for Peace, inſtead of aſſiſting them in "the War, boldly inſiſting upon the Advantage the Contagion in *London* "and ſome other Parts of the Kingdom gives them; by which, They con-"fidently ſay, the King will be no longer able to maintain a Fleet againſt "them at Sea."

HE told them, "that He had fully obeyed the Command that had been "laid upon him, in making that plain, clear, true Narrative of what had "paſſed; He had no Order to make Reflection upon it, nor any Deduc-"tion from it: The King himſelf had told them, *that the noble, unparalleled* "*Supply They had already given him is upon the Matter ſpent*, ſpent with all the "Animadverſions of good Huſbandry that the Nature of the Affair would "bear. What was more to be done He left to their own generous Under-"ſtandings, being not more aſſured of any Thing that was to come in this "World, than that the ſame noble Indignation for the Honour of the King "and the Nation, that firſt provoked them to inflame the King himſelf, would "continue the ſame Paſſion ſtill boiling in their loyal Breaſts; that all the "World may ſee, which They never hoped to have ſeen, that never Prince "and People were ſo entirely united in their Affections, for their true, "joint, inſeparable Honour, as their only ſure infallible Expedient to pre-"ſerve their diſtinct ſeveral Intereſts."

THE King could not expect or wiſh a fuller Concurrence from a Parliament than He now found. With very little Heſitation They declared, "that "They would ſupply his Majeſty with another Million (ten hundred thou-"ſand Pounds):" And becauſe They deſired to be diſmiſſed as ſoon as might be to their ſeveral Habitations, not without Apprehenſion that ſo great a Concourſe of Perſons from all Places, even from *London* itſelf (for the Term was likewiſe adjourned to *Oxford*), might bring the Contagion thither likewiſe; They rejected all other Buſineſſes but what immediately related to the Publick. To the Supply They deſigned to the King They added the Sum of above forty thouſand Pounds, which They deſired his Majeſty to confer upon the Duke, having received ſome Inſinuation, "that "it would not be ingrateful to the King that ſuch a Preſent ſhould be "made to his Brother." Then They paſſed two or three Acts of Parliament very much for the King's Honour and Security, amongſt which one was, "for the attainting all thoſe his Subjects who either reſided in *Holland*" (as ſome of the *Engliſh* Officers who had long ſerved in that Country preſumed ſtill to do) "and continued in their Service, or in any other Parts "beyond the Seas, if They did not appear at a Day prefixed, after Notice "by the King's Proclamation:" And the Nomination of the Perſons was entirely left to his Majeſty.

A farther Supply granted.

An Act for attainting the English *in the* Dutch *Service.*

HIS Majeſty did hope, that this very good Carriage in the Parliament would have made ſome Impreſſion upon *France*, either to have given over their Mediation, or to have drawn reaſonable and juſt Conceſſions from the *States*: But it did produce the contrary. The *Hollander* had received a new Damage which inflamed them exceedingly, which ſhall be particularly mentioned in the next Place, whereupon They made grievous Complaints to *France* of its Breach of Faith upon the Promiſes that had been made to them. That King upon this required his Ambaſſadours once more to make

a lively Inſtance to his Majeſty, "that He would declare what He meant "to inſiſt upon in Order to a Peace, which if He ſhould refuſe to do, They "ſhould take their Leaves and return into *France* with all poſſible Expedi- "tion." In this Audience They ſpake in a higher Style than They had formerly uſed. They complained "of the intolerable Damage the Subjects "of *France* had ſuſtained in their Goods and Eſtates by the King's Ships, "and thoſe who were licenſed by his Authority, which without any Diſ- "tinction ſeized upon all that came in their Way as if They were *Dutch*: "And when They complained to the Admiralty or to the Lords Commiſ- "ſioners, They could procure no Juſtice, and were obliged to ſuch an At- "tendance and Expenſe, that what They ſued for did not prove of Value to "ſatisfy the Charge of the Proſecution; and if after a long and a tedious So- "licitation They did at laſt procure a Sentence for the Redelivery of what "had been taken from them, when They hoped to enjoy the Benefit of "this juſt Sentence by the Execution, They found the Goods embezzled in "the Port or plundered by the Seamen, that the Owners had rarely a third "Part of their Goods ever reſtored to them. And that by this Violence "and unjuſt Proceeding, of which They had often made Complaint, the "*French* Merchants had loſt near five hundred thouſand *Piſtoles*; which "their Maſter reſented and looked upon as a great Indignity to himſelf, "which He had hitherto borne, in Hope that the Licenſe would have been "reſtrained by the End of the War."

The French *Ambaſſadours remonſtrate warmly againſt the* Engliſh.

They urged it as an Argument of their Maſter's Friendſhip to the King, "that after an offenſive Treaty had been ſo long ſince entered into by him, "by which He was obliged to aſſiſt the *Dutch* with Men, Money and "Ships, He had notwithſtanding hitherto forborne it, and looked on whilſt "They were ſoundly beaten and had lately ſuſtained another Blow; and "that it was not poſſible for him to defer it longer:" And ſo concluded with very earneſt Perſuaſions, "that his Majeſty would conſent to ſuch a "Peace as their Maſter ſhould judge to be reaſonable, who could not but "be very juſt to his Majeſty;" and wiſhed, "that it might be conſidered, "beſides the Damage by the Plague which Nobody knew how long it might "continue, how impoſſible it was for the King to ſuſtain the Arms of *France* "in Conjunction to thoſe of *Holland*, when poſſibly ſome other Prince might "join likewiſe with them."

A Conference between them and the Engliſh *Miniſters upon their Remonſtrance.*

They who were appointed by the King to confer with the Ambaſſadours were moſt perplexed to juſtify their firſt Charge, "of the Depredation that "had been made upon the *French* Merchants," which had in Truth been very great, though not amounting to the Sum They mentioned. Yet to that They anſwered, "that the Damage and Loſs which the Subjects of "*France* had undergone that Way had originally proceeded from themſelves, "and their own Default in owning the Goods and Merchandiſe of the "*Dutch* to belong to themſelves as their proper Goods, and in undertaking "to carry and deliver the Wine and other Goods, which were bought and "paid for in *France* by the *Hollanders*, in *French* Veſſels in that Country; "all which had been fully and notoriouſly proved and could not be con- "tradicted: And when that Diſcovery was once made, it was no Won- "der if the Seamen ſometimes ſeized upon ſome Veſſels which were not "liable to the ſame Reproach. But when any Complaints of that Kind "had been made, the King had always given ſtrict Charge to the Judges to "cauſe Reſtitution to be made, and the Tranſgreſſors to be ſeverely pu- "niſhed; and his Majeſty preſumed that the Judges had done their Duty. "For the *French* King's being bound by his Treaty to aſſiſt the *Hollanders*,"

They ſaid, "that if the King had any ſuch Obligation upon him, it was "ſubſequent to his Obligation to his Majeſty, by which He was bound to "make no ſuch Treaty: Nor in Truth did They believe that He had en- "tered into any ſuch Treaty, for if it were only ſuch as They themſelves "ſtated it to be, a defenſive League, it would neither engage nor excuſe "*France* in giving Aſſiſtance to them who had done the Wrong and begun "the War; and therefore if the King was in Truth bound to aſſiſt them, "it muſt be from ſome offenſive not defenſive Clauſe."

THE Ambaſſadours replied, "that their Maſter concluded that their "King was the Aggreſſor, and then the defenſive Article did oblige him;" and They acknowledged there was no other. It was anſwered, "that the King "had aſſumed a Power to judge upon a Matter of Fact of which He had "taken no Examination; and that it was a Partiality not agreeable to the "Office of a Judge, to believe what the *Dutch* ſaid, and not to believe "what the King ſaid, who had clearly publiſhed the true Hiſtory of the "Fact; and that it was notorious and not poſſible to be denied, that They "had refuſed to deliver *Poleroone* according to their Treaty, and that *De* "*Ruyter* had begun the War in *Guinea* before one of their Ships had been "ſeized on by the King." To which They replied, "that their Maſter "thought otherwiſe, and did look upon the King as Aggreſſor." When They were urged with the Violation of the former Obligation by entering into the latter, all the Anſwer They gave was, "that They knew Nothing "of it, and that They had Commiſſion only to treat upon the preſent "State of Affairs, and not upon what had paſſed long before:" And ſo, according to the Character They underwent near fourteen hundred Years ſince, *Galli ridentes fidem fregerunt.*

THE Counſellors of the King told them, "that their Maſter had very "well conſidered the Diſadvantage He muſt undergo by the Acceſs of ſo "powerful a Friend, and of whoſe Friendſhip He had thought himſelf poſ- "ſeſſed, to the Part of his Enemies, who were too inſolent already; and "therefore to prevent that Diſadvantage, He had and would do any Thing "that would conſiſt with the Dignity of a King: But that He muſt be "laughed at and deſpiſed by all the World, if He ſhould conſent to make "him the Arbitrator of the Differences who had already declared himſelf to "be a Party, and *that He is reſolved to make War againſt him on the Be-* "*half of his Enemy*; and that ſuch Menaces would make no Impreſſion in "the laſt Article of Danger that could befall the King." The Ambaſſa- dours took that Expreſſion of Menaces very heavily, as if it were a Tax upon their Manners, and ſaid "They had never uſed Words that could imply a "Menace." To which it was replied, "that there was no Purpoſe to make "any Reflection upon their Perſons, who had always carried themſelves with "great Reſpect to the King, and who his Majeſty believed did in their own "particular Affection wiſh him better than They did the *Dutch:* However "the declaring, *that if the King did not do this or that, the* French *King* "*would make War upon him*, could in no Language be looked upon to have "any other Signification than of a Menace and Threat." This raiſed a little Warmth on Both Sides, which made the Conference break off at that Time.

THE Ambaſſadours prepared to be gone; and the King diſcerned clearly that there was no Way to divert the *French* from an entire Conjunction with the *Dutch:* And thereupon He aſſembled his ſecret Council together again, to conſult what ſhould be the final Anſwer his Majeſty ſhould give to the *French* Ambaſſadours at parting. There was no Perſon preſent, who had not a deep Apprehenſion of the extreme Damage and Danger that

must fall upon the King's Affairs, if in this Conjuncture *France* should declare a War againſt *England*.

The Proſpect of the King's Affairs at this Time.

It was well known, that the Duke of *Beaufort* was forthwith to be at *Breſt*, where all the *French* King's Ships were to aſſemble at their Rendezvous by *Chriſtmas*; that the *French* King had already ſent to the Biſhop of *Munſter* to diſſuade him from proſecuting his Enterpriſe againſt *Holland*, and that probably He might unite *Denmark* again to the *Dutch*, and probably even allay thoſe warm Inclinations which the *Swede* had for the King. It was well known, that the *French* King had in the laſt Diſtractions in *Holland* contributed very much to the compoſing them, and to the Support of the Power and Credit of *De Wit*, who was the Soul of the War, and that He had ſent him one hundred thouſand *Piſtoles*, without which They would have hardly been able to have ſet out their laſt Fleet under *De Ruyter*. And above all this, his giving Life to ſome domeſtick Rebellion in *England* and in *Ireland*, by ſending Money to diſcontented Perſons, was apprehended: For as there were enough diſcontented and deſperate Perſons in the latter, who wanted only Arms and Money to declare for any Prince who would take them into his Protection; ſo it was well known that there was a general Combination amongſt thoſe of the late Army to have riſen, if the Duke of *York* had been defeated at Sea, and that it was that Victory that diſappointed that intended Inſurrection. That there had been a later Deſign, in the very Height of this diſmal Sickneſs and Contagion, in *London* (whither the Fanatick Party had repaired from all the Quarters of the Kingdom, and had appointed a Day upon which the General ſhould be aſſaſſinated, which ſome Soldiers of his own Regiment had undertaken, and then the whole Rendezvous was to be in ſeveral Streets at the ſame Time); which in ſo formidable a Conjuncture might have ſucceeded to a great Degree, if by God's Bleſſing it had not been diſcovered two Days before to the General, who cauſed ſome of the chief Conſpirators to be apprehended, who ſuffered afterwards by the Hand of Juſtice. And yet the Chief amongſt them, Colonel *Danvers*, who in Spite of all the Vigilance that could be uſed had been always ſearched for and always concealed from the Time of the King's Return, being at this Time apprehended and brought before the General, and by him ſent with a Lieutenant and a Guard of Soldiers to the *Tower*, was reſcued in *Cheapſide*, and ſo eſcaped, all the Citizens looking on without aiding the Officer.

This was the Proſpect that the King had of his Condition and Affairs in this Conſultation: And therefore if any Thing could have occurred that might probably have diverted this Storm, it would no Doubt have been embraced. But then the exceeding Breach of Faith in entering into that Treaty, the denying it afterwards, and concealing his Engagement by it ſo long after the War was entered into (which if He had not done the King could never have looked upon him as a fit Mediator), and the Impoſſibility of depending upon any Thing that ſhould be promiſed for the future, were convincing Arguments againſt any ſuch Reference of the Conditions to his Determination as was propoſed, and was the only Expedient that was propoſed towards the making a Peace. It was well known that the chief Counſels of *France*, ſince *Monſieur Colbert* entered upon the Miniſtry, had been directed towards the Advancement of Manufactures at Home, by which They might have leſs Need of Commerce with their Neighbours; and for the erecting a Trade abroad, with which They had been very little acquainted in former Times. And it was juſtly to be feared, that where the Judgment was left to them, They would imitate the infamous *Roman* Precedent, of

adjudging that to themſelves that was in Difference between their Neighbours and left to their Deciſion: And ſo both *Poleroone* in the *Eaſt-Indies*, and *Cabo Corſo* for the *Weſt*, muſt be determined to belong to them; which might be the rather apprehended, by their having erected an *Eaſt-India* Company and a *Weſt-India* Company, before They had any viſible Foundation for a Trade in either, to which Both theſe Places might carry with them great Conveniences.

THESE Conſiderations being ſeriouſly reflected upon, with a little generous Indignation to find himſelf thus treated, prevailed with the King to lay aſide all Thoughts of farther complying with *France*, and to reſolve to diſmiſs the Ambaſſadours without any other Anſwer, than what ſhould contain Complaints "of the *French* King's Want of Kindneſs, which his Ma- "jeſty had cultivated by all the Offices He could perform ſince his Reſto- "ration, which did not receive an equal Return, by the preferring the "Friendſhip of the *Dutch* before that of his Majeſty." And with this Anſwer the Ambaſſadours were diſmiſſed, with liberal Preſents and all gracious Demonſtrations of Eſteem of their Perſons, and ſo returned for *France*, where They always gave juſt Teſtimony of the Civilities and fair Treatment They had received.

A final Anſwer given to the French *Ambaſſadours.*

They leave the Kingdom.

BUT this Reſolution increaſed the King's Appetite to Peace, and made him think of all other Expedients that might contribute to it; and none ſeemed ſo hopeful, as that *France* and *Holland* might be divided: And He would have been very willing to have agreed with *Holland* upon any reaſonable Conditions, that He might continue the War with *France*, which there were many reaſonable Inducements to hope might be brought to paſs. It was notorious, that Preparations had been made for two or three Years paſt by *France* at a very great Expenſe upon the Borders, that They might be ready to enter into *Flanders* as ſoon as News ſhould arrive of the King of *Spain's* Death; and that War would immediately fall out as ſoon as that King's Deceaſe ſhould be known, which from his Age and Infirmities muſt be expected every Day: And in that Caſe the Friendſhip could not continue long with *Holland*, which thought that *France* was already too near a Neighbour to them, to be willing that They ſhould be nearer by a Conqueſt of *Flanders*, which with its own Force could not make an equal Reſiſtance. It was likewiſe as notorious that all the other Provinces, *Holland* only excepted, did impatiently deſire the Peace; and *Holland* had only been reſtrained from the ſame Impatience by the ſole Credit and Authority of *De Wit*, and by his perſuading them, "that *France* would aſſiſt them with "Men, Money and Ships, and likewiſe declare a War againſt *England*, "which" (as hath been ſaid before) "would produce a Peace upon ſuch "Conditions as would make it happy to them:" And that though it was true that it had indeed aſſiſted them with ſome Money, it was not conſiderable to their vaſt Expenſes, nor in Truth of Importance in Compariſon of the other, which it was equally obliged to do, and had performed Nothing. And it was evident that *Holland* itſelf was jealous of thoſe Proceedings, and even *De Wit* in his private Diſcourſes to other Miniſters ſeemed to be much unſatisfied with their Breach of Faith, and not to be without Apprehenſion that They would in the End enter into a ſtricter Alliance with *England*, and leave *Holland* as a Prey to Both.

A Proſpect of dividing France *and* Holland.

THE *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour, who always deſired that the Peace might be eſtabliſhed between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*, and that They would Both join with *Spain* in a defenſive League, into which *Denmark* would be glad to enter, and *Sweden* might be drawn in upon the ſame Conditions which

They now received from *France*, towards which He had often desired the King to interpose, was now very glad that the *French* Ambassadours had taken their Leaves and were gone; and He pretended to have many Assurances from the *Spanish* Ambassadour at the *Hague*, that the *Dutch* had those Inclinations which are mentioned before, "and that *De Wit* would be glad to "confer in private with any Man trusted by the King, if He might be sure "that it should not be communicated to *France*." Upon all these Probabilities, and the Certainty that no Good could be expected from *France*, his Majesty resolved to embrace all Opportunities to agree with *Holland*; towards which He had a secret Intelligence, to which He gave more Credit than to all the rest, which shall be mentioned hereafter.

THERE were so many great Transactions during the King's Residence in *Oxford*, besides what was done in the Parliament and what related to the Dismission of the *French* Ambassadours, so many Counsels which were executed, and so many secret Designs only initiated then and not executed till long after, that there cannot be too particular a Recollection of the Occurrences of all that Time. And if some Things are mentioned which seem too light and of too small Importance to have a Place in this Relation, they will be found at last to be the Rise and principal Ingredient to some Counsel and Resolution, which proved afterwards of Consequence enough as well to the Publick as to the Interest of particular Persons.

An Attempt to break the Friendship between the Chancellor and Treasurer.

THE first Attempt that was made was to make a Breach between the Chancellor and the Treasurer, who had been long fast Friends, and were believed to have most Credit with the King; and They who loved neither of them thought the most likely Way to hurt them was to make them love one another less. Several Attempts had been made upon the Chancellor to that Purpose without Effect: He knew the other too well to be shaken in the Esteem He had of his Friendship, and the Knowledge He had of his Virtue.

The Occasion of it.

BUT there was now an Accident fell out, that gave them an Opportunity to suggest to the Treasurer, "that the Chancellor had failed in his Friend-"ship towards him." The Occasion was upon the Vacancy of an Office near the Queen by the Death of Mr. *Mountague*, Master of the Horse to her Majesty, who had been killed before *Bergen:* And the News arriving with the Duke at *York*, before it was known at *Salisbury* to the King, the Duke and his Wife writ to the King and to the Queen "to confer that "Place upon his younger Brother," who was now become both the eldest and the only Son to his Father, the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton*; and the Gentleman himself, on whose Behalf the Letters were writ, came himself by Post with them within two or three Hours after the News was brought to *Salisbury*, and He brought likewise a Letter from the Dutchess to the Chancellor, "to assist the Gentleman all He could in his Pretence," He at the same Time enjoying the same Office under the Dutchess that his Brother had under the Queen.

THE Chancellor had never used to interpose in Matters of that Nature, nor had He any Acquaintance with this Gentleman who was now recommended: Yet He could not refuse to wait upon the Queen and shew her the Letter He had received, without any Intention to appear farther in it. But when He waited upon the Queen, who had received her Letter before, her Majesty seemed graciously disposed to gratify the Gentleman if the King approved it, but said "that She would make no Choice herself of any "Servant without knowing first his Majesty's Pleasure:" And She added, "that She had been informed, *that the Lord* Mountague *was very angry*

"*with his Son that was unfortunately ſlain, for having taken that Charge in* "*her Family, and that He never allowed him any Thing towards his Sup-* "*port*; and if all other Obſtructions were out of the Way, She would not "receive him except She were firſt aſſured that his Father would like and "deſire it." Her Majeſty vouchſafed to wiſh the Chancellor "to ſpeak with "the King, and as dexterouſly as He could to diſpoſe him to recommend "Mr. *Mountague* to her, as juſt and reaſonable ſince his Brother had loſt "his Life in his Service."

THIS Command of her Majeſty obliged the Chancellor to wait upon the King, and to ſhew him the Letter He had received from the Dutcheſs; and at the ſame Time the King gave him that which He had from the Duke, in which his Highneſs deſired him, "that if that Place was not preſently "conferred upon Mr. *Mountague*, his Majeſty would not diſpoſe of it till "He waited upon him." The Chancellor told him, "that the Queen gave "no Anſwer, but referred it entirely to his Majeſty:" And He ſaid, "He "would never recommend any Perſon to her but ſuch a one as would be "very grateful to her." He ſaid, "it would ſeem very hard to deny one "Brother to ſucceed another who was killed in his Service." He confeſſed, "that the Lord *Crofts* had moved him on the Behalf of Mr. *Robert Spen-* "*cer*, of whom He had a good Opinion: But that He had anſwered him, "*that He would not do any Thing in it till He ſaw his Brother*; which Re- "ſolution He would keep." To which the Chancellor made no Reply, having in his own private Inclinations and Affection much more Kindneſs for Mr. *Spencer*, of whoſe Pretence He had never received the leaſt Intimation before, than for the other, with whom He had ſpoken very few Words in his Life. He told Mr. *Mountague* no more but that which the King himſelf had told him, "*that He would not diſpoſe of the Place till the* "*Duke ſhould arrive*;" only He added what the Queen had ſaid of his Father, and adviſed him to think of the Way to remove that Obſtruction. Whereupon He reſolved to make a Journey to his Father, which He knew He might well do before the King and his Brother could meet.

THE ſame Night Mr. *Spencer* came to the Chancellor, and brought him a Letter from the Treaſurer (whoſe Nephew He was, and who was unfortunately gone out of the Town the Day before to a Houſe of his own twenty Miles diſtant) to recommend his Nephew to the Queen, to whom and to the King He had likewiſe Letters. The Chancellor gave him an Account of all that had paſſed, ſhewed him the Letter that He had received from the Dutcheſs, and told him what the Queen and the King had ſaid, and "that "it was not poſſible for him to do him Service, for which He was very ſorry;" but adviſed him "to deliver Both his Letters, and to attend their Majeſties, "who He was confident had yet taken no Reſolution:" With all which He was very well ſatisfied, and confeſſed "He could not expect that He ſhould "appear for him." When He delivered his Letters to Both their Majeſties, He received ſo gracious an Anſwer from Both, that He might reaſonably expect his Suit to be granted, though the King told him, "He would not "diſpoſe of the Place till He ſpake with his Brother." And there is no Doubt but if the Lord Treaſurer had been in the Town when the News firſt came to the King of Mr. *Mountague's* Death, which was a whole Day before the Arrival of the Duke's Letter, the King or Queen would not have denied him his Requeſt.

WITHIN a ſhort Time after Mr. *Spencer* had left him, the Lord *Crofts*, who had married his Siſter, and was governed by the Lord *Arlington*, came to the Chancellor, and deſired him "to take Care, out of his Friendſhip

" with the Treaſurer, that the King might not refuſe to gratify him in this " Suit for his Nephew, which was the firſt He had ever made, and if He " ſhould be denied it would exceedingly trouble him. That when He ſpake " to the King of it as ſoon as the News came, and told him, *He was ſure* " *that the Treaſurer would be a Suitor to him for his Nephew*, his Majeſty " did promiſe him that He ſhould have it; and that Both their Majeſties had " as good as ſaid the ſame now to *Robert Spencer:* And therefore if He " would now uſe his Credit, the Thing might be diſpatched preſently and " without farther Delay."

The Chancellor aſked him, " whether Mr. *Spencer* had informed him of " all that had paſſed between them two:" He ſaid, " Yes; and that He had " done all that the Dutcheſs had deſired him, in ſpeaking both to the King " and Queen, and that his Friendſhip to the Lord Treaſurer ſhould pre- " vail with him to uſe all his Endeavours for his Nephew." Whereupon the Chancellor ſhewed the Dutcheſs's Letter, and repeated to him again all that He had formerly ſaid to Mr. *Spencer*, and aſked him, " what the " Duke and his Wife muſt think of him, if inſtead of purſuing what They " deſired, He ſhould ſolicit quite contrary to it." He ſaid, " that He might " tell them that He was engaged by the Lord Treaſurer before He received " their Letter;" and then talked paſſionately and indiſcreetly " of the Af- " front the Treaſurer would think He received if this were denied him, and " that all the World would ſay, that He might have compaſſed it if He " had not failed in his Friendſhip." To which He made no other Anſwer, than " that the doing ſo baſe a Thing as He deſired would more probably de- " ſtroy that Friendſhip with a Man ſo punctual in Honour and Juſtice as the " Treaſurer was, than any Thing that He had done or ſhould leave undone;" and adviſed him " not to make the Buſineſs worſe by his Activity, and that " if He had the King's and Queen's Promiſe, as He pretended, He might very " well acquieſce till the Duke came."

However his very great Indiſcretion and Preſumption made the Thing much worſe, by delivering Meſſages from the King to the Queen and from her Majeſty to the King that They Both diſavowed, and by his uſual Diſcourſes, " that it ſhould now appear who had the moſt Credit " with the King, the Duke or the Treaſurer, and how much the King " would ſuffer if He diſobliged the Treaſurer;" all which was quickly tranſmitted by the Intelligence that was every Day ſent to *York*. On the other Hand He ſtill adviſed the Treaſurer " to continue his Importunity to " the King and Queen" (a Thing the moſt contrary to his Nature), and aſſured him, " that it would be grateful to them and was expected by " them." Whereupon as ſoon as the Treaſurer came to the Court, which was not till the King came to *Oxford*, He went to Both their Majeſties, and renewed his Suit to them with more Warmth and Concernment than was cuſtomary to him, and received ſuch an Anſwer from Both as very well ſatisfied him: And without Doubt the King intended to perſuade his Brother to deſiſt from preſſing him farther on the Behalf of the other, for whom He had no Kindneſs.

But the Duke, who arrived by Poſt the very next Day, came in another Temper than was expected. The Intelligence from *Saliſbury* of the Conteſt that was for that Place, and the inſolent Behaviour and Expreſſions uſed by the Lord *Crofts*, had exceedingly moved him, and He looked upon the Treaſurer as engaged to try who had the greateſt Power, and as in Oppoſition to him: So that the ſame Night that He came to Town, when the King and He were in private, He complained of it with much

Warmth; and He beſought his Majeſty importunately "that He would de-
"clare, that the World might know who had moſt Intereſt in his Favour,
"He or the Treaſurer." The King was ſo much put out of the Method He intended to uſe in this Affair, knowing that the Expreſſions the Duke had mentioned had been too often uſed by the Lord *Crofts*, for which He had often reprehended him, that He preſently applied that Remedy which He thought moſt proper, and after Conference with the Queen ſigned the Warrant for admitting Mr. *Mountague* into the Office, who was ſworn the next Morning: So that the firſt News the Treaſurer heard, after Both their Majeſties had the Day before ſaid all to him that He could deſire, was, that the Place was already full; which He received with more Commotion than was natural to him, and looked upon it as a deſigned, contrived Affront to expoſe him to Contempt. "Why would not the King,
"if He had changed his Mind after He left him, firſt ſend him Word of it,
"that He might have known his Purpoſe?"

ALL this Storm fell preſently upon the Chancellor: The Lord *Crofts* aſſured him, "that it had been done at *Salisbury* if He had not hindered it;
"that He had been with the Duke before He ſpake with the King, and
"given him Advice what Tune He ſhould ſpeak in, which was uſed ac-
"cordingly and had prevailed; and that when He came into the Duke's
"Chamber to kiſs his Hand, his Highneſs turned away and would not
"ſpeak to him, which muſt proceed from the Influence of the Chan-
"cellor." Whereas in Truth the Chancellor had only ſeen the Duke in publick, and ſaid no more to him than what He ſaid in publick, thinking it no good Manners to trouble him with any private Diſcourſe, when He was ſo weary of his Journey; nor did He know that any Thing was done in that Affair till the Day after it was done, and after it was known to the Treaſurer. Upon the whole Matter, how unwilling ſoever He was to believe that He could be ſo groſſly faulty to him, when He ſaw the Chancellor next his Countenance was not the ſame it uſed to be; which the other taking Notice of aſked him, according to his uſual Familiarity, "what the Matter was," but received ſuch an Anſwer as made him diſcern that there was Somewhat amiſs: And ſo He ſaid no more. The other being the ſame Day with the King, the Duke came into the Room, and in his Looks manifeſted a Diſpleaſure towards the Treaſurer, which confirmed the former Jealouſy of the Chancellor; which was improved by the Ladies, who did not like their Lodging, and thought it proceeded from Want of Friendſhip in him, who had the Power over the Univerſity, and might have aſſigned what Lodgings He pleaſed to the Treaſurer; and He had aſſigned this, as the beſt Houſe in the Town for ſo great a Family, and which their own Servant had deſired as the beſt in the Town, as it was.

WHEN the Chancellor diſcovered the Ground of this Alteration, He grew out of Humour too, and thought himſelf unworthily ſuſpected: And ſo for two or three Days the two Friends came not together. And in that Time the Chancellor had enough to do to inform the Duke, who was not only very much offended with the Treaſurer, but thought that He had been, out of his Friendſhip to the Treaſurer, more remiſs than He ought to have been in a Buſineſs ſo earneſtly recommended by him and his Wife; and the Intelligence from *Salisbury* had made Reflections upon him as much as upon the other. But his Royal Highneſs willingly received Information of all that had paſſed, and diſcerned the foul Carriage of others as well as of the Lord *Crofts*; and was pleaſed to confeſs, "that He had done all He ought to do,
"and that He had been miſinformed of the Lord Treaſurer's Part in that Affair,

"which had made him think amiſs of him, which He would acknowledge "to him next Time He ſaw him."

After this the Chancellor, having a more clear View, upon Conference with the King and the Duke, of this pernicious Deſign, which in ſome Degree had compaſſed its End if there grew a Strangeneſs between the Treaſurer and him, went to him: And They being together without any others, He told him, "it ſhould not be in his Power to break Friendſhip with him to "gratify the Humour of other People, without letting him know what the "Matter was," which He conjured him to impart to him; aſſuring him, "that He would find that Nothing was more impoſſible than that He could "commit a Fault towards him, and that They who wiſhed well to neither "of them had contrived this Separation as the beſt Way to hurt them Both." And when He ſaw that He did not yet open himſelf, He told him, "that "He had heard that He had received ſome Umbrage in the Pretence of his "Nephew, and therefore He would give him an Account of all that He "knew of it," which He did exactly; and concluded with a Proteſtation, "that He had not known what had been done at *Oxford* till after He "came from him, when He obſerved the Change of his Countenance to-"wards him, of the Cauſe of which He could not then make any Con-"jecture."

The Treaſurer thereupon with his uſual Freedom told him, "that if his "Part had been no other than as He related, He thought himſelf obliged "to give him a Narration of all He had done, and of the Grounds and "Motives He had to think that He had failed in his Friendſhip." And thereupon He mentioned "the Kindneſs and Eſteem He had for his Nephew, "whom He thought in all Reſpects of Birth and Breeding at leaſt as worthy "of that Relation as the Gentleman who was poſſeſſed of it; and yet that "ſince He was not upon the Place, He had no Mind to engage himſelf in "the Suit: And that when his Nephew had given him an Account what the "Chancellor had ſaid to him," which He did with great Ingenuity, "and "He knew that the Duke of *York* appeared in it for another, He reſolved "to proſecute it no farther; until the Lord *Crofts* with all Confidence aſ-"ſured him, *that the King had promiſed him to confer the Place upon* Robert "Spencer, *and that Both their Majeſties expected that He ſhould make it his* "*Suit, to the End that They might thereby decline the Importunity that He* "*expected from his Brother.*" He told him of ſome Expreſſions He had uſed to the King in that Affair, which the King himſelf had reported; and "that when He took his Leave of the Queen to go to *Oxford*" (which was the next Day after Mr. *Mountague* came from *York*), "He diſſuaded her "Majeſty from receiving Mr. *Spencer*, alleging ſome Reaſons againſt it, "which a Lady who was near overheard, and informed the Perſon of it who "acquainted him with it: All which, with the King's and Queen's ſo ample "Promiſes to him ſo few Hours before the conferring the Place upon ano-"ther, and the Duke of *York's* Manner of receiving him after He had "been ſhut up with him, as He was informed, might very well excuſe "him for thinking He had ſome Share in the Affront He had undergone."

To which the other replied, "that if indeed He did believe all that He "had been told, He could not but think ſo; but," He ſaid, "He thought "He had known him better than to give Credit to ſuch Reports, which "muſt make him a Fool and a Knave: That for the Words He ſhould "have uſed to the King or the Queen, there had Nothing paſſed like it to "either of them, but that they were purely deviſed out of Malice; which "ſhould be manifeſt unto him, for He would not ſpeak a Word of it to

"the King till They were Both with him together, and then He would aſk "before him what his Carriage had been, and by his Majeſty's ſudden An- "ſwer He might judge of the Report." He told him then, "how much "He had ſuffered with the Duke, and what excellent Stories had been made "to his Royal Highneſs of Both of them, and of the good Part the Lord "*Crofts* had acted, of which He was not without ſome Evidence." After this *Eclairciſſement*, of the Sincerity whereof every Day adminiſtered new Teſti- mony, They Both returned to their mutual Confidence in each other: And They who had contrived this former Device entered into a new Confederacy, how They might firſt remove the Treaſurer, which would facilitate the pulling the Chancellor down; of which anon.

The Duke conſults the Chancellor about making two Suits to the King.

WITHIN a ſhort Time after the Duke returned out of *Yorkſhire*, his Highneſs told the Chancellor in Confidence, "that He had two Suits which "He intended to make to the King, and with which He firſt acquainted him "that He might have his Aſſiſtance in the obtaining them. The firſt was, "in which He and his Wife were equally engaged, to prevail with the "King to make Sir *George Savile* a Viſcount." He ſaid, "He knew well "the Reſolution the King had taken, to which He had contributed his Ad- "vice, to make no more Lords: But that He hoped in this particular Caſe "his Majeſty would upon his Deſire diſpenſe with a general Rule. That "Sir *George* had one of the beſt Fortunes of any Man in *England*, and "lived the moſt like a great Man; that He had been very civil to him and "his Wife in the *North*, and treated them at his Houſe in a very ſpendid "Manner; and that He was engaged to prevail with the King in this "Point, or to confeſs He had no Power, which He hoped He ſhould not "be without in this Matter;" and aſked his Opinion.

THE Chancellor in his uſual Freedom, which He always took when He was to deliver his Advice to the King or Duke, ſaid "that He could "not adviſe his Highneſs to move the King in it; for beſides that He "knew the King's poſitive Determination, the Departure from which might "be of ill Conſequence, Sir *George Savile* was a Man of a very ill Repu- "tation amongſt Men of Piety and Religion, and was looked upon as void "of all Senſe of Religion, even to the doubting if not denying that there "is a God, and that He was not reſerved in any Company to publiſh his "Opinions: Which made him believe that it would neither be for his "Highneſs's Honour to propoſe it, nor for the King's to grant it, in a Time "when all Licenſe in Diſcourſe and in Actions was ſpread over the King- "dom, to the Heart-breaking of very many good Men, who had terrible "Apprehenſions of the Conſequence of it." The Duke was not at all pleaſed with his Diſcourſe, and ſaid, "He was reſolved to uſe all his Cre- "dit with the King to compaſs it, and that He hoped that whatever He "thought He would not oppoſe it."

THE other Particular was, "that He would move the King to make "Mr. *Coventry* his Secretary a Privy Counſellor," and aſked him "what He "thought of that." To which He anſwered, "that his Opinion in that "Point would pleaſe him no better than in the former. That He did not "think it fit to be aſked: And if the King his Brother were inclined "to be jealous of him, as ſome had endeavoured to perſuade him, ſuch an "Inſtance as this would very much confirm it; for never any Prince of "*Wales* had a Servant of the higheſt Degree about him called to the Coun- "cil, till his Father called the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, who was the Prince's Go- "vernour, to the Board, which was not till upon the Approach of the Trou- "bles He diſcerned that He ſhould employ him in another Charge. That the

"Members of that Board had been always thoſe great Officers of State, "and other Officers, who in Reſpect of the Places They held had a Title "to ſit there, and of ſuch few others who, having great Titles and For- "tunes and Intereſt in the Kingdom, were an Ornament to the Table. "That there were at preſent too many already, and the Number leſſened "the Dignity of the Relation: That his Highneſs had already brought the "Lord *Berkley* thither, who had no Manner of Title to be there but his De- "pendance upon him; and now to bring in his Secretary, for no other Reaſon "but for being his Secretary, might be thought an Encroachment, and be "miſinterpreted by the King." He added, "that his wrangling, litigious Na- "ture would give the Board much Trouble; and that He knew him to be "ſo much his particular Enemy, that He would watch all the Opportunities "to do him all poſſible ill Offices to the King and to his Royal Highneſs."

THE Duke replied only to the laſt, and ſaid, "He perceived Somebody "had done *Will. Coventry* ill Offices, which He knew to be unjuſt and "falſe: And that He could aſſure him upon his own Knowledge, that He "had a great Reſpect for him, and deſired his Favour; and that He would "paſs his Word for him, that He would never do any Thing to diſſerve "him, which if He ſhould do He ſhould for ever loſe his Favour, which "He knew well." And no Doubt the Duke did believe all He ſaid, for He had a perfect Kindneſs for the Chancellor; and when He did not comply with what He wiſhed, He knew that it was out of the Integrity of his Judgment, and his ſtrict Duty to the King and himſelf, and that He had never flattered or diſſembled with either of them. And Mr. *Coventry* had Skill enough to perſuade him to believe what He deſired ſhould be true, though there were in the View of all Men frequent Inſtances of the contrary, and of the Abſence of all Ingenuity and Sincerity in his Actions.

The Duke moves the King to make Sir George Savile a Viſcount.

WITHIN very few Days after this Conference, and when the Dutcheſs had made new Inſtance with her Father in the Caſe of Sir *George Savile*, and with more Importunity than the Duke, and appeared more concerned and troubled that He ſhould not be more forward to comply with the Duke's Deſires (but the Chancellor, who always with the Reſpect that was due to her Quality preſerved the Dignity of a Father very entire, would give no other Anſwer than He had done to the Duke, and adviſed her to diſſuade him from making the Requeſt to the King); his Highneſs one Day deſired the King that He would retire into his Cloſet, and call the Chancellor to him: And when They three were together in the Room, after a ſhort Diſcourſe of Letters which He had received from the Earl of *Sandwich*, which there will be Occaſion anon to mention at large, the Duke told the King, "He had an humble Suit to his Majeſty;" and then ſpake much of the great Intereſt that Sir *George Savile* had in the Northern Parts, of the Greatneſs of his Eſtate, and his orderly and ſplendid Way of Living, and concluded with his Deſire "that his Majeſty would make him "an *Engliſh* Viſcount." Upon which the King preſently put him in Mind "of the Reſolution He had formerly made in that Room, and He thought "upon his own Motion, but He was ſure it had been with his Concur- "rence and Approbation."

THE Duke replied, "that He remembered it very well, and thought He "ſhould do well ſtill in the general to obſerve it: Yet it was in thoſe Caſes "always ſuppoſed, that an extraordinary Caſe might fall out, that might "produce an Exception; and He did moſt humbly beſeech his Majeſty, "that He would upon his very earneſt Interpoſition, from which Nobody "could make a Precedent, diſpenſe with the Rule." He did confeſs, "that

"He was ſo confident of his Majeſty's Favour, that He had given Sir "*George Savile* Cauſe to believe that He would prevail in that Suit; which "if He ſhould not do, He muſt be thought either not to have intended "what He promiſed, or to have no Credit with his Majeſty, neither of "which would be for his Honour."

THE King replied roundly, and with more Preſence of Mind than He had always about him, "that it was abſolutely neceſſary to be very preciſe in the "Obſervation of the Rule, which if He ſhould once break, a World of In- "conveniences would break in upon him, which He could not defend "himſelf againſt." He named two or three Perſons who were very ſolicitous for Honours, and had ſeveral Pretences to it; and his Majeſty had only been able to reſiſt and evade their Importunity, by objecting this declared Reſolution to them. The plain Truth is; He had made ſome Promiſe (a Weakneſs He was too often liable to) to thoſe Perſons or to their Friends, "that when He ſhould make any new Creations They ſhould be "ſure to be in the Number:" Nor did He apprehend any Inconvenience from redeeming himſelf from the preſent Importunity, which was ſtill grievous to him, ſince He had reſolved to make no new Creation. And this was the true Reaſon that made him now ſo inexorable to his Brother, who was very much troubled, and declined to move any Thing elſe in ſo unlucky a Seaſon, not without ſome Apprehenſion, from the King's quicker Way of Diſcourſe, that He had been prepared for it by the Chancellor, who though preſent had not ſpoke one Word in the Debate, nor indeed ever informed the King of the Conference his Highneſs had formerly held with him upon that Subject, nor ever ſpoken to him concerning it.

Which the King will not conſent to.

HOWEVER in this Perplexity as the Duke thought it neceſſary to inform Mr. *Coventry*, who had principally advanced this Pretence, all that had paſſed before the King, that his Nephew (for ſo Sir *George Savile* was) might ſee He could make no farther Progreſs in it; ſo in the Paſſion He unwarily told him all that had paſſed in the former Conference with the Chancellor, which He took Care ſhould not be concealed from any who were like to be willing to revenge it. And the Duke, to ſhew how willing He was to oblige the Family, immediately received a younger Brother of Sir *George Savile*, whom He had only ſeen in the *North*, to wait upon him in his Bedchamber; who being a young Man of Wit, and incredible Confidence and Preſumption, omitted no Occaſion to vent his Malice againſt the Chancellor, with a Licenſe that in former Times would have been very penal, though it had concerned a Perſon of a much inferiour Quality in the State.

WITHIN a ſhort Time after, the King told the Chancellor, "that his "Brother had deſired him that his Secretary Mr. *Coventry* might be ad- "mitted of the Privy Council, which He could not deny, but had pro- "miſed it ſhould be done at the next Meeting;" which was accordingly done, and He knighted: And quickly after, upon the like Deſire of the Duke, He was called to that Committee with which his Majeſty uſed to conſult his moſt ſecret Affairs. And from this Time there was an Alteration in the whole Carriage and Debate of all Manner of Buſineſs: And as the Chancellor had found his own Credit with the King much diminiſhed from the Time of the Lord *Arlington's* being Secretary; ſo a greater Decreaſe of it was now viſible to all Men from the Acceſs of this new Counſellor.

Mr. William Coventry *admitted of the Privy Council and the private Committee.*

THE Lord *Arlington* had not the Gift of ſpeaking nor of a quick Conception, and ſo rarely contradicted any Thing in Council: His Talent was in private, where He frequently procured, very inconveniently, Changes and

Alterations from publick Determinations. But Sir *William Coventry* (between whom and the other there was an entire Conjunction and Combination) was a Man of quick Parts and a ready Speaker, unreſtrained by any Modeſty or Submiſſion to the Age, Experience or Dignity of other Men, equally cenſorious of what had been done before He was a Counſellor, as ſolicitous in Contradiction of whatſoever was propoſed afterwards: Inſomuch as the very firſt Time that He was admitted to the private Committee, the Debate being about providing Money to be paid at a Day approaching to the Biſhop of *Munſter* according to the King's Obligation, He ſaid, "We "had Need enough of Money for our own immediate Occaſions; and "that We ought not to aſſign any to the Advancement of the Affairs of "other Men." Whereupon He was informed "of the Treaty the King "had entered into, and that the Biſhop was at that Time upon his March, "which was by every Body looked upon as of great Importance to his Ma-"jeſty:" To which He anſwered, "that He had heard Somewhat of it how "ſecretly ſoever it had been carried, and that He had never liked it from "the Beginning, nor would give his Conſent that any more Money ſhould "be paid towards it;" which the King himſelf looked upon as a rare Impudence.

Where He conſtantly oppoſes the Chancellor and Treaſurer.

His great Ambition was to be taken Notice of for oppoſing and contradicting whatſoever was propoſed or ſaid by the Chancellor or Treaſurer, towards whom all other Counſellors, how little ſoever They cared for their Perſons, had ever paid Reſpect in Regard of their Offices. He was a declared Enemy to all Lawyers, and to the Law itſelf; and any Thing paſſed under the great Seal of *England* was of no more Authority with him, than if it were the Scroll of a Scrivener. He had no Principles in Religion or State, of one Mind this Day and another To-morrow, and always very uneaſy to thoſe who were obliged to conſult with him; whoſe Pride and Inſolence will adminiſter frequent Occaſions of Mention throughout the enſuing Relation.

Succeſs of the Fleet after the Attempt at Bergen.

The King had not been many Days in *Oxford*, when News arrived that the Earl of *Sandwich* had been engaged in ſome Conflict with the *Dutch* Fleet; of the Particulars whereof there was a general Longing to be advertiſed. The Truth was, that whilſt the Earl rode, after the Buſineſs of *Bergen*, as near that Coaſt as was ſafe, in Expectation of the *Dutch* Fleet, the Winds, which are always tempeſtuous in that Seaſon of the Year, *September*, made it abſolutely neceſſary for him to remove with his whole Fleet to the Coaſt of *Scotland*, where there were Harbours enough for him to ride ſafe; and in this Interval of Time *De Ruyter* was paſſed by towards that of *Norway*. The News of their *Indian* Fleet having been attacked by the *Engliſh* in *Bergen*, and the Letters of ſome of their Officers, which implied as if They were not ſatisfied in the Security of the Port and of the Fidelity of the Governour, produced a wonderful Conſternation in *Holland*; and if They ſhould be deprived of that Wealth, the very Company of the *Eaſt-Indies* would be in Danger of being diſſolved.

The Fleet was ready to ſet Sail under the Command of *De Ruyter* well fitted and manned: But there were ſtill many Factions amongſt the Captains and other Officers, that might upon any Accidents produce many Miſchiefs; for the better Prevention whereof, the Penſionary *De Wit* was willing to venture his own Perſon, believing himſelf to be as ſecure any where as on Shore, if any Misfortune ſhould befall the Fleet. And ſo He was by a ſpecial Commiſſion made Plenipotentiary, with an ample Allowance for his Table, and a Guard of Halberdiers for the Safety of his Perſon,

ſon, with a good Train of Volunteers: And ſo He put himſelf on Board the Ship of *De Ruyter*, who received Orders from him.

THE Earl of *Sandwich*, after He had received Advertiſements of the *Dutch* Fleet's being paſſed by for *Norway*, took all the Care He could to put himſelf and his Fleet in the Way of their Return. They made a ſhort Stay on the Coaſt of *Norway*, where upon good Conſideration their Ships were diſmiſſed, and loud Clamour raiſed againſt the Hoſtility of the *Engliſh*. And notwithſtanding all the Vigilance the Earl could uſe, the Darkneſs and Length of the Nights ſo favoured them, that He could not engage their whole Fleet as He endeavoured to do: Yet He had the good Fortune in two Encounters to take eight of their great Ships of War, two of their beſt *Eaſt-India* Ships, and about twenty of their other Merchant-Ships, which were all under the Protection of their Fleet, or ought to have been. After which He was by Tempeſt driven to put the Fleet into Security in the *Engliſh* Harbours, it being already the Month of *October*.

Lord Sandwich *not able to come to an Engagement with* De Ruyter.

But takes many of his Ships in their Flight.

IT was a fair Booty, and came very opportunely to ſupply the preſent Neceſſities of the Navy, and to provide for the ſetting out of the next Fleet at Spring, and was in Truth gotten with very good Conduct, and without any conſiderable Damage: But it being much leſs than was expected (for whatſoever was upon the Sea was looked upon as our own), the News no ſooner arrived at *Oxford*, but Intelligence came with it of many Overſights which had been committed and Opportunities loſt, otherwiſe it had been eaſy to have taken the whole Fleet; and that it might have been purſued farther when it was in View, after thoſe *Eaſt-India* Ships were taken, which were indeed ſurpriſed and boarded at the Break of Day, when They thought themſelves in the Middle of their own Fleet. And it is as true that the Earl did then purſue to engage the Fleet, till They were got ſo near the *French* Shore, that the Wind blowing in to the Land, it was by all the Flag-Officers thought abſolutely neceſſary to give over the Chace.

SIR *William Coventry*, who had never paid a Civility to any worthy Man but as it was a Diſobligation to another whom He cared leſs for, and ſo had only contributed to the Preferment of the Earl of *Sandwich* in the laſt Expedition that He might croſs Prince *Rupert*, received much Intelligence from ſeveral Officers in the Fleet, which He ſcattered abroad to the Prejudice of the Earl, and was willing that it ſhould be believed that He had been too wary in avoiding Danger. But the King and the Duke were very juſt to the Earl, and diſcountenanced all thoſe Reports as Scandals and Calumnies: And the Duke, who had ſeen his Behaviour in the moſt dangerous Action, gave him a loud Teſtimony "of a prudent and brave Com-"mander, and as forward and bold in the Face of Danger as the Occaſion "required or Diſcretion permitted." And his Highneſs undertook "that "He had in all this Expedition done what a Man of Honour was obliged to "do," and was abundantly ſatisfied (as his Majeſty likewiſe was) with the rich Prizes He had brought home, which had cauſed equal Lamentation in *Holland*, and almoſt broke the Heart of *De Wit* himſelf. But what Succeſs ſoever the Earl had at Sea, it was his Misfortune to do an unadviſed Action when He came into the Harbour, that leſſened the King's own Eſteem of him, and to a great Degree irreconciled the Duke to him, and gave Opportunity to his Enemies to do him much Prejudice.

Sir W. Coventry's *unjuſt Reflections upon him.*

IT was a conſtant and a known Rule in the Admiralty, that of any Ship that is taken from the Enemy Bulk is not to be broken, till it be brought into the Port and adjudged lawful Prize. It ſeems that when the Fleet returned to the Harbour, the Flag-Officers petitioned or moved the

An imprudent Action of the Earl of Sandwich *after his Return.*

Earl of *Sandwich*, "in Regard of their having continued all the Summer "upon the Seas with great Fatigue, and been engaged in many Actions of "Danger, that He would diſtribute amongſt them ſome Reward out of the "*Indian* Ships;" which He thought reaſonable, and inclined to ſatisfy them, and writ a Letter to the Vice-Chamberlain to inform the King of it, and "that He thought it fit to be done;" to which the Vice-Chamberlain, having ſhewed the Letter to the King, returned his Majeſty's Approbation. But before the Anſwer came to his Hand He had executed the Deſign, and diſtributed as much of the coarſer Goods to the Flag-Officers, as by Eſtimation was valued to be one thouſand Pounds to each Officer, and took to the Value of two thouſand Pounds for himſelf. This ſuddenly made ſuch a Noiſe and Outcry, as if all the *Indian* and other Merchant-Ships had been plundered by the Seamen: And They again cried out as much, that no Care was taken of them, but all given to the Flag-Officers; which the other Captains thought to be an Injury to them.

Which the General repreſents in the worſt Light.

The General (who had Nothing like Kindneſs for the Earl of *Sandwich*, whoſe Service He thought had been too much conſidered and recompenſed by the King at his Arrival) had Notice of it before it came to *Oxford*; and according to his univerſal Care (which was afterwards found to proceed from private Animoſity) ſent Orders to all the Port Towns to ſeize upon Goods which were brought in Shallops from the Fleet; and gave Advertiſement to *Oxford* of the extraordinary ill Conſequence of that Action, and "that it would ſpoil the Sale of all that remained of thoſe Ships, "ſince the *Eaſt-India* Company, which probably would have been the beſt "Chapmen, would not now be forward to buy, ſince ſo much was diſpoſed "of already to other Hands as would ſpoil their Market." And by this Time the Earl himſelf had given an Account of all that had been done, and the Motives, to the Duke. The King was juſtly diſpleaſed for the Expedition He had uſed, "why had his Approbation been deſired, when "He reſolved to do the Thing before He could receive an Anſwer?" yet was glad that He had done ſo, becauſe He would have been more excuſeable if He had received it.

The King offended with the Earl.

The Duke inenſed againſt him.

But the Duke, who had been conſtantly kind to the Earl, was offended in the higheſt Degree, and thought himſelf injured and affronted beyond any Precedent. "This moſt unjuſtifiable Action could proceed only from "two Fountains: The one of extreme Vanity and Ambition, to make "himſelf popular amongſt the Officers of the Fleet, who ought not to have "been gratified by him at the King's Charge. When any ſuch Bounty ſhould "be ſeaſonable, it was the Duke's Province to have been the Author, and the "Conduit to have conveyed it: He had himſelf been an Eyewitneſs of their "Behaviour in the greateſt Action; and for the Earl to aſſume the rewarding them by his own Authority was to defraud and rob him of his proper "Right and Juriſdiction." And He looked upon his having deſired the King's Allowance by the Vice-Chamberlain, as a Trick and an Aggravation; for He ought to have aſked his Advice as his ſuperiour Officer: And the poor Vice-Chamberlain underwent his Share in the Reproach, for having preſumed to move the King in a Particular that, if it was to be moved at all, had been to be moved by the Duke. "The other Fountain which might "produce this Preſumption might be Avarice," which was the ſole Blemiſh (though it never appeared in any groſs Inſtance) that ſeemed to cloud many noble Virtues in that Earl, who now became a very pregnant Evidence of the irreſiſtible Strength and Power of Envy; which though it feeds on its own Poiſon, and is naturally more grievous to the Perſon who harbours it

than to him that is maligned, yet when it finds a Subject it can effectually work upon, it is more insatiable in Revenge than any Passion the Soul is liable unto.

Character of the Earl of Sandwich.

HE was a Gentleman of so excellent a Temper and Behaviour that He could make himself no Enemies; of so many good Qualities, and so easy to live with, that He marvellously reconciled the Minds of all Men to him, who had not Intimacy enough with him to admire his other Parts: Yet was in the general Inclinations of Men upon some Disadvantage. They who had constantly followed the King whilst He as constantly adhered to *Cromwell*, and knew not how early He had entertained Repentance, and with what Hazards and Dangers He had manifested it, did believe the King had been too prodigal in heaping so many Honours upon him. And They who had been familiar with him and of the same Party, and thought They had been as active as He in contributing to the Revolution, considered him with some Anger, as one who had better Luck than They without more Merit, and who had made early Conditions: When in Truth no Man in the Kingdom had been less guilty of that Address; nor did He ever contribute to any Advancement to which He arrived, by the least Intimation or Insinuation that He wished it, or that it would be acceptable to him. Yet upon this Blast the Winds rose from all Quarters, Reproaches of all Sorts were cast upon him, and all Affronts contrived for him.

He is very injuriously treated.

THE Earl had conveyed that Part of the Goods which He had assigned to himself in a Shallop to *Lynn*, from whence it could pass by Water to his own House. An Officer in that Port seized upon it by Virtue of the General's Warrant, and would cause it presently to be unladen, which He began to do. But the Servants of the Earl appealed to the other Officers in equal Authority, to whom They brought a Letter with them from the Earl of *Sandwich*, in which He owned all those Goods to be his (amongst which were his Bedding and Furniture for his Cabin, and all his Plate and other Things suitable), and likewise a Note of all the other Goods which might be liable to pay Custom; and desired them "to send one "of their Searchers with the Boat to his House, where He should receive all "their Dues, without being unladen in the Port;" which, besides the Delay, would be liable to many Inconveniences. The Officer who had first arrested it, and who had Dependance upon a great Man of the Country, who was not unwilling that any Affront should be put upon the Earl, roughly refused to suffer it to pass without being first unladen; but being over-ruled by the other Officers, vented his Anger in very unmannerly Language against the Earl: Of all which He, being advertised by his Servants, sent a Complaint to the Lords of the Council, and desired "the "Fellow might be sent for and punished;" which could not be refused, though it proved troublesome in the Inquiry. For the Officer, who was a Gentleman of a fair Behaviour and good Repute, denied all those Words which carried in them the worst Interpretation; but justified the Action, and produced the General's Warrant, which had unusual Expressions, and apparent enough to have a particular and not a general Intention.

THE General had quick Advertisement of it, and writ very passionately from *London*, "that an Officer should be sent for without having committed "any other Offence than in obeying and executing a Warrant of his:" And the other great Man, who was of great Importance to the King's Service and in the highest Trust in that Country, writ several Letters "how impos-"sible it would be to carry on the King's Service in that Country, if that "Officer should be punished for doing that, when He ought to be pu-

"niſhed if He had not done it;" and therefore deſired, "that He might "be repaired by them who had cauſed him to be ſent for."

Sir *William Coventry* had now full Sea-Room to give Vent to all his Paſſions, and to incenſe the Duke, who was enough offended without ſuch Contributions: "If this proceeded from Covetouſneſs, it was not probable "that it would be ſatisfied with ſo little; and therefore it was probable, that "though the Officers might not have received above the Value of one thou- "ſand Pounds," which was aſſigned to each, "yet himſelf would not be "contented with ſo little as two thouſand; and They might therefore well "conceive that He had taken much more, which ought to be examined "with the greateſt Strictneſs." There had been Nothing ſaid before of not taking Advantage enough upon the Enemy in all Occaſions which had been offered, and of not purſuing them far enough, which was not now renewed, with Advice "that He might be preſently ſent for;" though it was known that, as ſoon as He could put the Ships into the Ports to which they were deſigned, He would come to *Oxford*. And there were great underhand Endeavours, that the Houſe of Commons might be inflamed with this Miſcarriage and Miſdemeanor, and preſent it as a Complaint to the Houſe of Peers, as fit to be examined and brought to Judgment before that Tribunal. And They, who with all the Malice imaginable did endeavour in vain to kindle this Fire, perſuaded the King and the Duke, "that by "their ſole Activity and Intereſt it was prevented for that Time, becauſe "the Seſſion was too ſhort, and that all neceſſary Evidence could not be "ſoon produced at *Oxford*; but that, as ſoon as the Plague ſhould ceaſe to "ſuch a Degree in *London* that the Parliament might aſſemble there, it "would be impoſſible to reſtrain the Houſe of Commons from purſuing "that Complaint," of which Nobody thought but themſelves and They who were provoked by them.

The Earl of *Sandwich* had ſo good Intelligence from *Oxford*, that He knew all that was ſaid of him, and began to believe that He had done unadviſedly in adminiſtering Occaſion of ſpeaking ill to thoſe who greedily ſought for it: And as ſoon as his Abſence from the Fleet could be diſpenſed with, He made Haſte to *Oxford*, and gave ſo full an Account of every Day's Action, from the Time that He went to Sea to the Day of his Return, and of his having never done any Thing of Importance, nor having left any Thing undone, but with and by the Advice of the Council of War, upon the Orders He had received, that both the King and the Duke could not but abſolve him from all the Imputations of Negligence or Inadvertency.

He fully clears himſelf of the Charge of Miſconduct at Sea.

But for the breaking Bulk and the Circumſtances that attended it, They declared They were unſatisfied. And He confeſſed "that He had been "much to blame," and aſked Pardon, and with ſuch Excuſes as He thought might in ſome Degree plead for him. He proteſted, "it ſeemed to him to have "had ſome Neceſſity: That the whole Fleet was in a general Indiſpoſition, "and complained that for all that Summer Action" (which indeed had been full of Merit) "They had Nothing given to them, not without ſome mut- "tering that They would have Somewhat out of thoſe *India* Ships before "They would part with them; inſomuch as He had a real Apprehenſion "that They had a Purpoſe to plunder them. And He ſhould have feared "more, if He had not complied with the Flag-Officers Importunity: And "thereupon He conſented that They ſhould have each of them the Value of "one thouſand Pounds, and which He was moſt confident the Goods which "had been delivered to them did not exceed." He confeſſed "He had not "enough conſidered the Conſequence, and that They who had not re-

And makes an ingenuous Acknowledgement of his Imprudence.

"ceived

"ceived any Donative would be more diſpleaſed, than They who had it "were ſatisfied with it; which He acknowledged was the Caſe: That He "was heartily ſorry for permitting any ſuch Thing to be done, and more for "having taken any himſelf, and humbly aſked Pardon for Both; and deſired "that his own Part, which remained entire, might be reſtored to the Ship "from whence it had been taken, which He would cauſe to be done."

A MORE ingenuous Acknowledgement could not be made: And They who could not but obſerve many Perſons every Day excuſed for more enormous Tranſgreſſions, did hope that He, who had ſo few Faults to anſwer for, would have been abſolved for that Treſpaſs. And the King himſelf uſed him very graciouſly, and ſo did the Duke; and He was ſent back to the Fleet, to give Order for the ſending out a Winter-Guard and ordering all other maritime Affairs, and for the ſending up the *Indian* Ships into the River, with great Care that none of the Seamen ſhould go on Shore, where the Plague ſtill raged little if at all leſs than it had done in the Summer: And ſo He himſelf and moſt other Men believed and were glad, that an ill Buſineſs was ſo well compoſed. But Sir *William* did not intend that it ſhould end there.

With which the King is ſatisfied.

THE preſent Buſineſs, that muſt admit no Interruption, was the raiſing what Money might be to ſupply the preſent Neceſſities of the Fleet, to pay the Seamen, and to make all Preparations to ſet out the Fleet againſt the Spring, when the *French* Ships would be infallibly ready to join with the *Dutch*; and the Money that was given by the Parliament would not be paid till long after; and the Affairs of the Bankers were in ſuch Diſorder by the Death of Servants, and the Plague having been in ſome of their Houſes, that the uſual Courſe of advancing Moneys by Aſſignations could not be depended upon. The General had written to the Lord Treaſurer, "that He thought that there could not be ſo good Chapmen for thoſe Ships "as the *Eaſt-India* Company, ſome whereof had been with him to know the "King's Pleaſure; and if Authority were granted to any Men to treat "upon that Affair, They would ſend for Members enough of their Com-"pany, who were diſperſed in the Country, to be preſent at a Court, "which would authoriſe a Committee to treat and contract with them:" And He ſaid, "that He was confident that Half the Money would be paid "upon the making the Bargain." The King was no ſooner advertiſed of this Overture, than He ſent Sir *George Carteret* and Mr. *Aſhburnham* to *London* to confer with the General and to be adviſed by him, and granted Authority to them three to ſell thoſe two Prizes to thoſe who would give moſt. And They found no Overtures to be ſo advantageous as thoſe which were made by that Company: And yet They made ſo much Uſe of the Advantage of the Time, when all Men of notorious Wealth were out of the Town, that They thought not fit to make any Agreement till They gave the King an Account of the whole Tranſaction, with their Opinions upon Conference with other Men of Buſineſs; and to that Purpoſe the two Perſons who had been ſent to the General returned ſafe to *Oxford*.

The East India Prizes ſold for the Service of the War.

IT hath been mentioned before, that it was thought a great Preſumption in any Body to preſume to interpoſe in the maritime Affairs, which was interpreted to be an Invaſion of the Duke's peculiar Province; and by this Means the Credit of Sir *William Coventry* was ſo abſolute, that the Diſpoſal of all was in his Power. He had perſuaded the Duke, and the Lord *Arlington* who was in firm Conjunction with him had prevailed with the King to believe, "that the Houſe of Commons was ſo incenſed againſt the "Lord *Sandwich* for his late Preſumption, that it would not be poſſible "to

The King perſuaded to remove Lord Sandwich from the Command of the Fleet.

"to hinder them in their next aſſembling" (which was appointed or reſolved to be in *April*, if it pleaſed God to extinguiſh the Sickneſs) "from "falling very ſeverely upon the Earl of *Sandwich*, which would be a very "great Diſhonour to the King if He were at that Time in the Command "of the Fleet, and that there was no Way to preſerve him" (for that was their Method when They had a Mind to ruin a Man, to pretend a great Care that He might not be undone) "but by diſmiſſing him from that "Charge, which probably might preſerve him from being further queſtioned, "ſince it would be interpreted a Puniſhment inflicted on him by the King "for his Crime, and ſo might ſtop him from being further proſecuted for "the ſame Offence." To which They added, "that it would be neceſ-"ſary in another Reſpect; for that many of the Officers as well as com-"mon Seamen had opened their Mouths very wide againſt him, eſpecially "after it was generally known that the King and the Duke were offended "with him, and had not been at all reſerved in charging him with ſeveral "Reproaches: And that if the ſame Command were ſtill continued in him, "it could not be preſumed that thoſe Men would ever put themſelves un-"der his Command whom They had ſo much provoked."

THESE Arguments urged by Men who were not known, at leaſt by the King and Duke, to be his Enemies, and one of them thought to be (and in Truth was but for his Conjunction with the other) his Friend, and to wiſh him very well, prevailed upon the Judgments of Both of them; inſomuch as They reſolved to confer with the Chancellor, whom They knew to be much the Earl's Friend. And They Both expreſſed "very much "Kindneſs to and Confidence in the Affection and Integrity and Courage "of the Earl of *Sandwich*, though He was to be blamed for his late Indiſ-"cretion, and a Reſolution with their utmoſt Power to defend him from "undergoing any Diſgrace by it: But that it would contribute moſt to his "Preſervation, that He quitted the Employment, and that ſome other Per-"ſons ſhould be ſent to command the next Fleet in the Spring. For if He "ſhould again go to Sea, and the Parliament ſhould preſs to have him ſent "for to anſwer what They had to object againſt him, his Majeſty muſt "either refuſe to conſent to it, which would make a Breach with his Par-"liament, or by conſenting diſorder his maritime Affairs to that Degree, "that the Enemy could not but take very great Advantage of it." Therefore They commanded the Chancellor to confer with him and diſcourſe the whole Matter to him, to aſſure him "of the King's and Duke's Fa-"vour, and that They were in this Particular moved only by their Tender-"neſs to him; and that ſome Expedient ſhould be firſt found out to re-"move him with Honour, before any Notice ſhould be taken of the Pur-"poſe to remove him, and before any other Perſon ſhould be deputed to "the Command; and that He himſelf ſhould either propoſe the Expedient, "if any ſuch occurred to him that would be grateful, or judge of any that "ſhould be propoſed to him."

The King reſolves to diſmiſs him with Honour.

THE Chancellor did preſume to declare, "that He thought that They "were perſuaded to apprehend Somewhat that could not fall out. That "He would not take upon him to excuſe the Earl of *Sandwich* for any Of-"fence He had committed: If it were of that Magnitude that his Majeſty "thought fit to remove him from his Command, Nobody could cenſure it; "and it may be in a Time of ſo much Licenſe the Severity might be "thought ſeaſonable. But the Apprehenſion that the Parliament would "take more Notice of what the Earl had done, than They would of any "other Breach of Order that was every Day committed, was without any

The Chancellor againſt removing him.

"juſt Reaſon." But that Argument was preſently ſilenced by their undertaking to know Somewhat that the other could not do, and that there was no other Way to preſerve him but that which was propoſed.

THERE was at that Time an Opportunity in View, that might give the Earl of *Sandwich* an Employment very worthy of him, and which no Man could imagine would be aſſigned to any Man who was in Diſgrace. Sir *Richard Fanſhaw*, who was a Gentleman very well known and very well beloved, had been firſt Ambaſſadour in *Portugal*, and had behaved himſelf ſo well there, that when He returned from thence He was recommended, and upon the Matter deſired, by that Crown to be ſent to *Spain*, as the fitteſt Perſon to mediate in the King's Name between *Spain* and *Portugal*; and the King had before deſigned to ſend him Ambaſſadour into *Spain*, as well to ſettle a Treaty between *England* and *Spain* (for there was none yet), as to do all the Offices between thoſe other Crowns which were requiſite to the End aforeſaid. No Man knew that Court better or was ſo well verſed in the Language, having lived many Years before in that Court in much better Times. He had remained now about two Years, with ſuch frequent Mortifications as Miniſters uſe to meet with in Courts irreſolute and perplexed in their own Affairs, as the Counſels of *Madrid* were in the laſt Years of the King, as his Indiſpoſition increaſed or by relaxing adminiſtered ſome Hope. He had made a Journey to *Liſbon* upon the earneſt Deſire of *Spain*, and returned without Effect. The Peace was equally deſired and equally neceſſary to Both Nations: But the *Portugal* was unmoveable in the Conditions of it, preferring the Worſt that could fall out, even the abandoning their Country, rather than to be without the Sovereignty of it; and the *Spaniard* as poſitive not to part with their Title, though They had no Hope of their Subjection. Nor did *Spain* appear ſolicitous to conclude any Treaty with *England*, except either *Portugal* might be comprehended in it or abandoned by it.

An Account of Sir Richard Fanſhaw's *Embaſſy in* Spain.

ON a ſudden, when the Recovery of the King grew more deſperate (which is never a Thing notoriouſly known in that Court), a Project for a Treaty was ſent to the Ambaſſadour, containing more Advantages in Trade to the Nation (which are the moſt important Matters in all thoſe Treaties), and inſiſting upon fewer inconvenient Conditions, than had ever been in any former Treaties; without any Mention of *Tangier* or *Jamaica*, which had hitherto in the Entrance into any Treaty ſince the King's Return made the Progreſs impoſſible: Only it was urged, "that it might either be preſently "accepted and ſigned by the Ambaſſadour, with a Covenant that it ſhould "be confirmed by the King within ſo many Days after it ſhould be pre-"ſented to him, or elſe that there ſhould be no more Mention or Diſ-"courſe of it."

THE Ambaſſadour, ſurpriſed with this Overture, compared what was offered with what He was to demand by his Inſtructions; and what was defective in thoſe Particulars He added to the Articles preſented to him, with ſuch Additions as upon his own Obſervation and Conference with the Merchants occurred to him, or which ſeemed probable to be granted from Somewhat themſelves had offered more than had been demanded by him. Theſe Alterations and Amendments were approved and conſented to, and quickly returned engroſſed and ſigned by the King, on Condition to be preſently ſigned by him, with the Undertaking that is formerly mentioned. It had been wiſely done by the Ambaſſadour, and no more than his Duty, if He had firſt acquainted his Maſter or the Miniſters with all that had paſſed, and expected a particular Order before He had ſigned it. But that being expreſſly refuſed,

without concealing the Reaſon or the King's Weakneſs, "which" They declared "might make ſuch an Alteration in Counſels, that if it were not done "in his Life-Time They knew not what might happen after:" This was thought as good an Argument by him for the Diſpatch as it was to them; and that if He ſhould not make Uſe of this Conjuncture, there would never be the like advantageous Treaty offered again. Hereupon He preſently ſigned the Treaty, with ſome ſecret Article which was not to the Advantage of *Portugal*, otherwiſe than that He concluded, by what had been ſaid to him at *Liſbon*, it would have been acceptable to them.

THIS Treaty was no ſooner brought to the King by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour (who had received it by an Expreſs) and peruſed at the Council-Table, but many groſs Faults were found to be in it. Beſides the Gentleman's Abſence, who would with greater Abilites have defended himſelf than any of thoſe had who reproached him, it was no Advantage to him that He was known to be much in the Chancellor's Confidence: And therefore the more Pain was taken to perſuade the King that He was a weak Man (which the King himſelf knew him not to be); and They put ſuch a Gloſs upon many of the Articles, and rejected others as unprofitable which were thought to contain Matters of great Moment, that They would not conſent that a Trade to the *Weſt-Indies* could be any Benefit to *England*, and the like. In the End, the King concluded that He would not ſign the Treaty; for which He had ſome Acceſs of Reaſon within a Month after, by the Death of the King of *Spain*.

He is recalled. WHEN all theſe Reproaches were caſt upon the Ambaſſadour, and Notice given that the King did diſavow the Treaty and refuſed to ſign it; it was reaſonably reſolved that He ought not to remain there longer as Ambaſſadour, but to be recalled. But the Plague driving the King from *London* and diſperſing the Council, the purſuing this Reſolution was no more aſſumed, till the Buſineſs of the Earl of *Sandwich* made it thought on as a good Expedient; and the Chancellor was directed in his Diſcourſe with the Earl to mention it, as a proper Expedient in his Condition to be laid Hold on and embraced.

THE Chancellor entered upon the whole Diſcourſe with that Freedom and Openneſs that became a Man who He knew was not ſuſpected by him. He told him all that himſelf knew of the Affair, and the Apprehenſion the King had of the Parliament, and the Expedient He had thought of to remove him out of the Reach or Noiſe of Clamour, of which He made him the Judge; and "if He did not like this Employment "for *Spain*, ſome other ſhould be thought of and publiſhed before it ſhould "be known, and before the Command of the Fleet ſhould be committed to "any other."

THE Earl of *Sandwich* lamented "that it had been in any Body's Power "to make ſo ill Impreſſions in the King and the Duke, upon his having "committed a Treſpaſs for which He was heartily ſorry;" and confeſſed "it was a Preſumption and Indiſcretion, the ill Conſequence whereof He "had not had Wit enough to diſcover: However He did not yet think it ſo "great, as to make him fear to give an Account of it before the Parliament, or any Thing that They could do upon it." He ſeemed not to be ignorant of the Offices Sir *William Coventry* did him, "in drawing Com-"plaints and Reproaches from thoſe who had neither Cauſe nor Inclination "to ſpeak to his Diſadvantage. He was ſenſible of the General's Want of "Juſtice towards him, which He knew not to what to impute but to "his Pride and Weakneſs. He did acknowledge it great Bounty in the "King,

"King, since He thought him unfit and unworthy to continue in the Com-
"mand He had, that He would yet assign him to so honourable an Em-
"ployment; which, though it could not wipe off the Reproach of being
"dismissed from the other Charge, was yet a sufficient Evidence that He
"was not out of his Majesty's good Opinion and Confidence: And there-
"fore He did with all Cheerfulness submit to his Majesty's Pleasure, and
"would be ready for his Journey to *Spain* as soon as his Dispatch should be
"prepared."

HE told him then, "that He was in one Respect glad to be removed
"from his present Command, for He was confident that He would see no
"more great Matters done at Sea, for that the common Men were weary of
"the War; and that Sir *William* would never suffer any Peace to be in the
"Fleet, but had Creatures ready to do all ill Offices amongst them, whom
"He cherished and preferred before the best Officers;" and told him many other Things which fell out afterwards, and said "Sir *William* would make
"any Man who should succeed him weary of his Command, by sending
"such Variety of Orders that He would not know what to do." And shortly after He gave him a perfect Journal of his last Expedition, in which there were indeed many Orders which must needs startle and perplex a Commander in Chief, it being his usual Course to signify the Duke's Pleasure in Matters of the greatest Importance without the Duke's Hand; which yet They durst not disobey, nor produce in their own Justification, being such as in Truth were no such Warrants as They ought to obey, and yet would reflect upon his Royal Highness: And told him likewise of the ill Inventions He had set on Foot, by which Prince *Rupert* was stopped from being joined with him in the Command of the last Fleet.

The Earl of Sandwich sent Ambassadour Extraordinary into Spain.

WHEN the Chancellor had informed the King of the Earl of *Sandwich* his Submission to his Pleasure, and that He would be ready to undertake the Employment for *Spain* as soon as his Majesty pleased; hereupon the King declared his Resolution in Council to send the Earl of *Sandwich* his Extraordinary Ambassadour, as well to correct and amend the Mistakes and Errours in the late Treaty, as farther to mediate the Peace with *Portugal*, which upon the Death of the King was in some Respect more practicable. And to that Purpose He sent Sir *Robert Southwell*, one of the Clerks of the Council, Envoy into *Portugal*, that the Earl might the better know the Inclinations of that People: And all Instructions necessary were presently to be prepared to Both those Ends.

The King thinks of appointing Prince Rupert and the General joint Admirals.

THIS first Work being thus dispatched, it remained to settle the Command, for the ensuing Year, of the Fleet; and there can be little Doubt made, but that the King and the Duke had resolved this at the same Time that They determined that the Earl of *Sandwich* should not continue in it: However it was communicated to Nobody, till the Designation of the other was published. Then the King told the Chancellor, "that his Bro-
"ther and He had long considered that Affair, and could not think of any
"Expedient so good for the Performance of that Service, as a Conjunction
"between Prince *Rupert* and the General, and making them Both joint Com-
"manders in Chief of the Fleet for the next Expedition." There had many Exceptions occurred to them against committing the Charge to either of them singly; nor were They without Apprehension of some which might fall out by joining them together, which would be much greater, if They were not Both well prepared to embrace the Occasion, and themselves to like the Designation. For the doing this the Chancellor was again thought to be the fittest Man, being believed to have the greatest Interest in Both of them,

and moſt in him from whom the greateſt Difficulties were expected to ariſe, which was Prince *Rupert*. It was eaſy to know Prince *Rupert's* Mind, who was in the Houſe: Yet They were Both in Caſes of that Nature deſirous always to impart what They deſired by others, rather than to debate it firſt themſelves. But then the General was at *London*, beſieged by the Plague; and the Matter was not fit to be communicated by Letter, becauſe, if He ſhould make any Scruple of concurring in it, it was to be declined.

Prince Rupert *willingly accepts of a joint Commiſſion.*

Upon theſe Conſiderations it was reſolved, firſt, that the Chancellor ſhould prepare Prince *Rupert*, and then that the General ſhould be ſent for to *Oxford* upon Pretences, of which enough would occur. The Prince, though He was much more willing to have gone alone, willingly conformed to the King's Pleaſure: And ſo both the King and Duke ſpake at large with him upon all that was neceſſary to be adjuſted. And the General was ſent to, "that it was neceſſary for the King to confer with him upon ſome "Propoſitions, which were made to him upon the *Eaſt-India* Ships" (which Tranſaction was not at that Time yet concluded); "and therefore that on "ſuch a Day He ſhould come from *London* early in the Morning" (for it was deep Winter) "in his own Coach to *Beaconsfield*, where He ſhould "find another Coach ready to receive him, and another at another Stage; "ſo that He might be with Eaſe at *Oxford* the ſame Night," as He was, and very graciouſly received by the King, as He deſerved to be. But as He had no Manner of Imagination of the true Reaſon why He was ſent for, ſo neither his Majeſty nor the Duke would impart it to him, out of real Imagination that it would not be grateful to him; but that was left to be imparted and dexterouſly managed by the Chancellor, in whom, as was ſaid before, it was generally believed that He had great Confidence.

The Chancellor confers with the General upon the Subject.

He the next Morning entered into Conference with him, and after general Diſcourſes told him, "that the King had diſpoſed the Earl of *Sandwich* to "another Employment, for which He did not ſeem ſorry; and that it "muſt be now thought of, who was fit to command in his Place: That there "was no Hope of Peace, inſtead whereof there would be an entire Con-"junction between *France* and the *Dutch*; and that the *French* Fleet" (the Ambaſſadours being about this Time gone) "would be ready to join with them "as ſoon as They ſhould put to Sea; and there was much Doubt that the *Dane* "would betake himſelf to the ſame Alliance; and all would be at Sea before "We ſhould be, except extraordinary Diligence were uſed, which the Con-"tinuance of the Plague would hardly admit." The General preſently anſwered, "that no Perſon was ſo fit for that Command as Prince *Rupert*, "who underſtood the Seas well, and had that Courage that was neceſſary "in this Conjuncture."

The Chancellor told him, "that the King had great Confidence in the "Affection and unqueſtionable Courage of Prince *Rupert*: But He was not "ſure, that the Quickneſs of his Spirit and the Strength of his Paſſion might "not ſometimes ſtand in Need of the Advice and Aſſiſtance of a Friend, who "ſhould be in equal Authority with him; and had therefore thought of find-"ing ſome fit Perſon to be joined with him, and ſo make one Admiral of two "Perſons." To which the other not replying ſuddenly, He continued his Diſcourſe, ſaying "that the King had ſuch a Perſon in his View, whom "He would never acquaint with it, until He might find ſome Way to "diſcover that the propoſing it would not be ingrateful to him; and "that He was obliged to make this Diſcovery, and that the Perſon in the "King's View was himſelf; and that if He and Prince *Rupert* were joined

"in the Command of the Fleet and undertook it, his Majeſty would be-
"lieve that He had done all that was in his Power, and would with great
"Hope commit all the reſt to God Almighty." He ſaid, "He thought
"He had behaved himſelf moſt like a Friend in telling him ſhortly and
"plainly what the King's Drift was, towards which, though the Secret
"was known to none but the Duke of *York*, yet ſuch an Advance was
"made, that his Majeſty was well aſſured that Prince *Rupert* would readily
"comply with his Pleaſure." Upon the whole Matter He deſired him "to
"deal as like a Friend with him, and to tell him freely if He had no Mind
"to the Employment; and He would take upon him to prevent the making
"the Propoſition to him, and that neither the King nor Duke ſhould take
"it unkindly."

THE General appeared really ſurpriſed and full of Thoughts: And after a ſhort Pauſe He deſired him "not to believe that He made the leaſt Difficulty "in his Thoughts of undertaking the Service; but many Things had oc-"curred to him in the Diſcourſe, which He would mention anon." He ſaid, "that for his own Part He ſhould be willing to go out of *London* To-mor-"row, and think himſelf much ſafer in any Action againſt the *Dutch* than "He could be in the Poſt He was, where every Day Men died about him "and in his View; and as He thought that He had done the King better "Service by ſtaying in *London*, than He could have done in any other Place, "ſo He believed if the Sickneſs ſhould continue" (as it was like enough to do, there appearing yet very little Decreaſe), "his Majeſty might think that "his Preſence might be as neceſſary there as it had been." The Chan-cellor replied, "that his Majeſty had foreſeen that Contingency; and had "already reſolved that if that fell out to be the Caſe, He ſhould rather de-"ſire his Reſidence ſhould be where it had been (though He was much "troubled to expoſe him to ſo much Hazard) than in any other Place: "But that his Majeſty's Confidence in the Mercy of God, that He would "take off this heavy Viſitation before the End of Winter, had ſuggeſted "the other Deſignation of him to the Service of the Fleet, upon the good "Conduct whereof his own and the Kingdom's Happineſs ſo much de-"pended."

THE General quickly replied, "that for that Matter He was ſo willing *The General ſubmits to the King's Plea-ſure.* "to engage himſelf, that if the King pleaſed He would moſt readily ſerve "under the Command of Prince *Rupert*:" To which the other anſwered as readily, "that the King would never conſent to that." And ſo They reſolved preſently to go to the King, that his Majeſty and the Duke might know what would pleaſe them ſo much. And as They were going, the General ſaid ſmiling, "that He would tell him now what the true Cauſe "was, that had made that Pauſe in him upon the firſt Diſcourſe of the "Buſineſs; and that it would be neceſſary for him, after all Things ſhould "be adjuſted with the King and Duke and Prince *Rupert*, that what con-"cerned him ſhould ſtill remain a Secret, and Prince *Rupert* be underſtood "to have that Command alone. For if his Wife ſhould come to know it, "before He had by Degrees prepared her for it, She would break out into "ſuch Paſſions as would be very uneaſy to him: But He would in a ſhort "Time diſpoſe her well enough; and in the mean Time Nothing ſhould "be omitted on his Part, that was neceſſary for the Advancement of the "Service." Hereupon the King, the Duke, the Prince and the Ge-neral conſulted of all that was to be done: And He at the End of two Days returned to *London* with the ſame Expedition that He came to *Ox-ford*, together with Sir *George Carteret* the Treaſurer of the Navy, and all

Orders that were requiſite for the Sale of the *Eaſt-India* Ships, upon which all Proviſions for the Fleet were to be made.

THOUGH the Parliament at *Oxford* had preſerved that excellent Harmony that the King had propoſed, and hardly wiſhed any Thing in which They had not concurred, inſomuch as never Parliament ſo entirely ſympathiſed with his Majeſty; and though it paſſed more Acts for his Honour and Security than any other had ever done in ſo ſhort a Seſſion: Yet it produced a Precedent of a very unhappy Nature, the Circumſtances whereof in the preſent were unuſual and pernicious, and the Conſequences in the future very miſchievous, and therefore not unfit to be ſet out at large.

An Attempt to remove the Treaſurer.

THE Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry*, cloſely united in the ſame Purpoſes and eſpecially againſt the Chancellor, had a great Deſire to find ſome Means to change the Courſe and Method of the King's Counſels; which They could hardly do whilſt the ſame Perſons continued ſtill in the ſame Employments. Their Malice was moſt againſt the Chancellor: Yet They knew not what Suggeſtions to make to the King againſt him, having always pretended to his Majeſty, how falſely ſoever, to have a great Eſteem of him. Their Project therefore was to remove the Treaſurer, who was as weary of his Office and of the Court as any Body could be of him: But his Reputation was ſo great, his Wiſdom ſo unqueſtionable, and his Integrity ſo confeſſed, that They knew in neither of thoſe Points He could be impeached. And the King himſelf had Kindneſs and Reverence towards him, though He had for ſome Years thought him leſs active, and ſo leſs fit for that Adminiſtration, than every Body elſe knew him to be: And theſe Men had long inſinuated unto his Majeſty, "how ill all the Buſineſs of the "Exchequer was managed by the continual Infirmities of the Treaſurer, "who between the Gout and the Stone had not Eaſe enough to attend the "painful Function of that Office, but left the Whole to be managed and "governed by his Secretary Sir *Philip Warwick*;" upon whoſe Experience and Fidelity He did in Truth much rely, as He had Reaſon to do, his Reputation for Both being very ſignal and univerſal. And towards faſtening this Reproach They had the Contribution of the Lord *Aſhley*, who was good at looking into other Mens Offices, and was not pleaſed to ſee Sir *Philip Warwick's* Credit greater than his with the Treaſurer, and his Advice more followed. And the other two had craftily inſinuated to him, that He would make much a better Treaſurer; which, whilſt He thought They were in Earneſt, prevailed with him not only to ſuggeſt Materials to them for that Reproach, but to inculcate the ſame to the King upon ſeveral Occaſions: But when He diſcovered that They intended Nothing of Advantage to his Particular, He withdrew from that Intrigue, though in all other Particulars He ſided with them.

THE King was too eaſy in making Aſſignations upon his Revenue, which would make it uncapable to ſatisfy others which were more neceſſary, and to grant Suits by Leaſe or Farm (ſometimes to worthy Men), which were of miſchievous Conſequence to all the Meaſures which could be taken; and thoſe the Treaſurer found himſelf obliged to ſtop: And commonly upon informing the King of it and of his Reaſons, his Majeſty was very well pleaſed with what He had done, and (as hath been ſaid before) did often give himſelf Eaſe from the Importunity of many, by ſigning the Warrants They brought to him, in Confidence that either the Chancellor or Treaſurer would not ſuffer them to paſs. However it raiſed Clamour; and there were Men enough who had the ſame Provocation to make a great Noiſe; and They eaſily found Countenance from others, who deſired it

ſhould be believed, "that it was a high Arrogance and Preſumption in any "Subject to ſtop any Signature of the King, and ſo make his Majeſty's "Grace and Bounty to be ineffectual, if his Approbation and Conſent was "not likewiſe procured." There was viſibly great Want of Money, though there were vaſt Sums raiſed; which They laboured to perſuade the King proceeded from the Unſkilfulneſs or Unactivity of the Treaſurer, who was again tired with the Vexation and Indignity, when He had ſo frequently preſented the King with the Particulars of the Receipts and Diſburſements, and made it demonſtrable how much his Expenſes exceeded all his Income; and how impoſſible it would be, without leſſening theſe, to provide wherewithal to ſupply neceſſary Occaſions: But this was an ungracious Subject, and opened more Mouths than could eaſily be ſtopped.

THERE was a Man who hath been often named, Sir *George Downing*, who by having been ſome Years in the Office of one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, and being of a reſtleſs Brain, did underſtand enough of the Nature of the Revenue and of the Courſe of the Receipt, to make others who underſtood leſs of it to think that He knew the Bottom of it, and that the Expedients, which ſhould be propoſed by him towards a Reformation, could not but be very pertinent and practicable. And He was not unhurt in the Emoluments of his own Office, which were leſſened by the Aſſignations made to the Bankers upon the Receipts themſelves, without the Money's ever paſſing through the Tellers Office; by which, though They did receive their juſt Fees, They had not what They would have taken if the Money had paſſed through their own Hands. He was a Member of Parliament, and a very voluminous Speaker, who would be thought wiſer in Trade than any of the Merchants, and to underſtand the Myſtery of all Profeſſions much better than the Profeſſors of them. And ſuch a Kind of Chat is always acceptable in a Crowd (where few underſtand many Subjects), who are always glad to find thoſe put out of Countenance who thought They underſtood it beſt: And ſo They were much pleaſed to hear Sir *George Downing* inveigh againſt the Ignorance of thoſe, who could only ſmile at his Want of Knowledge.

THIS Gentleman was very grateful to Sir *William Coventry* as well as to Lord *Arlington*, and was ready to inſtruct them in all the Miſcarriages and Overſights in the Treaſury, and to propoſe Ways of Reformation to them. "The Root of all Miſcarriage was the unlimited Power of the Lord Trea-"ſurer, that no Money could iſſue out without his particular Direction, "and all Money was paid upon no other Rules than his Order; ſo that let "the King want as much as was poſſible, no Money could be paid by his "without the Treaſurer's Warrant;" which to Men who underſtood no more than They did ſeemed a very great Incongruity. "But," He ſaid, "if there were ſuch a Clauſe inſerted into the Bill which was to be paſſed "in the Houſe of Commons for Money, it might prevent all Inconveniences, "and the King's Money would be paid only to thoſe Perſons and Purpoſes "to which his Majeſty ſhould aſſign them; and more Money would be "preſently advanced upon this Act of Parliament, than the Credit of the "Bankers could procure;" for He foreſaw, that would be a very natural Objection againſt his Clauſe and the Method He propoſed.

A Project of Sir George Downing to new-model the Treaſury.

HE made his Diſcourſe ſo plauſible to them that They were much pleaſed with it; and it provided for ſo many of their own Ends, that They neither did nor were able to conſider the Reverſe of it, but were moſt ſolicitous that there might no Obſtructions ariſe in the Way. If it ſhould come to the Knowledge of the Chancellor, He would oppoſe it for the

Novelty, and the Conſequences that might attend it; and if the Treaſurer had Notice of it, He would not conſent to it for the Indignity that his Office was ſubjected to: They therefore diſcourſed it to the King as a Matter of high Importance to his Service if it were ſecretly carried; and then brought the Projector, who was an indefatigable Talker, to inform his Majeſty of the many Benefits which would accrue to his Service by this new Method that He had deviſed, and the many Miſchiefs which would be prevented.

THERE were many Things which were ſuggeſted, that were agreeable to ſome Fancies that the King himſelf had entertained; there would not need now ſo many Formalities, as Warrants and Privy Seals, before Monies could be paid; and Money might hereafter iſſue out and be paid without the Treaſurer's Privity; in which many Conveniences ſeemed to appear: Though beſides the Innovation and Breach of all old Order, which is ever attended by many Miſchiefs unforeſeen, there were very great Inconveniences in View in thoſe very Particulars which They fancied to be Conveniences. But it was enough that the King ſo well liked the Advice upon Conference with them three, that He reſolved to communicate it with no others; but appointed that when the Bill for Supply ſhould be brought into the Houſe (it being to be, as was ſaid before, for the Sum of ———), at the Commitment *Downing* ſhould offer that *Proviſo*, which had been drawn by himſelf, and read to the King and the other two. And becauſe it was foreſeen, that it would be oppoſed by many of thoſe who were known to be very affectionate to the King's Service, They had all Authority privately to aſſure them, that it was offered with the King's Approbation.

A Clamour raiſed againſt the Bankers.

AGAINST the Time that the Bill was to be brought in, They prepared the Houſe by many unſeaſonable, bitter Invectives againſt the Bankers, called them Cheats, Bloodſuckers, Extortioners, and loaded them with all the Reproaches which can be caſt upon the worſt Men in the World, and would have them looked upon as the Cauſes of all the King's Neceſſities, and of the Want of Monies throughout the Kingdom: All which was a plauſible Argument, as all Invectives againſt particular Men are; and all Men who had Faculties of depraving, and of making ill Things appear worſe than they are, were eaſily engaged with them. The Bankers did not conſiſt of above the Number of five or ſix Men, ſome whereof were Aldermen and had been Lord-Mayors of *London*, and all the reſt were Aldermen or had fined for Aldermen. They were a Tribe that had riſen and grown up in *Cromwell's* Time, and never were heard of before the late Troubles, till when the whole Trade of Money had paſſed through the Hands of the Scriveners: They were for the moſt Part Goldſmiths, Men known to be ſo rich, and of ſo good Reputation, that all the Money of the Kingdom would be truſted or depoſited in their Hands.

The Advantage ariſing from the Bankers.

FROM the Time of the King's Return, when though great and vaſt Sums were granted, yet ſuch vaſt Debts were preſently to be paid, the Armies by Land and Sea to be preſently diſcharged, that the Money that was to be collected in ſix and ſix Months would not provide for thoſe preſent unavoidable Iſſues; but there muſt be two or three hundred thouſand Pounds gotten together in few Days, before They could begin to diſband the Armies or to pay the Seamen off; the deferring whereof every Month increaſed the Charge to an incredible Proportion: None could ſupply thoſe Occaſions but the Bankers, which brought the King's Miniſters firſt acquainted with them; and They were ſo well ſatisfied with their Proceedings, that They did always declare, "that They were ſo neceſſary to the King's Affairs,

"that They knew not how to have conducted them without that Af-
"ſiſtance."

THE Method of Proceeding with them was thus. As ſoon as an Act of Parliament was paſſed, the King ſent for thoſe Bankers (for there was never any Contract made with them but in his Majeſty's Preſence): And He being attended by the Miniſters of the Revenue, and commonly the Chancellor and others of the Council, the Lord Treaſurer preſented a particular Information to the King of the moſt urgent Occaſions for preſent Money, either for diſbanding Troops, or diſcharging Ships, or ſetting out Fleets (all which are to be done together and not by Parcels); ſo that it was eaſily foreſeen what ready Money muſt be provided. And this Account being made, the Bankers were called in, and told, "that the King had Occaſion to uſe ſuch "a Sum of ready Money within ſuch a Day; They underſtood the Act of "Parliament, and ſo might determine what Money They could lend the King, "and what Manner of Security would beſt ſatisfy them." Whereupon one ſaid, "He would within ſuch a Time pay one hundred thouſand Pounds," another more, and another leſs, as They found themſelves provided; for there was no joint Stock amongſt them, but every one ſupplied according to his Ability. They were deſirous to have eight in the Hundred, which was not unreaſonable to aſk and the King was willing to give: But upon better Conſideration amongſt themſelves, They thought fit to decline that Demand as being capable of turning to their Diſadvantage, and would leave the Intereſt to the King's own Bounty, declaring "that themſelves paid ſix "in the hundred for all the Money with which They were intruſted," which was known to be true. *The Method of treating with them.*

THEN They demanded ſuch a Receipt and Aſſignment to be made to them by the Lord Treaſurer, for the Payment of the firſt Money that ſhould be payable upon that Act of Parliament, or a Branch of that Act, or Tallies upon the Farmers of the Cuſtoms or Exciſe, or ſuch other Branches of the Revenue as were leaſt charged; having the King's own Word and the Faith of the Treaſurer, that they ſhould be exactly complied with; for let the Security be what They could deſire, it would ſtill be in the Power of the King or of the Lord Treaſurer to divert what was aſſigned to them to other Purpoſes. Therefore there is Nothing ſurer, than that the Confidence in the King's Juſtice, and the unqueſtionable Reputation of the Lord Treaſurer's Honour and Integrity, was the true Foundation of that Credit which ſupplied all his Majeſty's Neceſſities and Occaſions; and his Majeſty always treated thoſe Men very graciouſly as his very good Servants, and all his Miniſters looked upon them as very honeſt and valuable Men. And in this Manner for many Years after his Majeſty's Return, even to the unhappy Beginning of the *Dutch* War, the publick Expenſes were carried on, it may be, with too little Difficulty, which poſſibly increaſed ſome Expenſes; and Nobody opened his Mouth againſt the Bankers, who every Day increaſed in Credit and Reputation, and had the Money of all Men at their Diſpoſal.

THE Solicitor General brought in the Bill for Supply according to Courſe, in that Form as thoſe Bills for Money ought and uſed to be: And after it had been read the ſecond Time, when it was committed *Downing* offered his *Proviſo*, the End of which was, "to make all the Money that was "to be raiſed by this Bill to be applied only to thoſe Ends to which it "was given, which was the carrying on the War, and to no other Pur-"poſe whatſoever, by what Authority ſoever;" with many other Clauſes in it ſo monſtrous, that the Solicitor and many others who were moſt *Downing offers a new Proviſo in the Bill for the Supply.*

Which is opposed by the Solicitor General.

watchful for the King's Service declared againſt it, as introductive to a Commonwealth, and not fit for Monarchy. It was obſerved, "that the "Aſſignment of the Money that was given by Act of Parliament to be paid "in another Manner and to other Perſons than had been formerly uſed, "though there wanted not plauſible Pretences, was the Beginning of the "late Rebellion, and furniſhed the Parliament with Money to raiſe a Re-"bellion, when the King had none to defend himſelf; which had made "*Cromwell* wiſe enough never to permit any of thoſe Clauſes, or that "the Impoſitions which were raiſed ſhould be diſpoſed to any Uſes or by "any Perſons but by himſelf and his own Orders." And by ſuch and other Arguments, which the Contrivers had not foreſeen, the *Proviſo* had been abſolutely thrown out, if Sir *William Coventry* and *Downing* had not gone to the Solicitor and others who ſpake againſt it, and aſſured them, "that it was brought in by the King's own Direction, and for Purpoſes well "underſtood by his Majeſty." Upon which They were contented that it ſhould be committed, yet with Direction "that ſuch and ſuch Expreſſions "ſhould be reformed and amended."

The King commands him not to oppoſe it farther.

In the Afternoon the King ſent for the Solicitor, and forbad him any more to oppoſe that *Proviſo*, for that it was much for his Service. And when He would inform him of many Miſchiefs which would inevitably attend it, ſome were of thoſe which He had no Mind to prevent, being to leſſen their Power who He thought had too much, and the other He cared not to hear; and ſaid only, "that He would bear the Inconveniences which would "enſue upon his own Account, for the Benefits which would accrue, and "which it was not yet ſeaſonable to communicate with other Members of "the Houſe of Commons, whom He thought not to be ſo able to diſpute "it with him." * *

He enlarged more in Diſcourſe, and told them, "that this would be an "Encouragement to lend Money, by making the Payment with Intereſt ſo "certain and fixed, that there could be no Security in the Kingdom like "it, when it ſhould be out of any Man's Power to cauſe any Money that "ſhould be lent To-morrow to be paid before that which was lent Yeſ-"terday, but that all ſhould be infallibly paid in Order; by which the Ex-"chequer (which was now Bankrupt and without any Credit) would be "quickly in that Reputation, that all Men would depoſite their Money "there: And that He hoped in few Years, by obſerving the Method He "now propoſed, He would make his Exchequer the beſt and the greateſt "Bank in *Europe*, and where all *Europe* would, when it was once under-"ſtood, pay in their Money for the certain Profit it would yield, and the "indubitable Certainty that They ſhould receive their Money." And with this Diſcourſe the vain Man, who had lived many Years in *Holland*, and would be thought to have made himſelf Maſter of all their Policy, had amuſed the King, and his two Friends, undertaking to erect the King's Exchequer into the ſame Degree of Credit that the Bank of *Amſterdam* ſtood upon, the Inſtitution whereof He undertook to know, and from thence to make it evident, "that all that ſhould be tranſplanted into *England*, and "all Nations would ſooner ſend their Money into the Exchequer, than into "*Amſterdam* or *Genoa* or *Venice*." And it cannot be enough wondered at, that this Intoxication prevailed ſo far that no Argument would be heard againſt it, the King having upon thoſe Notions, and with the Advice of thoſe Counſellors, in his own Thoughts new-modelled the whole Govern-

* * Something ſeems to be wanting here to make the Senſe clear. *Qu.* Whether what follows was ſpoken by *Downing* to the King, *Arlington* and *Coventry*; or, by the King to the Solicitor. In the latter Caſe, *told them* (as it is in the *M.S.*) ſhould be altered to *told him*.

ment of his Treaſury, in which He reſolved to have no more ſuperiour Officers. But this was only reſerved within his own Breaſt, and not communicated to any but thoſe who deviſed the Project, without weighing that the Security for Monies ſo depoſited in Banks is the Republick itſelf, which muſt expire before that Security can fail; which can never be depended on in a Monarchy, where the Monarch's ſole Word can cancel all thoſe formal Proviſions which can be made (as hath ſince been too evident), by vacating thoſe Aſſignations which have been made upon that and the like Acts of Parliament, for ſuch Time as the preſent Neceſſities have made counſellable; which would not then be admitted to be poſſible.

It is paſſed by the Commons.

AND ſo without any more Oppoſition, which was not grateful to the King, that Act paſſed the Houſe of Commons, with the Correction only of ſuch Abſurdities as had not been foreſeen by thoſe who framed the *Proviſo*, and which did indeed croſs their own Deſigns: And ſo it was ſent from the Commons to the Houſe of Peers for their Conſent.

BILLS of that Nature which concern the raiſing of Money ſeldom ſtay long with the Lords; but as of Cuſtom, which They call Privilege, they are firſt begun in the Houſe of Commons, where they endure long Deliberation, ſo when they are adjuſted there, they ſeem to paſs through the Houſe of Peers with the reading twice and formal Commitment, in which any Alterations are very rarely made, except in any Impoſitions which are laid upon their own Perſons, for which there are uſually Blanks left, the filling up whereof is all the Amendment or Alteration that is commonly made by the Lords: So that the ſame Engroſſment that is ſent up by the Commons is uſually the Bill itſelf that is preſented to the King for his Royal Aſſent. Yet there can be no reaſonable Doubt made, but that thoſe Bills of any Kind of Subſidies, as Exciſe, Chimney-Money, or any other Way of Impoſition, are as much the Gift and Preſent from the Houſe of Peers as they are from the Houſe of Commons, and are no more valid without their Conſent than without the Conſent of the other; and They may alter any Clauſe in them that They do not think for the Good of the People. But becauſe the Houſe of Commons is the immediate Repreſentative of the People, it is preſumed that They beſt know what They can bear or are willing to ſubmit to, and what They propoſe to give is proportionable to what They can ſpare; and therefore the Lords uſe not to put any Stop in the Paſſage of ſuch Bills, much leſs diminiſh what is offered by them to the King.

AND in this Parliament the Expedition that was uſed in all Buſineſs out of Fear of the Sickneſs, and out of an impatient Deſire to be ſeparated, was very notorious: And as ſoon as this Bill for Supply was ſent to the Lords, very many Members of the Houſe of Commons left the Town and departed, conceiving that there was no more left for them to do; for it was generally thought, that at the paſſing that Act with the reſt which were ready, the King would prorogue the Parliament. Yet the Novelty in this Act ſo ſurpriſed the Lords, that They thought it worthy a very ſerious Deliberation, and uſed not their cuſtomary Expedition in the paſſing it. It happened to be in an ill Conjuncture, when the terrible cold Weather kept the Lord Treaſurer from going out of his Chamber for Fear of the Gout, of which the Chancellor laboured then in that Extremity, that He was obliged to remain in his Bed; and neither of them had received Information of this Affair. Many of the Lords came to them and advertiſed them of this new *Proviſo*; and ſome of them went to the King to let him know the Prejudice

Some Lords remonſtrate to the King againſt this Proviſo.

judice it would bring him, and cenſured the ill Hand that had contrived it.

The Lord *Aſhley*, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and had been privy in the firſt Cabal in which this Reformation was deſigned, whether becauſe He found himſelf left out in the moſt ſecret Part of it, or not enough conſidered in it, paſſionately inveighed againſt it both publickly and privately, and according to the Fertility of his Wit and Invention found more Objections againſt it than any Body elſe had done, and the Conſequences to be more deſtructive; with which He ſo alarmed the King, that his Majeſty was contented that the Matter ſhould be debated in his Preſence; and becauſe the Chancellor was in his Bed, thought his Chamber to be the fitteſt Place for the Conſultation: And the Lord Treaſurer, though indiſpoſed and apprehenſive of the Gout, could yet uſe his Feet, and was very willing to attend his Majeſty there, without the leaſt Imagination that He was aimed at in the leaſt.

The King conſults the private Committee upon it.

The King appointed the Hour for the Meeting, where his Majeſty with his Brother was preſent, the Chancellor in his Bed, the Lord Treaſurer, the Lord *Aſhley*, the Lord *Arlington*, and Sir *William Coventry*; the Attorney General and the Solicitor were likewiſe preſent to word any Alterations which ſhould be fit to be made; and Sir *George Downing* likewiſe attended, who the King ſtill believed would be able to anſwer all Objections which could be made. The Chancellor had never ſeen the *Proviſo* which contained all the Novelty (for all the other Parts of the Bill were according to the Courſe), and the Treaſurer had read it only an Hour or two before the Meeting: The Lord *Aſhley* therefore, who had heard it read in the Houſe of Peers and obſerved what that Houſe thought of it, opened the whole Buſineſs with the Novelty, and the ill Conſequence that muſt inevitably attend it; all which He enforced with great Clearneſs and Evidence of Reaſon, and would have enlarged with ſome Sharpneſs upon the Adviſers of it.

But the King himſelf ſtopped that by declaring, "that whatſoever had "been done in the whole Tranſaction of it had been with his Privity and "Approbation, and the whole Blame muſt be laid to his own Charge, who "it ſeems was like to ſuffer moſt by it." He confeſſed, "He was ſo fully "convinced in his own Underſtanding, that the Method propoſed would "prove to his infinite Advantage and to the Benefit of the Kingdom, that "He had converted many in the Houſe who had diſliked it; and that ſince "it came into the Houſe of Peers, He had ſpoken with many of the Lords "who ſeemed moſt unſatisfied with it: And He was confident He had ſo "well informed many of them, that They had changed their Opinion and "would be no more againſt that *Proviſo*. However He confeſſed that "ſome remained ſtill obſtinate againſt it, and They had given ſome Reaſons "which He had not thought of, and which in Truth He could not anſwer: "He wiſhed therefore that They would apply themſelves to the moſt "weighty Objections which were in View, or which might probably "reſult from thence, and think of the beſt Remedies which might be ap-"plied by Alterations and Amendments in the Houſe of Lords, which He "doubted not but that the Commons would concur in."

Objections made againſt it there.

The firſt Objection was "the Novelty, which in Caſes of that Nature "was very dangerous, remembering what hath been mentioned before of "the Beginning of the late Rebellion, by putting the Money to run in ano-"ther Channel than it had uſed to do: And that when once ſuch a Clauſe "was admitted in one Bill, the King would hardly get it left out in others "of the ſame Kind hereafter; and ſo his Majeſty ſhould never be Maſter

" his own Money, nor the Miniſters of his Revenue be able to aſſign Mo-
" nies to defray any caſual Expenſes of what Nature ſoever; but that upon
" the Matter the Authority of the Treaſurer and Chancellor of the Exche-
" quer muſt be inveſted in the Tellers of the Exchequer, who were ſubor-
" dinate Officers, and qualified to do Nothing but by the immediate Order
" of thoſe their ſuperiour Officers. And though there are four Tellers in
" equal Authority, yet Sir *George Downing* would in a ſhort Time make
" his Office the ſole Receipt, and the reſt neither receive nor pay but by
" his Favour and Conſent."

THE King had in his Nature ſo little Reverence or Eſteem for Antiquity, and did in Truth ſo much contemn old Orders, Forms and Inſtitutions, that the Objections of Novelty rather advanced than obſtructed any Propoſition. He was a great Lover of new Inventions, and thought them the Effects of Wit and Spirit, and fit to control the ſuperſtitious Obſervation of the Dictates of our Anceſtors: So that Objection made little Impreſſion. And for the Continuance of the ſame Clauſe in future Bills, He looked for it as neceſſary in Order to the Eſtabliſhment of his Bank, which would abundantly recompenſe for his Loſs of Power in Diſpoſal of his own Money. And though it was made appear by very ſolid Arguments, that the Imagination of a Bank was a mere Chimera in itſelf, and the erecting it in the Exchequer muſt ſuppoſe that the Crown muſt be always liable to a vaſt Debt upon Intereſt, which would be very ill Huſbandry; and that there was great Hope, that after a happy Peace ſhould be concluded, and Care ſhould be taken to bring the Expenſes into a narrower Compaſs, the King might in a ſhort Time be out of Debt: Yet all Diſcourſe againſt a Bank was thought to proceed from pure Ignorance. And Sir *George* was let looſe to inſtruct them how eaſy it was to be eſtabliſhed, who talked imperiouſly " of the
" Method by which it came to be ſettled in *Holland* by the Induſtry of very
" few Perſons, when the greateſt Men deſpaired of it as impracticable; yet the
" Obſtinacy of the other prevailed, and it was now become the Strength,
" Wealth and Security of the State: That the ſame would be brought to
" paſs much more eaſily here, and would be no ſooner done, than *Eng-*
" *land* would be the Seat of all the Trade of *Chriſtendom*." And then aſſuming all He ſaid to be Demonſtration, He wrapped himſelf up, according to his Cuſtom, in a Miſt of Words that Nobody could ſee Light in, but They who by often hearing the ſame Chat thought They underſtood it.

THE next Objection was " againſt the Injuſtice of this Clauſe, and the
" ill Conſequence of that Injuſtice. The Neceſſities of the Crown being
" ſtill preſſing, and the Fleet every Day calling for Supply, Money had
" been borrowed from the Bankers upon the Credit of this Bill, as ſoon as
" the firſt Vote had paſſed in the Houſe of Commons for ſo conſiderable a
" Supply; and the Treaſurer had made Aſſignments upon ſeveral Branches
" of the Revenue, which had been preſerved and deſigned for the Army
" and the immediate Expenſes of the King's and Queen's Houſhold, and
" the like unavoidable Iſſues, upon Preſumption that enough would come
" in from this new Act of Parliament to be replaced to thoſe Purpoſes, be-
" fore the Time that would require it ſhould come. But by this *Proviſo*
" eſpecial Care was taken, that none of the Money that ſhould be raiſed
" ſhould be applied to the Payment of any Debt that was contracted before
" the Royal Aſſent was given to the Bill: So that both the Money lent by
" the Bankers upon the Promiſe made to them muſt be unpaid and unſe-
" cured, and the Money that had been ſupplied from other Aſſignations

" muſt not be applied to the original Uſe; by which the Army and Houſ-
" hold would be unprovided for, the Inconvenience whereof had no Need of
" an Enlargement."

" BESIDES that the Bankers had the King's Word, and the Engagement
" of the Miniſters of the Revenue, that all new Bills of Supply ſhould ſtill
" make good what former Securities were not ſufficient to do; as by this
" heavy Viſitation of the Plague, the Aſſignations which had been made
" upon the Exciſe and Chimney-Money, and by the Decay of Trade that
" the War and Sickneſs together had produced, the Aſſignations made upon
" the Cuſtoms, had brought in ſo little Money, that the Debt to the
" Bankers, which but for thoſe Obſtructions might by this Time have been
" much abated, remained ſtill very little leſs than it was near a Year be-
" fore. And when it ſhould be known, that this Sum of Money that was
" to be raiſed was exempt from the Payment of any of thoſe and the like
" Debts, it would be a great Heartbreaking to all thoſe, who had not only
" lent all their own Eſtates, but the whole Eſtates of many thouſands of
" other Men, to the King, and muſt expect to be called upon by all who
" have truſted them for their Money, which by this Invention They have
" no Means to pay: And for the future, let the Neceſſities be what they
" will that the Crown may be involved in, there is no Hope of borrowing
" any Money, ſince it is not in the Power of the King himſelf to make any
" Aſſignment upon this new Impoſition."

VERY much of this had been ſo abſolutely unthought of by the King, that He was very much troubled at it; and He had in his own Judgment a juſt Eſteem of the Bankers, and looked upon any Prejudice that They ſhould ſuffer as hurtful to himſelf, and a great Violation of his Honour and Juſtice. But it was plain enough that the principal Deſign of the Contrivers was to prejudice the Bankers, nor did They care what Ruin befell them, and ſo talked looſely and bitterly " of their cozening the King, and what " ill Bargains had been made with them;" though it was made manifeſt, that no private Gentleman in *England* did upon any real or perſonal Security borrow Money, but conſidering the Brocage He pays, and the often renewing his Security, it coſts him yearly much more than the King paid to the Bankers.

THEY ſlighted what was paſt as ſufficiently provided for; and for the future confidently undertook the King ſhould never more have Need of the Bankers, " for that this Act would be no ſooner paſſed, but upon the " Credit of it Money would be poured into the Exchequer faſter than it " could be told." And when They were told, " that Expectation would " deceive them, and that great Sums would not come in, and ſmall Sums " would do Hurt, becauſe they would but ſtop up the Security from " giving Satisfaction to others, becauſe whatever was firſt paid in muſt be " firſt paid:" All this was anſwered confidently, " that vaſt Sums were " ready to their Knowledge to be paid in as ſoon as the Bill ſhould paſs;" which fell out as was foretold. For after ten or twenty thouſand Pounds were delivered in by themſelves and their Friends to ſave their Credit, there was no more Money like to come; and that Sum did more Harm than Good, by interrupting the Security.

BUT notwithſtanding all their Anſwers, the King remained unſatisfied in many Particulars which He had not foreſeen, and wiſhed " that the Matter " had been better conſulted;" and confeſſed " that *Downing* had not an-
" ſwered many of the Objections;" and wiſhed " that Alterations might be
" prepared to be offered in the Houſe of Peers as Amendments, and tranſ-

"mitted to the Commons, without caſting out the *Proviſo*;" the Foundation and End of which ſtill pleaſed him for thoſe Reaſons which He would not communicate, and for which only it ought to have been rejected. But as it had been very eaſy to have had it quite left out, which was the only proper Remedy; ſo the mending it would leave much Argument for Debate, and would ſpend much Time. And it was to be apprehended, that there were ſo many of the beſt affected Members of the Houſe of Commons gone out of the Town as having no more to do, that when it ſhould be ſent down thither again, it might be longer delayed there than would be convenient for the Publick; and ſo the Parliament be kept longer from a Prorogation, than would be grateful to them or agreeable to the King.

It is paſſed by the Lords.

AND therefore upon the whole Matter his Majeſty choſe that no Interruption ſhould be given to it in the Houſe of Peers, and only ſuch ſmall Amendments, which would be as ſoon conſented to in Both Houſes as read, ſhould be offered, rather than run the other Hazard of Delay: And ſo accordingly it was paſſed; and upon the doing thereof, the Parliament was prorogued to *April* following.

The Parliament prorogued.

The King much offended with the Chancellor in this Affair.

IN this Debate, upon the inſolent Behaviour of *Downing* in the Defence of that which could not be defended, and it may be out of the Extremity of the Pain which at that Time He endured in his Bed, the Chancellor had given ſome very ſharp Reprehenſions to *Downing*, for his Preſumption in undertaking to ſet ſuch a Deſign on Foot that concerned the whole Fabrick of the Exchequer (in which He was an inferiour Officer), and ſuch a Branch of the King's Revenue, without firſt communicating it to his ſuperiour Officers and receiving their Advice; and told him, "that "it was impoſſible for the King to be well ſerved, whilſt Fellows of his "Condition were admitted to ſpeak as much as They had a Mind to; "and that in the beſt Times ſuch Preſumptions had been puniſhed with Im-"priſonment by the Lords of the Council, without the King's taking Notice "of it:" Which, with what Sharpneſs ſoever uttered (in which He naturally exceeded in ſuch Occaſions), in a Caſe of this Nature, in which with Reference to any Diſreſpect towards himſelf He was not concerned, He thought did not exceed the Privilege and Dignity of the Place He held; and for which there were many Precedents in the paſt Times.

AT the preſent there was no Notice taken, nor Reply made to what He ſaid. But They who knew themſelves equally guilty, and believed They were reflected upon, found quickly Opportunity to incenſe the King, and to perſuade him to believe, "that the Chancellor's Behaviour was a "greater Affront to him than to *Downing*: That a Servant ſhould undergo "ſuch Reproaches in the King's own Preſence, for no other Reaſon but "having with all Humility preſented an Information to his Majeſty, which "was natural for him to underſtand in the Office in which He ſerved him, "and afterwards followed and obſerved the Orders and Directions which "himſelf had preſcribed; that this muſt terrify all Men from giving the "King any Light in his Affairs, that He may know Nothing of his own "neareſt Concernments but what his chief Miniſters thought fit to impart "to him." All which, and whatſoever elſe was natural to Wit ſharpened with Malice to ſuggeſt upon ſuch an Argument, They enforced with Warmth that They deſired might be taken for Zeal for his Service and Dignity, which was proſtituted by thoſe Preſumptions of the Chancellor.

AND herewith They ſo inflamed the King that He was much offended, and expreſſed to them ſuch a Diſlike that pleaſed them well, and gave them Opportunity to add more Fewel to the Fire; and told them, "that

"the Chancellor ſhould find that He was not pleaſed," as indeed He did by a greater Reſervedneſs in his Countenance than his Majeſty uſed to carry towards him; the Reaſon whereof his Innocence kept him from comprehending, till in a ſhort Time He vouchſafed plainly to put him in Mind of his Behaviour at that Time, and to expreſs a great Reſentment of it, and urged all thoſe Gloſſes which had been made to him upon it, and "what Interpretation all Men muſt make of ſuch an Action, and be terrified by it "from offering any Thing, of what Importance ſoever to his Service, if it "would offend his Miniſters;" and all this in a Choler very unnatural to him, which exceedingly troubled the Chancellor, and made him more diſcern, though He had Evidence enough of it before, that He ſtood upon very ſlippery Ground.

The Chancellor ſatisfies his Majeſty.

He told his Majeſty, "that ſince He thought his Behaviour to be ſo bad "in that Particular, for which till then his own Conſcience or Diſcretion "had not reproached him, He muſt and did believe He had committed "a great Fault, for which He did humbly aſk his Pardon; and promiſed "hereafter no more to incur his Diſpleaſure for ſuch Exceſſes, which He "could never have fallen into at that Time and upon that Occaſion, but "upon the Preſumption, that it had been impoſſible for his Majeſty to "have made that Interpretation of it which it ſeems He had done, or "that any Body could have Credit enough with him to perſuade him to "believe, that He deſired that his Majeſty ſhould not have a clear View, "and the moſt diſcerning Inſight, into the darkeſt and moſt intricate "Parts of all his Affairs, which They knew in their Conſciences to be "moſt untrue. And He muſt with great Confidence appeal to his Majeſty, who knew how much He had deſired, and taken ſome Pains, "that his Majeſty might never ſet his Hand to any Thing, before He fully "underſtood it upon ſuch References and Reports, as, according to the "Nature of the Buſineſs, were to be for his full Information."

He beſought him to remember "how often He had told him, *that it was* "*moſt abſolutely neceſſary that He ſhould make himſelf entirely Maſter of his own* "*Buſineſs, for that there would be no Acquieſcence in any Judgment but his own*; "and that his Majeſty knew with what Boldneſs He had often lamented to "himſelf, *that He would not take the Pains perfectly to underſtand all his* "*own Affairs, which expoſed his Miniſters to the Cenſures of half-witted Men,* "*and was the greateſt Diſcouragement to all who ſerved him honeſtly:* And "He deſired his Pardon again for ſaying that. He would hereafter find that "They who had adviſed him in this late Tranſaction, in the handling "whereof He had taken the Liberty that had offended his Majeſty, had but "a very dim Inſight into that Buſineſs which They took upon themſelves "to direct."

But his Majeſty was not willing to enter again into that Diſcourſe, and concluded with forbidding him to believe, "that it was or could be in any "Mens Power to make him ſuſpect his Affection or Integrity to his Service," and uſed many other very gracious Expreſſions to him, nor ever after ſeemed to remember that Action to his Prejudice. But within a ſhort Time the Biſhoprick of *Saliſbury* becoming void by the never enough lamented Death of Dr. *Earle*, his Majeſty conferred that Biſhoprick upon Dr. *Hyde*, the Dean of *Wincheſter*, upon the Chancellor's Recommendation, whoſe near Kinſman He was. Nor was his Credit with the King thought to be leſſened by any Body but himſelf, who knew more to that Purpoſe than other People could do: Yet He judged more from the Credit that He found his Enemies got every Day, than from the King's withdrawing

his Truſt and Kindneſs from him; nor did the King believe that They had then that Deſign againſt him, which ſhortly after They did not diſſemble.

THE Purpoſe of making the Alteration in the Government of the Treaſury was purſued very induſtriouſly. And ſince that *Proviſo* with all the Circumſtances thereof had not produced the Effect They propoſed, for They had believed that the Indignity of the Affront would have wrought ſo far upon the great Heart of the Treaſurer, that He would thereupon have given up his Staff; which He was too much inclined to have done, if He had not been prevailed with by thoſe who He knew were his Friends, not to gratify thoſe who deſired him out of their Way, in doing that which They of all Things wiſhed: Therefore that Plot not ſucceeding, They perſuaded the King to try another Expedient. For They all knew, that it was too envious a Thing for his Majeſty himſelf to remove him from his Office by any Act of his, and that it would be loudly imputed to them. But if He could be himſelf perſuaded to quit that which every Body knew He was weary of, it would prevent all Inconveniences: And They had been told that the Chancellor only had diſſuaded him from doing it, which He would not preſume to do, if He were clearly told that the King deſired that He ſhould give it up.

The King perſuaded to deſire the Treaſurer would reſign.

HEREUPON the King one Day called the Chancellor to him, and told him, "that He muſt ſpeak with him in a Buſineſs of great Confidence, and which "required great Secrecy;" and then enlarged in a great Commendation of the Treaſurer (whom in Truth He did very much eſteem), "of his great Parts "of Judgment, of his unqueſtionable Integrity, and of his general Intereſt and "Reputation throughout the Kingdom. But with all this" He ſaid "He was "not fit for the Office He held: That He did not underſtand the Myſtery "of that Place, nor could in his Nature go through with the neceſſary Obli-"gations of it. That his bodily Infirmities were ſuch, that many Times "He could not be ſpoken with for two or three Days, ſo that there could "be no Diſpatch; of which every Body complained, and by which his Bu-"ſineſs ſuffered very much. That all Men knew that all the Buſineſs was "done by Sir *Philip Warwick*, whom, though He was a very honeſt Man, "He did not think fit to be Treaſurer; which He was to all Effects, the "Treaſurer himſelf doing Nothing but ſigning the Papers which the other "prepared for him, which was neither for the King's Honour nor his." The Truth was, that his Underſtanding was too fine for ſuch groſs Matters as that Office muſt be converſant about, and that if his Want of Health did not hinder him, his Genius did not carry him that Way; nor would the Lazineſs of his Nature permit him to take that Pains, that was abſolutely neceſſary for the well diſcharging that great Office.

HIS Majeſty concluded, "that He loved him too well to diſoblige him, "and would never do any Thing that would not be grateful to him: But "He had ſome Reaſon, even from what He had ſometimes ſaid to him, to "think that He was weary of it, and might be eaſily perſuaded to deliver "up his Staff, which his Majeſty would be very glad of; and therefore "He wiſhed that He, the Chancellor, who was known to have moſt In-"tereſt in him, would perſuade him to it, in which He would do his "Majeſty a ſingular Service."

The King wiſhes the Chancellor to adviſe him to it.

THE Chancellor preſently aſked him, "if He were ſo unfit, whom "He would make Treaſurer in his Room." The King as preſently anſwered, "that He would never make another Treaſurer, which was an Of-"fice of great Charge, and would be much more effectually executed by "Commiſſioners; which had been done in *Cromwell's* Time, as many

"Offices had been: And that his Majeſty found by Experience, that in "Offices of that Kind Commiſſioners were better than ſingle Officers; for "though Sir *William Compton* was a very extraordinary Man, of great In- "duſtry and Fidelity, yet that the Office of the Ordnance was neither in ſo "good Order nor ſo thriftily managed whilſt He was Maſter of it, as it hath "been ſince his Death, ſince when it hath been governed by Commiſſioners; "and ſo He was well aſſured his Treaſury would be."

The Chancellor replied, "that He was very ſorry to find his Majeſty ſo "much inclined to Commiſſioners, who were indeed fitteſt to execute all "Offices according to the Model of a Commonwealth, but not at all agree- "able to Monarchy: That if He thought the Precedent of *Cromwell's* Time "fit to be followed, He ſhould be in the Poſture that *Cromwell* was, with "an Army of one hundred thouſand Men, which made him have no Need "of the Authority and Reputation of a Treaſurer, either to ſettle his Re- "venue or to direct the levying it; He could do Both beſt himſelf." But He very paſſionately beſought his Majeſty to believe, "that They who ad- "viſed him to this Method of Government, though They might have good "Affection to his Perſon and his Service, were very unſkilful in the Con- "ſtitution of this Kingdom and in the Nature of the People. That the "Office of Treaſurer had ſometimes upon the Death of a preſent Officer "been executed by Commiſſioners, but very ſeldom for any Time, or "longer than whilſt the King could deliberately make Choice of a fit Mi- "niſter. That himſelf had been twice a Commiſſioner for the Treaſury, "once in the Time of his Father, and again upon his Majeſty's Return: "And therefore that He could upon Experience aſſure him, that Commiſ- "ſioners, in ſo active a Time as this, could never diſcharge the Duty of that "Office; and that the Dignity of the Perſon of the Treaſurer was moſt ne- "ceſſary for his Service, both towards the procuring the raiſing of Money in "Parliament, and the improving his Revenue by the Grant of Additions "there, as likewiſe for the collecting and conducting it afterwards. For the "preſent Treaſurer," He ſaid, "there was no Queſtion but if He knew that "his Majeſty was weary of his Service, and wiſhed to have the Staff out of "his Hand, He would moſt readily deliver it: But that They who gave the "Counſel, and thought it fit for his Majeſty's Service, were much fitter "to give him that Advertiſement, than He who in his Conſcience did be- "lieve, that the following it would be of the moſt pernicious Conſequence "to his Service of any Thing that could be done."

The Chancellor earneſtly petitions him againſt this Meaſure.

He moſt humbly and with much Earneſtneſs beſought his Majeſty "ſeriouſly to reflect, what an ill Savour it would have over the whole "Kingdom, at this Time of a War with at leaſt two powerful Enemies "abroad together, of ſo great Diſcontent and Jealouſy at Home, and "when the Court was in no great Reputation with the People, to re- "move a Perſon the moſt loved and reverenced by the People for his moſt "exemplary Fidelity and Wiſdom, who had deſerved as much from his "bleſſed Father and himſelf as a Subject can do from his Prince, a No- "bleman of the beſt Quality, the beſt allied and the beſt beloved; to re- "move at ſuch a Time ſuch a Perſon and with ſuch Circumſtances from "his Councils and his Truſt: For Nobody could imagine, that, after ſuch "a Manifeſtation of his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure, He would be again conver- "ſant in the Court or in the Council, Both which would be much leſs "eſteemed upon ſuch an Action. That many with the ſame Diſeaſes and "Infirmities had long executed that Office, which required more the Strength

"of the Mind than of the Body: All were obliged to attend him, and He "only to wait upon his Majesty."

"THAT it was impossible for any Man to discharge that Office without "a Secretary: And if the whole Kingdom had been to have preferred a Se- "cretary to him, They would have commended this Gentleman to him "whom He trusted, who had for many Years served a former Treasurer in "the same Trust, in the most malignant, captious and calumniating Time "that hath been known, and yet without the least Blemish or Imputation; "and who, ever since that Time, had served his Father in and to the End "of the War, and himself since in the most secret and dangerous Affairs" (for He had been trusted by the Persons of the greatest Quality to hold Intelligence with his Majesty to the Time of his Return); "so that all Men "rather expected to have found him preferred to some good Place, than "in the same Post He had been in twenty Years before; which He would "never have undertaken under any other Officer than one with whom He "had much Confidence, and who He knew would serve his Majesty so well. "Yet," He said, "that whoever knew them could never believe that Sir "*Philip Warwick* could govern the Lord Treasurer."

THE King said, "He had a very good Opinion of Sir *Philip Warwick*, "and had never heard any Thing to his Prejudice." But upon the main Point of the Debate He seemed rather moved and troubled than convinced, when by good Fortune the Duke of *York* came into the Room, who had been well prepared to like the King's Purpose and to believe it necessary; and therefore his Majesty was glad of his Presence, and called him to him, and told him what He had been speaking of; and the Chancellor informed him of all that had passed between the King and him, and told him, "that "He could never do a better Service to the King his Brother, than by "using his Credit with him to restrain him from prosecuting a Purpose that "would prove so mischievous to him." And so the Discourse was renewed: And in the End the Duke was so entirely converted, that He prevailed with his Majesty to lay aside the Thought of it; which so broke all the Measures the other Contrivers had formed their Counsels by, that They were much out of Countenance. But finding that They could not work upon the Duke to change his Mind, and to return to the former Resolution, They thought not fit to press the King farther for the present; and only made so much Use of their Want of Success, by presenting to his Majesty his Irresoluteness, which made the Chancellor still impose upon him, that the King did not think the better of the Chancellor or the Treasurer, for his receding at that Time from prosecuting what He had so positively resolved to have done, and promised them "to be firmer to his next Determination." *And at length prevails.*

AFTER *Christmas* the Rage and Fury of the Pestilence began in some Degree to be mitigated, but so little, that Nobody who had left the Town had yet the Courage to return thither: Nor had They Reason; for though it was a considerable Abatement from the Height it had been at, yet there died still between three and four thousand in the Week, and of those, some Men of better Condition than had fallen before. The General writ from thence, "that there still arose new Difficulties in providing for the setting out the "Fleet, and some of such a Nature, that He could not easily remove them "without Communication with his Majesty, and receiving his more positive "Directions; and how to bring that to pass He knew not, for as He could "by no Means advise his Majesty to leave *Oxford*, so He found many Ob- "jections against his own being absent from *London*." *Windsor* was thought upon as a Place where the King might safely reside, there being then no

Infection there: But the King had adjourned the Term thither, which had poſſeſſed the whole Town; and He was not without ſome Apprehenſion, that the Plague had got into one Houſe.

The King removes from Oxford *to* Hampton-Court.

In the End, towards the End of *February*, the King reſolved that the Queen and Dutcheſs and all their Families ſhould remain in *Oxford*; and that his Majeſty and his Brother, with Prince *Rupert*, and ſuch of his Council and other Servants as were thought neceſſary or fit, would make a quick Journey to *Hampton-Court*, where the General might be every Day and return again to *London* at Night, and his Majeſty give ſuch Orders as were requiſite for the carrying on his Service, and ſo after two or three Days Stay there return again to *Oxford*; for no Man did believe it counſellable, that his Majeſty ſhould reſide longer there, than the Diſpatch of the moſt important Buſineſs required: And with this Reſolution his Majeſty made his Journey to *Hampton-Court*.

The Plague decreaſes.

It pleaſed God, that the next Week after his Majeſty came thither, the Number of thoſe who died of the Plague in the City decreaſed one thouſand; and there was a ſtrange univerſal Joy there for the King's being ſo near. The Weather was as it could be wiſhed, deep Snow and terrible Froſt, which very probably ſtopped the ſpreading of the Infection, though it might put an End to thoſe who were already infected, as it did, for in a Week or two the Number of the Dead was very little diminiſhed. The General came and went as was intended: But the Buſineſs every Day increaſed; and his Majeſty's Remove to a farther Diſtance was thought inconvenient, ſince there appeared no Danger in remaining where He was.

The King returns to Whitehall.

And after a Fortnight's or three Weeks Stay, He reſolved, for the quicker Diſpatch of all that was to be done, to go to *Whitehall*, when there died above fifteen hundred in the Week, and when there was not in a Day ſeen a Coach in the Streets, but thoſe which came in his Majeſty's Train; ſo much all Men were terrified from returning to a Place of ſo much Mortality. Yet it can hardly be imagined, what Numbers flocked thither from all Parts upon the Fame of the King's being at *Whitehall*, all Men being aſhamed of their Fears for their own Safety, when the King ventured his Perſon. The Judges at *Windſor* adjourned the laſt Return of the Term to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and the Town every Day filled marvellouſly; and which was more wonderful, the Plague every Day decreaſed. Upon which the King changed his Purpoſe, and inſtead of returning to *Oxford*, ſent for the Queen and all the Family to come to *Whitehall*: So that before the End of *March* the Streets were as full, the *Exchange* as much crowded, and the People in all Places as numerous, as They had ever been ſeen, few Perſons miſſing any of their Acquaintance, though by the weekly Bills there appeared to have died above one hundred and threeſcore thouſand Perſons: And many, who could compute very well, concluded that there were in Truth double that Number who died; and that in one Week, when the Bill mentioned only ſix thouſand, there had in Truth fourteen thouſand died. The frequent Deaths of the Clerks and Sextons of Pariſhes hindered the exact Account of every Week; but that which left it without any Certainty was the vaſt Number that was buried in the Fields, of which no Account was kept. Then of the *Anabaptiſts* and other Sectaries, who abounded in the City, very few left their Habitations; and Multitudes of them died, whereof no Church-warden or other Officer had Notice; but They found Burials, according to their own Fancies, in ſmall Gardens or the next Fields. The greateſt Number of thoſe who died conſiſted of Women and Children, and the loweſt and pooreſt Sort of the People: So that, as I

The Number ſuppoſed to have died of the Plague.

ſaid before, few Men miſſed any of their Acquaintance when They returned, not many of Wealth or Quality or of much Converſation being dead; yet ſome of either Sort there were.

THE Buſineſs of the King and of all about him was, that the Fleet might be ready and at Sea with all the poſſible Expedition: And in or towards this there was leſs Diſturbance and Interruption than could reaſonably have been expected, an univerſal Cheerfulneſs appearing in all who could obſtruct or contribute towards it, the People generally being abundantly ſatisfied in the King's Choice of the Commanders. Prince *Rupert* was very much beloved, for his confeſſed Courage, by the Seamen; and the People believed that They could not but have the Victory where the General commanded, who only underwent Unquietneſs and Vexation from the tempeſtuous Humour of his Wife. She, from his Return from *Oxford*, and from the Time that She had the firſt Intimation that the King had deſigned her Huſband for the Command of the Fleet, was all Storm and Fury; and, according to the Wiſdom and Modeſty of her Nature, poured out a thouſand full-mouthed Curſes againſt all thoſe who had contributed to that Counſel: But the Malice of all that Tempeſt fell upon the Chancellor. She declared, "that "this was a Plot of his to remove her Huſband from the King, that He "might do what He had a Mind to;" and threw all the ill Words at him which She had been accuſtomed to hear, accompanied with her good Wiſhes of what She would have befall him. But the Company She kept, and the Converſation She was accuſtomed to, could not propagate the Reproaches far; and the poor General himſelf felt them moſt, who knew the Chancellor to be his very faſt and faithful Friend, and that He would not be leſs ſo becauſe his Wife was no wiſer than She was born to be. He was indefatigable in taking Pains Night and Day, that the Fleet might be at Sea.

Preparations for ſetting out the Fleet again.

THE Duke of *Beaufort*, Admiral of *France*, was already gone to *Breſt*, and had taken Leave of the King at *Paris*, whither He was not to return till after the Summer's Service at Sea, and had appointed a Rendezvous of all the Ships to be at *Breſt* by the Middle of *March*, which They reported ſhould conſiſt of fifty Ships of War.

The French *Fleet prepared.*

THE Rupture was declared on Both Sides with *Denmark*. That King had appeared much troubled at the ill Accident at *Bergen*, which had fallen out merely by the Accidents of Weather, which had hindered the poſitive Orders from arriving in the preciſe Time: And He ſeemed ſtill reſolved to detain the *Dutch* Ships there, and only to fear the Conjunction of the *Swede* with the *Hollander*, which the King's Agent, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, aſſured him He need not to fear. Which the better to confirm, Mr. *Clifford*, who had been preſent at *Bergen*, and is before mentioned to be ſent after that by the King to *Denmark*, went from thence into *Sweden* (where Mr. *Coventry* yet remained) with a Project of ſuch a Treaty as would have been with little Alterations conſented to in *Sweden*, who had good Inclinations to the King, and reſolved to join with the Biſhop of *Munſter*, when He ſhould advance according to his Engagement. But the *Daniſh* Reſident in *Sweden* delayed to conclude, and pretended to have received leſs poſitive Orders than the Nature of the Affair required, and that He expected fuller: And ſo all Matters were deferred, till Ambaſſadours came from *Holland* with no Expoſtulations, and a Deſire to renew their Alliance, and releaſe ſome Engagements They had upon the *Sound*, which had been very grievous to the *Dane*; and many other Conditions were granted which were very convenient to them. An Ambaſſadour likewiſe arrived in the Nick of Time from *France*, to diſpoſe them to a Conjunction with *Holland*, and to warrant

Denmark joins the Dutch.

the Performance of whatſoever the *Hollander* ſhould promiſe, and likewiſe to undertake that *France* would protect them againſt *England*, and therefore that They ſhould not apprehend any Danger from a War from thence; and *De Ruyter* was now gone with the Fleet for *Bergen*.

Upon all theſe Motives concurring in the ſame Conjuncture, the poor King embraced that Party; and then declared and complained, "that the "*Engliſh* had broken the Law of Nations in violating the Peace of his Ports, "and endeavouring to fire his Town, when They were hoſpitably received and "treated there under the Protection of his Caſtle." He denied that He had ever made ſuch an Offer or Promiſe as Sir *Gilbert Talbot* ſtill charged him with, and which He had not denied to Mr. *Clifford* when He came firſt thither. But now He reproached Sir *Gilbert Talbot* "for falſifying his "Words, at leaſt for miſtaking them, and ſending that to the King his Maſter "which He gave him no Liberty to do." And now Sir *Gilbert* found his Errour in not having drawn from him or his Servant *Gabell*, in Writing, ſome Evidence of the Engagement: But after many Indignities He left the Court and returned to *England*. All *Engliſh* Ships in *Denmark* or *Norway* were ſeized upon; and the Perſons of all Merchants and others who were his Majeſty's Subjects, and to ſome of whom the King of *Denmark* owed great Sums of Money which They had lent to him, were impriſoned, and their Goods ſeized and confiſcated.

All which Proceedings provoked the King to give the like Orders, and to look upon them as Enemies, and to emit a Declaration of the Motive He had to ſend his Fleet to *Bergen*, "which He could never have done "but upon the Invitation and Promiſe of that King; which was evident "enough by the Reception his Ships had there, and Expectation the Gover- "nour had of their Arrival, and his Allegation, *that He expected that very* "*Night fuller Orders than He had yet received*; and laſtly, his ſuffering "them to depart ſecurely, after all the Acts of Hoſtility had paſſed in the "Port." Much of this was denied with many indecent Expreſſions, and ſuch Evaſions as made all that was ſaid believed by equal Conſiderers: And ſo the War was declared.

And then in the Beginning of the Year 1666, a Year long deſtined by all Aſtrologers for the Production of diſmal Changes and Alterations throughout the World, and by ſome for the End of it, the King found his Condition ſo much worſe than it had been the laſt Year, as the Addition of *France* and *Denmark* could make it; againſt all which, and the Prodigies which the Year was to produce (and it did truly produce many), the King prepared with his accuſtomed Vigour and Reſolution, though the Predictions had a ſtrange Operation upon vulgar Minds.

Negotiations of the French at this Time.

The Proclamation of the War in *France*, and the Seizure upon the Eſtates of the *Engliſh* with ſome Circumſtances in the Point of Time, and other Actions very unjuſt and unuſual, the great maritime Preparations there, and the viſible Aſſiſtance of Force that was ſent thence to the *Dutch*, did not trouble nor hurt the King ſo much as the ſecret and inviſible Negotiations of that Crown. From the firſt Declaration of the Biſhop of *Munſter* of his Reſolution to make a War upon *Holland* (with which He acquainted the King of *France* before He declared it, and received ſuch an Anſwer that made him very confident (as hath been remembered before upon his firſt Addreſs to the King of *Great Britain*) that He ſhould meet with no Obſtruction from thence; and upon that Confidence the Treaty was concluded with the King, and great Sums of Money paid to the Biſhop upon his Promiſe and Engagement, "that He would fix him-

"ſelf with his Army within the Territories of the *States General* before the "Winter was ended; and that againſt the Spring, when the King's Fleet ſhould "be ready for the Sea, He would at the ſame Time march with an Army "of twenty thouſand Foot and five thouſand Horſe into the Heart of their "Country;" and what the Effect of that would have been in that Conjuncture may be in ſome Degree gueſſed at by what hath ſince fallen out): I ſay, *France*, from the firſt Knowledge They had of his Purpoſe, and before They declared on the Behalf of the *Dutch*, ſecretly ſent to the neighbour Princes "not to join with the Biſhop, and to do all that was in their Power to "hinder his Levies;" and prevailed with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had given Hopes to the Biſhop of a powerful Aſſiſtance upon the Expectation of the Reſtoration of *Weſel*, and other Towns then poſſeſſed by *Holland*, totally to decline any Conjunction with him, upon Promiſe "that He "ſhould find his own Account better from the Friendſhip of *France*." The Dukes of *Lunenburg*, who had made the Biſhop believe that They would join with him, and had made Levies of Soldiers to that Purpoſe, having abundant Argument of Quarrel with *Holland*, were now perſuaded by the ſame Way not only to deſiſt from helping, but to declare themſelves Enemies to the Biſhop if He would not deſiſt, and "that They would ſerve the "*Dutch* with their Forces."

They deter the neighbouring States from aſſiſting the Biſhop of Munſter.

WHEN all this could not diſcourage the Biſhop from proſecuting his Intention, but that He ſtill gathered Troops, and gave new Commiſſions to Officers who had prepared for their Levies farther in *Germany*; the King of *France* ſent an Envoy expreſſly to the Biſhop himſelf, and offered his Mediation and Interpoſition with the *Dutch*, "that They ſhould do him all "the Right that in Juſtice He could demand from them, and if this were "not accepted by him, that He muſt expect what Prejudice the Arms of "*France* could bring upon him;" and then ſent to all thoſe Princes who had permitted Levies to be made in their Countries, "that They ſhould "not ſuffer thoſe Troops to march out of their Country," but offered "to "receive and entertain them in his own Army." With this He ſent to the other Princes of *Germany* and to the Emperour himſelf, "that if They did "not prevent this Incurſion of the Biſhop of *Munſter*" (to which They all wiſhed well), "They would involve the Empire in a War."

WHEN all this could not terrify the Biſhop, who defended himſelf by his Engagement to the King of *Great-Britain*, "that He would not enter into "Treaty nor give over his Enterpriſe without his Conſent," and drew his Forces together to a Rendezvous, and had got Permiſſion from the Marquis of *Caſtelle Roderigo*, then Governour of *Flanders*, to make Levies in thoſe Provinces without Noiſe or avowing it, and marched with his Army into the *States* Dominions, and took a Place or two even in the Sight of Prince *Maurice* (who drew as many of the *States* Troops together as could be ſpared out of their Garriſons, but thought not fit to engage with them, after He had found in ſome light Skirmiſhes that They were not firm); ſo that the Biſhop, by the Advantage of the Situation of which He was poſſeſſed, began to faſten himſelf in full Aſſurance of increaſing his Army, in Spite of all Diſcouragements, before the Spring (and He had already received ſome Troops out of *Flanders*, and Advertiſement from other of his Officers, that They were well advanced in their Levies): The King of *France* in this Conjuncture, in the imperious Style He cuſtomarily uſed in thoſe Caſes, ſent to the Governour of *Flanders* for a Licenſe for ſuch Troops, as He had Occaſion to ſend into *Germany*, to paſs through ſuch a Part of his Government; which as He had no Mind to grant, ſo He durſt not deny,

having Orders from *Spain* to be very careful, that no Diſguſts might be given to *France* which might give any Occaſion, or Pretence, or Opportunity for a Breach, which They well knew was deſired and longed for.

Upon this Permiſſion the *French* Troops marched into *Flanders*: And in the firſt Place, whether in their Way or out of their Way, They fell upon the Levies which were made for the Biſhop, and routed and diſperſed them, or took them Priſoners. In one Place, by the Strength of their Quarter and a neighbour Church, They defended themſelves, imagining the Country would relieve them, without ſuſpecting that They had Licenſe and Permiſſion to march through: But They were ſo much inferiour in Number or Strength, that after ſome of them were killed, the reſt were glad to throw down their Arms and become Priſoners at Mercy, the Officers not comprehending what declared Enemy could fall upon them in thoſe Quarters. With this Triumph They marched, and joined with Prince *Maurice* by the Time the Biſhop had Notice of the Diſaſter, and ſpeedily advanced upon his Quarters, and beat ſome of his Troops.

Upon which the poor Biſhop (who inſtead of the Supplies and Commiſſions and other Countenance that He had Reaſon to expect from thoſe Princes, who had been privy and with great Promiſes encouraged his Enterpriſe, received every Day Arguments from them againſt his proceeding farther, with many Conjurations that He would entirely ſubmit to the King of *France* his Determination) found himſelf neceſſitated to comply, and even heartbroken ſigned a Treaty with the *French*, who then were careful enough both of his Honour and Intereſt in the Conditions with the *Dutch*, as for an Ally of whom They meant to make more Uſe in another Conjuncture. Upon all which the Biſhop had been much more excuſable, if He had not received ſome of the King's Money, even after He ſaw that He ſhould be obliged to ſign the Treaty; which He ought not to have done, though it had been due, and it may be expended, before He had any ſuch Intention, and to which it cannot be denied He had moſt forcible Compulſions.

And at length force him to make a Peace with the Dutch.

This was the moſt ſenſible Blow, but the Plague, that the King had felt from the Beginning of the War, and was Inſtance enough how terrible the King of *France* was to all the neighbour Kings and Princes, who had ſo ſuddenly departed from their own Inclinations and Reſolutions and from their own Intereſt, only upon his Inſinuations, which became Orders to them. And *Spain*, if They knew that which all the World beſides diſcerned, could not but believe that *France* would break all Treaties as ſoon as the other King ſhould die, the News of which was expected and provided for every Week. But the drowſy Temper of that Monarch, who had been ſo much diſquieted throughout his whole Reign, extended ſo far only as to prepare a Stock of Peace that would laſt during his own Time, that He ſaw would be very ſhort, and to leave his Dominions and his infant Son to ſhift for themſelves when He was dead: And it was an unhappy Maxim of that State, that it was the beſt Huſbandry to purchaſe preſent Peace and preſent Money at how dear Intereſt ſoever for the future, which would be aſſiſted with ſome new Expedients, as *Spain* had always been.

All theſe Diſadvantages made the King the more ſolicitous to have but one Enemy to ſtruggle with, though it were *France*: And therefore He was very ſolicitous by all Ways He could deviſe to make a Peace with *Holland*, and to leave *Denmark* to their own Inventions; and He had ſome Encouragement to believe, that it was not impoſſible to ſeparate *Holland*

The King deſirous of uniting with Holland *againſt* France.

from *France*. They were ſenſible enough, that They had been upon the Matter betrayed into the War, by the poſitive Promiſe of Aſſiſtance, and a firm Conjunction from *France* in the Inſtant that the War ſhould be entered upon, without any Mention of Mediation or Interpoſition for Peace, which was againſt their Deſire; and that They had looked on very unconcernedly, or rather well pleaſed to ſee them beaten, and their own People ready to riſe againſt the Government. Then They knew that *France* did already provide for an Expedition againſt *Flanders*, which could not long defend itſelf with its own Forces; and that They depended upon this War between *England* and the *Dutch*, as what muſt hinder Both thoſe Nations from giving it Aſſiſtance: And They as well knew what their own Portion muſt be, when that Screen was removed, that was their beſt Security againſt ſo mighty a Neighbour. And this *De Wit* himſelf, who was the chief Supporter of the War, frequently obſerved and confeſſed to thoſe with whom He had moſt Converſation, and in whom He was believed to have moſt Truſt: And all thoſe Advertiſements were tranſmitted to the King by thoſe whoſe Integrity could not be ſuſpected, and who did not diſſemble, being of the *States* themſelves, to be very deſirous of Peace and very jealous of *France*.

The Dutch jealous of France.

THERE was a Gentleman, one *Monſieur Bewett*, of a good Family in *France* and born there, but long bred in *Holland* whilſt the Wars were there, and who had been Captain in the laſt Prince of *Orange's* Horſe-Guards, and in very particular Favour with him, by which He was married to a Woman of *Holland* very rich, and very nearly allied to many of thoſe who had the greateſt Influence upon the Government; and who was now looked upon rather as a *Dutchman* than a *Frenchman*, and converſed moſt familiarly amongſt the *Burgomaſters*, and other principal Perſons of the *States*. And by this Intereſt, after the Death of the Prince of *Orange*, that Troop was ſtill preſerved for a Guard to the *States*, and was the only Horſe-Troop that remained conſtantly in the *Hague*. And for the better pleaſing the People, it was ſtill called the Prince of *Orange's* Guard, and continued to wear the ſame Livery it had always done: And the young Prince took much Delight to ſee them, and to hear himſelf called by them their Captain; and the Commander thereof, *Bewett*, profeſſed and paid the ſame Devotion to him that He had done to his Father.

Character of M. Bewett a Gentleman of great Weight in Holland.

THIS Gentleman was generally beloved, and held a Man of great Sincerity, brave in Point of Courage, and of good Parts of Wit and Judgment, ſave that He was immoderately given to Wine and to the Exceſs of it, which, being the Diſeaſe or rather the Health of the Country, made him not the worſe thought of or leſs fit for Buſineſs. He was well known to the King and well thought of by him, and had great Familiarity with ſome of the Bedchamber, and others near the King and truſted by him. He had made a Journey once, ſince the King's Return into *England*, only to kiſs his Hand, and profeſs the ſame Affection and Duty He had often done when his Majeſty was abroad, which had always made him acceptable to him.

HE was a bold Speaker, and from the Time that the War was begun againſt *England* much inveighed againſt the Counſel that perſuaded it, as very pernicious to the Affairs of that Country; and in this Argument uſed not more Freedom with any than with *De Wit* himſelf, who loved his Perſon and his Spirit, and converſed very freely with him, though He knew his Friendſhips were chiefly with the Dependents upon the Houſe of *Orange*, and with others of the *States* who were of his own Opinion with Reference to the War: And the publiſhing his Opinion drew many of the greateſt In-

tereſt amongſt the *Burgomaſters* to delight in his Converſation, and to truſt him much. With thoſe He conſulted freely what Means ſhould be uſed to procure a Peace, and prevent the Miſchief that muſt attend the Continuance of the War, with good Senſe and Judgment: But thoſe Conſultations were always in the Exerciſe of Drinking, which never ended without the utmoſt Exceſs, though without Noiſe or Diſquiet or Unkindneſs, which are never the Effects of thoſe Exceſſes amongſt that People.

After the firſt Battle, when the *Dutch* were ſo much beaten, and the People in that Conſternation that They called aloud for Peace, and reviled all thoſe who were thought to be againſt it, and amongſt thoſe *De Wit* principally, who had the more Enemies, and Peace the more Friends, for the Differences which had ariſen amongſt the Officers of the Fleet upon the Death of *Opdam*, and upon the Diſgrace which *Trump* had undergone by the Power and Injuſtice, as They ſaid, of *De Wit* upon perſonal Diſlikes, and becauſe He was known to have great Affection for the Prince of *Orange* (and *Van Trump* himſelf, as hath been ſaid, was not only of much Intereſt amongſt the Seamen, but very popular in the Government, and had his Siſters married to *Burgomaſters* in ſome of the greateſt Towns; ſo that the Diſgrace of him increaſed the Number of *De Wit's* Enemies): In this Conjuncture *Bewett* cultivated the beſt He could all thoſe ill Humours, how mutinous ſoever, which grew moſt importunate for Peace; yet without any Reflection upon the Perſon of *De Wit*, with whom He was known by the Company He moſt kept to have much Familiarity, and whom He did at that Time really believe to be inclined to Peace, and declared He did think ſo to thoſe who knew the contrary, yet did not think the worſe of him for being deceived, being aſſured He would never deceive them for Want of Integrity.

His Endeavours to bring about a Peace.

But He took Advantage of this general Diſtemper and of the Prejudice the People had againſt him, to talk very frankly to *De Wit* of Both; and admired, "ſince He did, as He profeſſed, deſire Peace, that He would not "find ſome Way to undeceive the People, which was neceſſary for his own "Security; and it might eaſily be effected, by giving a Beginning to ſuch "a Conſultation as might look towards an Accommodation." *De Wit* had his Spies in all Places, and knew well what Company *Bewett* moſt delighted in, though his Acquaintance was univerſal and agreeable to all Men: And He was informed too of his particular Behaviour with Reference to him, and that He did conſtantly and confidently vindicate him from many Imputations, in the Preſence of thoſe who were not pleaſed with his Contradictions; ſo that He looked upon him as his Friend, and one that might by his Intereſt and Credit divert ſome of that popular Envy and Malice, of which He had no Contempt but much Apprehenſion.

He renewed his former Profeſſions of his Deſire of Peace, and gave ſo good Reaſons for it as might naturally gain Belief; amongſt which one was always a vehement Jealouſy of *France*, "which," He ſaid, "though it had "at laſt declared War againſt *England*, which They ought to have done ſo "long before, had done it only to draw *England* into ſome Conditions which "might facilitate their own Enterpriſe upon *Flanders*, which it concerned "them to prevent by all the Ways poſſible; of which none would be ſo "probable as a Peace between *England* and them, which would immediately make each ſolicitous for their own Intereſt. But how to ſet any "Thing on Foot that might contribute to this He knew not; and the doing "that which the other had propoſed, by declaring himſelf, was the Way "only

De Wit pretends to deſire a Peace.

"only to ſlacken all the Proviſions for War, the expediting of which would "moſt advance a Peace."

BEWETT replied, "that He knew He had many Friends in the *Engliſh* "Court, whereof ſome were of near Truſt about his Majeſty, for whoſe "Secrecy He would be accountable;" and named the Lord *Arlington*, who had lately married a Lady of the *Hague*, the Daughter of *Monſieur Beverwaert*, a Perſon in his Quality and Fortune in the firſt Rank. He offered to him, "that He would himſelf write ſuch a Letter to the Lord *Ar-* "*lington* in his own Name, which He ſhould firſt ſee and approve, with- "out which He would not ſend it, as ſhould only teſtify his own good "Wiſhes for a Peace between the two Nations, which were not unknown "to the King himſelf; and would make no other Mention of him, than "that He had Reaſon to believe, that *Monſieur De Wit* (in whoſe good "Opinion He had the Honour to be known to have ſome Place) would not "be unwilling to promote any good Overture that ſhould be made." After ſome Debate He was content that He ſhould write, provided that He would promiſe to write Nothing but what He ſhould firſt ſee, and would ſtill bring the Anſwers to him which He ſhould receive; to which the other conſented.

Bewett enters into a Correſpondence with the Engliſh *Court with* De Wit's *Conſent.*

UPON this Encouragement He begun his Correſpondence with the Lord *Arlington*, and acquainted his Boſom-Friends with it, to diſpoſe them the more to hope for Peace, and to look upon *De Wit* as not averſe to it. But what He writ was with ſo much Warineſs, being dictated upon the Matter by the Penſioner, that it could draw no other Anſwers from the Secretary but of the ſame Style, with Expreſſions of his Majeſty's Deſire of Peace and Eſteem of *De Wit*, and as if He expected ſome Overtures to ariſe from thence. This Intelligence had not been long on Foot, but He begun to ſuſpect the Sincerity of *De Wit*, and that indeed He was not ſo well inclined to Peace as He had pretended to be: His Countenance was not ſo open, nor He ſo vacant when He came as He uſed to be; He grew leſs jealous of the *French*, and more compoſed himſelf, and leſs apprehenſive of the People, as He found them more compoſed, and a greater Concurrence in the making all Things ready for the Fleet. All which Obſervations He likewiſe imparted to his Companions, who were glad to find him begin to be undeceived; and from that Time He was apter to concur with them in the fiercer Counſels, how to compaſs a Peace in Spite of him by a Majority of Votes in the *States*, with the Help of the People, for the Suppreſſion of any accidental Inſurrection whereof, there were no other Forces in View than thoſe Horſe-Guards that were commanded by him.

He ſoon ſuſpects De Wit's *Sincerity.*

And reſolves to get a Peace in Oppoſition to him.

HEREUPON He took a new Reſolution, but would not loſe the Advantage He had by the Knowledge *De Wit* had of his Correſpondence, and therefore ſhewed him a Letter that He had received from the Lord *Arlington*, in which He preſſed him "to inform him, what Particulars would "diſpoſe the *States* to Peace and to ſeparate from the *French*," and had ſent him a Cipher for the more free and ſafe Communication; which Cipher He depoſited in the Hands of *De Wit*, having received his Directions and obſerved them by uſing the ſame Cipher, which the other examined and kept, and hoped by the Anſwer to put an End to that Correſpondence, of which He grew weary, and leſs confident of the Perſon, becauſe He heard that He was grown leſs zealous in his Defence than He had been.

BEWETT upon this grew more reſolute one Way and leſs apprehenſive the other Way, and ſent a Perſon with whom He had great Friendſhip, and who was well known to the King and moſt about him, *Monſieur Silvius*, a

He ſettles a ſecret Correſpondence with the Engliſh *Court.*

Servant to the late Princeſs Royal, and a Native of *Orange*, with a full Account "of the State of the Counſels at the *Hague*, and his Diſcovery that "*De Wit* did not in Truth deſire a Peace, nor would conſent to it but "upon very unreaſonable Terms," whereof ſome were mentioned in his Letter in Cipher which He had dictated; "but that He was moſt aſſured, "that He ſhould be compelled at the next Aſſembly of the *States* to ſubmit "to more reaſonable Conditions." He gave the King an Account of the Ground of his Confidence, and an Information of the Perſons who were combined together to preſs it in the *States*, amongſt which there were ſome of the greateſt Power: And by their Advice He offered the Subſtance of a Meſſage They wiſhed the King ſhould ſend to the *States General* at the Time of their convening, in which there was Nothing contained againſt which any Thing could be objected on his Majeſty's Behalf; and "upon the "Delivery thereof there would ſo few adhere to *De Wit*, that He ſhould not "be able to prevent a Treaty though *France* ſhould proteſt againſt it." He ſent likewiſe at the ſame Time, and by the ſame Perſon, another Cipher to the Lord *Arlington*, with Direction "that in ſuch Letters as were intended "for the View of the Penſioner the former Cipher ſhould be uſed, and in "the other Letters, which were to be concealed from him, and which were "for the moſt Part to contain Intelligence and Advice againſt him, the latter Cipher was only to be made Uſe of."

Those Informations by *Silvius*, who was a Man of Parts, and had Dependance upon the Duke of *York*, and meant not to return into *Holland* except upon a preſſing Occaſion, when He durſt adventure to go, being looked upon as an Inhabitant of the *Hague*, having been always bred there, and his Relation to the Duke ſcarce yet taken Notice of; I ſay, thoſe Informations the King thought to be worthy to be well conſidered, and conferred with the Chancellor upon the Whole, and appointed the Lord *Arlington* to inform him of all that had paſſed from the Beginning; and that *Silvius*, who was concealed, that They might have no Advertiſement in *Holland* of his having been in *England*, ſhould likewiſe attend him in ſome Evening; which He ſhortly after did, and made him an ample and clear Relation of the State of the Counſels at the *Hague*, and the ſeveral Factions amongſt them, and the Diſtemper of the People. He had himſelf ſpoken with many of the *Burgomaſters* and others in Authority, who were privy to his Coming, and communicated the Method They meant to proceed in towards the depreſſing *De Wit*, by mingling the Propoſition for Peace with the Intereſt of the Prince of *Orange*, which the People thought to be inſeparable.

In Fine, He gave a perfect good Account of all to which He was inſtructed, with great Modeſty: And when the Chancellor, to whom *Bewett* and He were Both well known, would have induced him to deliver Somewhat of his own Judgment, whether He thought that Combination to be ſtrong enough to over-rule *De Wit*; He could draw no other Anſwer from him than the magnifying the Credit and Intereſt of *Bewett*, which He ſeemed principally to rely upon, and the Impoſſibility that He ſhould fail in Point of Integrity or Courage.

Silvius had ſettled a ſure Way of Correſpondence, and by every Poſt received freſh Intelligence of the Preparations and Progreſs *Bewett* and his Friends made in their Deſigns, of the Succeſs whereof They were every Day more confident, and thought their Party ſo much to increaſe, that as They did not apprehend any Diſcovery like to be made by Treachery, ſo They did not ſeem to fear it, if *De Wit* himſelf ſhould know all that They intended:

tended: And They preſſed very earneſtly, "that the King's Letter, in the "Manner They had propoſed, might be at the *Hague* when the *General* "*States* were to meet," the Time whereof approached.

THE King called thoſe to him to whom the whole Negotiation had been imparted, to adviſe what was to be done. On the King's Part Nothing was conſiderable, but whether He ſhould write to the *States* at all, and what He ſhould write: And againſt writing there ſeemed to be no Objection, and as little againſt writing what They adviſed, which was no more than He had formerly writ, and always ſaid to their Ambaſſadour. And that this might be a more favourable Conjuncture for the good Reception of it, and hearkening to it, his Majeſty was reaſonably to believe thoſe who meant to ſecond and promote it with their own Reaſons: And therefore the Time and the Manner of the Delivery of it was left to be reſolved amongſt themſelves, the King having no Miniſter there to preſent it.

THE Way that They had thought of was, that *Bewett* ſhould at the proper Time deliver it to *De Wit*, who durſt not conceal it, and if He ſhould, there would be Ways enough to publiſh it to his Reproach; nor could He take any Advantage of *Bewett* for his Correſpondence with their Enemies, becauſe it had been entered into with his Approbation. But for the better Security in the ſending it, and the better Information of the Perſons engaged of all the Reflections which had been made by the King, and thoſe with whom He had conferred by his Majeſty's Order, it was thought beſt that *Silvius* ſhould return; and if *Bewett* thought fit to decline the Delivery of the King's Letter, and no better Way could be found for the Delivery of it, He might preſent it in the Manner his Friends there ſhould direct, and avow his having been at *London* to ſolicit his own Pretences ſince the Death of the Princeſs Royal his Miſtreſs, and that He had received the Letter from the King's own Hand. This being the concurrent Opinion of all, and the Gentleman himſelf willing to undertake it; *Silvius* was diſpatched.

IN the Debate of the Matter, the King aſked the Chancellor "what He "thought of the Deſign, and whether He thought it would ſucceed;" who ſaid, "He doubted it much, and that it would conclude in the Loſs of "poor *Bewett's* Head, who had not a Talent for the Managery of an Af-"fair of that Weight, which would require great Secrecy and great Sobriety, "and the Conſideration of more Particulars at once than his Comprehenſion "could contain together." Then He did not like the Method They propoſed, of joining the Demand of Peace with the Intereſt of the Prince of *Orange*, which, though it might probably follow the Peace and be an Effect of it, would not be ſeaſonable to be joined with it in Regard of his Infancy; and that many did heartily deſire the Peace, who had no Mind that the Prince ſhould be reſtored to the Offices of his Father and Family, or that there ſhould be any Debate of it, till the Prince came to the Age that was provided by the ſolemn Act and Declaration of the *States*: Which had been the Reaſon that his Majeſty (who had all the Tenderneſs for his Nephew that a Parent could have) would never be perſuaded to mention him (though it had been propoſed by many, and even by the Elector of *Brandenburgh* and the Princeſs Dowager) in the Conditions of the Peace; the King foreſeeing that *De Wit* would have been glad to have that Advantage, as to obſerve to the People, that the King would preſcribe to them what Officers They ſhould chooſe and admit into their Government, and that They muſt have no Peace, except They would take a General and a Stadtholder

and an Admiral of his Nomination, which was to make them ſubject to himſelf.

And this was the Reaſon, that in all Conferences with the *French* Ambaſſadours, who ſometimes would mention the Prince of *Orange* with Compaſſion for the Ingratitude of the *States* towards him, and add, "that They "doubted not their Maſter would be ready to join with his Majeſty in doing "him all Offices;" and ſometimes when the *Dutch* Ambaſſadour (who was of that Party that did really wiſh the Reſtoration of the Prince) in Conference would ſeem to wiſh and to believe, that the reſtoring the Prince of *Orange* would be the Conſequence of the Peace: The King never gave other Anſwer, than "that He ſhould be very glad that the *States* would "gratify his Nephew; but that it was a Matter He had Nothing to do "to interpoſe in, it depending wholly upon their own Good-Will and "Pleaſure."

The reſt who were preſent had much more Eſteem of *Bewett* than the Chancellor had (who thought as well of his Courage and Integrity as They did), and believed He would have Succeſs in what He deſigned, his Intereſt in the Right of his Wife being confeſſedly very great amongſt the *States*, and his jolly Courſe of Living having rendered him very acceptable and grateful to Men of the moſt different Affections; and then of all the Officers of the Militia He was moſt eſteemed, which was like to be of Moment if the Diſpute brought the Matter to a Struggle: But the Event ſhewed the Contrary.

After *Silvius's* Departure, Letters paſſed between them, as they had uſed to do, for two or three Poſts. And *Bewett* one Day meeting *De Wit* when He came from his good Fellows, and They walking a Turn together in common Diſcourſe, *De Wit* aſked him, "when He had any Letter "from *England*, and how Affairs went there:" To which He ſuddenly anſwered, "that He came juſt then from receiving one, which He had not "yet deciphered," and put his Hand into his Pocket, and took thence a Letter; and caſting his Eyes (which were never good, and now worſe by the Company He had left) upon the Superſcription, He gave it to him, and ſaid, "He would go with him that They might decipher it together accord-"ing to Cuſtom."

Bewett's ſecret Correſpondence accidentally diſcovered by De Wit.

De Wit preſently found that it was not the accuſtomed Cipher (for He had delivered the wrong Letter, that which He ought not to ſee), and deſired him "that He would walk before, and He would preſently overtake "him, after He had ſpoken a few Words at a Houſe in his Way." And ſo leaving him, He took preſent Order for the apprehending him and ſearching his Pockets; and at the ſame Time ſent to his Houſe, and cauſed his Cabinet, where all his Papers were, to be examined and ſealed up. And ſo poor *Bewett*, whilſt He ſtayed at the other's Houſe that They might decipher the Letter, was apprehended, and all his Papers taken out of his Pockets, and He ſent to Priſon. The other Cipher was quickly found, and many Letters and other Papers, which diſcovered many Secrets. Whereupon a Court of Juſtice was ſpeedily erected: And within three Days, according to the Expedition uſed there in ſuch Caſes, a Scaffold was erected, and the poor Gentleman brought thither in the Sight of all his Friends; and there, with his known Courage, and in few Words declaring "that He had "honeſt Purpoſes to the Country," loſt his Head.

Upon which He is executed.

His Friends obliged to fly.

Silvius quickly heard of his Impriſonment, and as ſoon thought it neceſſary to make his own Eſcape, and arrived in *England* before He heard of his laſt Misfortune, which He did not ſuſpect, nor knew how the Diſ-

covery had been made. The Knot, thus broken, diſperſed themſelves: Moſt of them got into *Flanders*; the *Burgomaſter* of *Rotterdam*, and two or three others of Note, made all the Haſte They could into *England*; ſome thought themſelves ſecure in *Antwerp* and other Parts of *Flanders*; and ſome were ſeized upon in ſeveral Places of the *States* Dominions, and impriſoned with all the Circumſtances of Severity, though upon the Want of clear Proofs few of them were put to Death. The Troop of Guards was reformed, or rather transformed, under new Officers, and aſſigned for a conſtant Guard to the *States*, without the leaſt formal Relation to the Prince of *Orange*, or uſing his Name or Livery, or Permiſſion to pay any Reverence to him. And ſo the Prince was much lower than before, and all Hopes of reviving almoſt extinguiſhed or expired; *De Wit* ſtood firmer upon his own Feet than ever, and directed all Preparations for the War without Control; and all the preſent Expectation in *England* vaniſhed: Whilſt the Penſionary informed *France* of the Dangers He had eſcaped for them, and what great Matters had been offered to him if He would have departed from their Intereſt; and made the Plot to contain all that He fancied it might have done.

WHEN the Parliament at *Oxford* was prorogued, it was to a Day in *April*: But the King had Reaſon to believe that They would not ſo ſoon be in good Humour enough to give more Money, which was the principal End of calling them together. And the Dregs of the Plague ſtill remaining, and venting its Malignity in many Burials every Week, his Majeſty thought fit to diſpenſe with their Attendance at that Time by a Proclamation: And He cauſed it at the Day to be prorogued to the twentieth of *September* following. In the mean Time the Court abounded in all its Exceſſes. There had been ſome Hope during the Abode at *Oxford*, that the Queen had been with Child; and whilſt that Hope laſted, the King lived with more Conſtraint and Caution, and prepared to make himſelf worthy of that Bleſſing: And there are many Reaſons to believe, beſides his own natural good Inclinations, that if God had vouchſafed to have given him a Child, and the Queen that Bleſſing to have merited from him, He would have reſtrained all thoſe inordinate Appetites and Delights; and that He would ſeriouſly have applied himſelf to his Government, and cut off all thoſe extravagant Expenſes of Money and Time, which diſturbed and corrupted the Evenneſs of his own Nature and the Sincerity of his Intentions, and expoſed him to the Temptations of thoſe who had all the Traps and Snares to catch and detain him.

The Queen miſcarries.

THE Imagination of the Queen's Breeding was one Cauſe of her Stay there; and her Stay there was the longer, becauſe She miſcarried when She intended to begin her Journey. And though the Doctors declared that it was a real Miſcarriage, ripe enough to make a Judgment of the Sex; yet ſome of the Women who had more Credit with the King aſſured him, "that "it was only a falſe Conception, and that She had not been at all with "Child:" Inſomuch that his Majeſty, who had been ſo confident upon a former Occaſion, as to declare to the Queen his Mother and to others, "that upon his own Knowledge her Majeſty had miſcarried of a Son," ſuffered himſelf now to be ſo totally convinced by thoſe Ladies and other Women, that He did as poſitively believe that She never had, never could be, with Child. And from that Time He took little Pleaſure in her Converſation, and more indulged to himſelf all Liberties in the Converſation of thoſe, who uſed all their Skill to ſupply him with Divertiſements, which might drive all that was ſerious out of his Thoughts, and make him undervalue

Great Licenſe in the Court.

dervalue thoſe whom He had uſed, and ſtill did moſt truſt and employ, in what He thought moſt important; though He ſometimes thought many Things not of Importance, which in the Conſequence were of the higheſt.

THE Lady, who had never declined in Favour, was now greater in Power than ever: She was with Child again, and well enough contented that his Majeſty ſhould entertain an Amour with another Lady, and made a very ſtrict Friendſhip with her, it may be the more diligently out of Confidence that He would never prevail with her, which many others believed too. But without Doubt the King's Paſſion was ſtronger towards that other Lady, than ever it was to any other Woman: And She carried it with that Diſcretion and Modeſty, that She made no other Uſe of it than for the Convenience of her own Fortune and Subſiſtence, which was narrow enough; never ſeemed diſpoſed to interpoſe in the leaſt Degree in Buſineſs, nor to ſpeak ill of any Body; which Kind of Nature and Temper the more inflamed the King's Affection, who did not in his Nature love a buſy Woman, and had an Averſion from ſpeaking with any Woman, or hearing them ſpeak, of any Buſineſs but to that Purpoſe He thought them all made for, however They broke in afterwards upon him to all other Purpoſes.

THE Lady herſelf, who every Day (as was ſaid before) grew in Power and Credit, did not yet preſume to interpoſe in any other Buſineſs, than in giving all the imaginable Countenance She could to thoſe who deſired to depend upon her, and, in their Right as well as her own, in depreſſing the Credit of thoſe who She knew wiſhed her's much leſs than it was; but in this laſt Argument She was hitherto wary, and took only ſuch Opportunities as were offered, without going out of her Way to find them. Her principal Buſineſs was to get an Eſtate for herſelf and her Children, which She thought the King at leaſt as much concerned to provide as She to ſolicit; which however She would not be wanting in, and ſo procured round Sums of Money out of the Privy Purſe (where She had placed Mr. *May*), and other Aſſignations in other Names, and ſo the leſs taken Notice of, though in great Proportions: All which yet amounted to little more than to pay her Debts, which She had in few Years contracted to an unimaginable Greatneſs, and to defray her conſtant Expenſes, which were very exceſſive in Coaches and Horſes, Cloaths and Jewels, without any Thing of Generoſity, or gratifying any of her Family, or ſo much as paying any of her Father's Debts, whereof ſome were very clamorous. Her Name was not uſed in any Suits for the Grant of Lands; for beſides that there was no avowing or publick Mention of natural Children, She did think the Chancellor and Treaſurer willing to obſtruct ſuch Grants, and deſired not to have any Occaſion to try the Kindneſs of either of them: And ſo all the Suits She made of that Kind were with Reference to *Ireland*, where They had no Title to obſtruct, nor natural Opportunity to know, what was granted; and in that Kingdom She procured the Grant of ſeveral great Quantities of Land, like to prove of great Benefit and Value to her or her Children.

An Attempt to raiſe Jealouſie in the King of his Brother.

THE chief Deſign They now begun to deſign, and the worſt They could ever deſign, was to raiſe a Jealouſy in the King of his Brother, to which his Majeſty was not in any Degree inclined, and had in Truth a juſt Affection for him and Confidence in him, without thinking better of his natural Parts than He thought there was Cauſe for; and yet, which made it the more wondered at, He did very often depart in Matters of the higheſt Moment from his own Judgment to comply with his Brother, who was inſtructed, by thoſe who too well knew the King's Nature, to adhere to

any Thing He once adviſed, and to be importunate in any Thing He propoſed; in which He prevailed the more eaſily, becauſe He never uſed it in any Thing that concerned himſelf or his own Benefit.

The Temper and Diſpoſition of the Stuart Family.

THE Truth is: It was the unhappy Fate and Conſtitution of that Family, that They truſted naturally the Judgments of thoſe, who were as much inferiour to them in Underſtanding as They were in Quality, before their own which was very good; and ſuffered even their Natures, which diſpoſed them to Virtue and Juſtice, to be prevailed upon and altered and corrupted by thoſe, who knew how to make Uſe of ſome one Infirmity that They diſcovered in them; and by complying with that, and cheriſhing and ſerving it, They by Degrees wrought upon the Maſs, and ſacrificed all the other good Inclinations to that ſingle Vice. They were too much inclined to like Men at firſt Sight, and did not love the Converſation of Men of many more Years than themſelves, and thought Age not only troubleſome but impertinent. They did not love to deny, and leſs to Strangers than to their Friends; not out of Bounty or Generoſity, which was a Flower that did never grow naturally in the Heart of either of the Families, that of *Stuart* or the other of *Bourbon*, but out of an Unſkilfulneſs and Defect in the Countenance: And when They prevailed with themſelves to make ſome Pauſe rather than to deny, Importunity removed all Reſolution, which They knew neither how to ſhut out nor to defend themſelves againſt, even when it was evident enough that They had much rather not conſent; which often made that which would have looked like Bounty loſe all its Grace and Luſtre.

Particularly of the King and Duke.

IF the Duke ſeemed to be more firm and fixed in his Reſolutions, it was rather from an Obſtinacy in his Will, which He defended by Averſion from the Debate, than from the Conſtancy of his Judgment, which was more ſubject to Perſons than to Arguments, and ſo as changeable at leaſt as the King's, which was in greateſt Danger by Surpriſe: And from this Want of Steadineſs, and Irreſolution (whenceſoever the Infirmity proceeded) moſt of the Misfortunes, which attended either of them or their Servants who ſerved them honeſtly, had their Riſe and Growth; of which there will be ſhortly an Occaſion, and too frequently, to ſay much more. In the mean Time it cannot be denied, and was obſerved and confeſſed by all, that never any Prince had a more humble and dutiful Condeſcenſion and Submiſſion to an elder Brother, than the Duke had towards the King: His whole Demeanour and Behaviour was ſo full of Reverence, that it might have given Example to be imitated by thoſe, who ought but did not obſerve a greater Diſtance. And the Conſcience and Reſentment He had within himſelf, for the Sally He had made in *Flanders*, made him after ſo wary in his Actions, and ſo abhorring to hear any Thing that might leſſen his Awe for the King, that no Man who had moſt Credit with him durſt approach towards any Thing of that Kind; ſo that there was never leſs Ground of Jealouſy than of him. And (as was ſaid before) the King (who was in his Nature ſo far from any Kind of Jealouſy, that He was too much inclined to make Interpretations of many Words and Actions, which might reaſonably harbour other Apprehenſions) was as incapable of any Infuſions which might leſſen his Confidence in his Brother, as any noble and virtuous Mind could be. And therefore thoſe ill Men, who began about this Time to ſow that curſed Seed that grew up to bear a large Crop of the worſt and rankeſt Jealouſy in the ſucceeding Time, did not preſume to make any Reflection upon the Duke himſelf, but upon his Wife, "upon "the State She aſſumed, and the Height of the whole Family, that lived

"in much more Plenty," They ſaid, "than the King's, and were more re-
"garded abroad."

Endeavours uſed to leſſen the King's Eſteem of the Dutcheſs.

SUCH Kind of People are never without ſome particular Stories of the Perſons whom They deſire to deprave: And ſo They had many Inſtances, which They uſed upon all Occaſions, of ſome Levity or Vanity, of ſome Words affected by the Dutcheſs, or ſome outward Carriage, true or falſe, which for the moſt Part concluded in Mirth and Laughter, and ſeemed ridiculous; which was the Method They uſed in all their Approaches of that Kind towards the higheſt Acts of Malice, firſt to make the Perſon, whom They hoped to ruin in the End, leſs eſteemed, by the acting and Preſentation of his Words and Geſtures and Motions; which commonly is attended with Laughter. And this is the firſt Breach They make upon any Man's Reputation; and the frequent Cuſtom of this Kind of Laughter and Mirth, which is eaſily produced without any Malice, doth in the End open a Space large enough to let in Calumny and Scandal enough to weaken, if not to deſtroy, the beſt built Reputation.

THIS was the Courſe They held with Reference to the Dutcheſs, whom the King had from the Beginning treated with great Grace and Favour, and conſidered her as a Woman of more than an ordinary Wit and Underſtanding: And the Queen Mother had from the Reconciliation uſed her with that abundant Affection and Familiarity that was very wonderful; and the Heights She aſſumed, and all that Greatneſs which many thought too much, were not only inculcated, but enjoined by the Queen as a Duty due to her Huſband, of whoſe high Degree She thought She could not be too tender and careful. And She had the Happineſs ſo well to behave herſelf towards the Duke, that He was exceedingly pleaſed with her, and lived towards her with an Affection ſo remarkable and notorious, that it grew to be the publick Diſcourſe and Commendation; and which made the Liberties that were taken elſewhere the more ſpoken of and cenſured. It was very viſible that He liked her Company and Converſation very well, and was believed to communicate all his Counſels, and all He knew or thought, without Reſerve to her; which, being ſo contrary to the profeſſed Doctrine of the Court, adminiſtered Occaſion to the Men of Mirth, in thoſe Seaſons which took up a good Part of every Night, to be very pleaſant upon the Government of the Dutcheſs, and the Submiſſion of the Duke; in which there were always ſome witty Reflections upon the Chancellor. And this Kind of Liberty, being firſt grateful to the King for the Wit that accompanied it and the Mirth that it produced, grew by the Cuſtom of it the more acceptable; and it may be the general and publick Obſervation of the Diſparity in the Lives of the two Brothers made it wiſhed, that there were no more of that Strictneſs in the one Place than in the other, towards which there wanted not Application and Advice accordingly as well as Example.

IN the mean Time the Chancellor had a hard Part to act, being neither able to do the Good He conſtantly endeavoured on one Side, nor remove the Ill He diſliked on the other Side; for He ſaw well the Miſchief that would inevitably follow the great Expenſes of the Duke, which exceeded all Limits and could never be provided for; and thought the Dutcheſs to be blamed for what She ſpent upon herſelf, and uſed all the Credit He had with Both to begin in Time to reform what Neceſſity would ſhortly do with more Diſhonour: But the Diſeaſe had grown from the firſt ill Digeſtion.

THE

THE Lord *Berkley* had upon the King's firſt Arrival formed a Family without Rule or Precedent, and made the Servants in a much better Condition than the Maſter, by aſſigning liberal Penſions and Allowances to them, who had paid him dear for their Places, without conſidering from what Fund they ſhould ariſe: And now They all would have the Duke believe, "that He ſpent not too much; but that He had too little Proviſion "aſſigned to him for his Quality and Relation, and that this proceeded from "the Neglect in the Chancellor, who was able, if He endeavoured it, to "perſuade the King to enlarge it to a juſt Proportion." And this was as much urged to the Dutcheſs as to the Duke, and it made in her a greater Impreſſion; and though She had in all other Reſpects a very entire Affection and even a Duty and Reſignation to her Father, yet in this He had no Authority with her, nor did She think him a competent Judge what Expenſes Princes ſhould make: And having ſeen the State and Luſtre in which the Duke of *Anjou* lived in *France*, and having received many Infuſions from the Queen, of the great Defect in the Cuſtoms of *England*, in providing either for the Reſpect or for the Support of the younger Sons of the Crown, She thought that the Chancellor ſhould rather uſe his Credit for the enlarging that Narrowneſs, which the King was enough diſpoſed to, than to reform their Expenſes. But of this enough.

THE Plague had really ſwept away and deſtroyed ſo many Seamen (*Stepney* and the Places adjacent, which were their common Habitations, being almoſt depopulated) that now, all other Obſtructions being removed, there ſeemed even an Impoſſibility to procure Sailors and Mariners enough to ſet out the Fleet; inſomuch as They found it neceſſary to preſs many Watermen, and to diſfurniſh all Merchants Ships which were prepared to be ſet out to the Plantations or to other Places of Trade: All which turned not ſo much to Benefit one Way, as it did to Loſs another Way. But the beſt Way to expedite all Things was the two Admirals going to the Fleet themſelves, that They who reſolved to go might haſten thither, and that They who had no Mind to go might, out of Shame, likewiſe accompany them.

THERE appeared great Unanimity and Conſent between them. Only Prince *Rupert* had a great Deſire to go in a Ship apart, and that They might not be Both in one Ship: But upon Debate it appeared to be unpracticable, and that in a Time of Action the Orders could not be the ſame, if They who gave them were not together and in the ſame Place; and ſo the Prince was perſuaded not to be poſitive in that Particular. And ſo They Both went together, and took Leave of the King towards the End of *April*, and laboured ſo effectually (as They were Both Men of great Dexterity and indefatigable Induſtry in ſuch Conjunctures), that They carried the Fleet out to Sea, well fitted and provided, by the Middle of *May*; with which They preſently viſited the Coaſt of *Holland*, and took many Prizes; and by the Intelligence They met with concluded that the *Dutch* Fleet would not be ready in a Month, of which They gave the King Advertiſement, and returned into the *Downs*. And Prince *Rupert* at the ſame Time expreſſed an Inclination to go himſelf with Part of the Fleet to meet the Duke of *Beaufort*, who was reported to be under Sail to join with the *Dutch*, and "that They would not put to Sea till They foreſaw that They were "like to join about *Calais*."

The Fleet puts to Sea under Prince Rupert *and the General.*

The Occaſion of the Diviſion of the Fleet.

AT or near the ſame Time the Lord *Arlington* received Intelligence, "that the *Dutch* were not yet well manned; and that the Ships which "were in the *Texel*, and were to join with the other under *De Ruyter* in "the *Wierings*, were more unprovided:" Though at the ſame Time Se-

cretary *Morrice* (who had always better Intelligence from *Holland)* was assured from thence, "that all the Ships in Both Places were so ready that "they would join within very few Days." But the Lord *Arlington*, who thought He ought to be more believed, received as positive Advertisement from *France*, "that the Duke of *Beaufort* set Sail from *Brest* on such "a Day:" And though the Wind had not been yet directly favourable for him, it was concluded that He must be well advanced in his Way, and He had no Port to Friend till He came to the Coast of *France* near *Calais*.

Upon this there seemed a great Desire that Prince *Rupert* might take the Course He had proposed; for the Convenience was agreed to be very great, if the *French* could be met with before the Conjunction. However the Council was so wary that at that Time attended the King at *Worcester-House*, the Chancellor being affected with the Gout, that They advised the King "not to send positive Orders for the dividing the Fleet, which by "many Accidents might produce Inconveniences; but rather to send two "of the Council to the Fleet, with an Account of all the Intelligence, "and the Reflections which occurred to the King upon it." And hereupon Sir *George Carteret* and Sir *William Coventry* were presently sent, and carried such Orders with them, as would be necessary if the Generals had not other Intelligence, or did think that the Division was not liable to more Objections than had been in View. And this Caution I set down more particularly, because the Council underwent Reproaches which it did not deserve.

The two Counsellors used such Expedition, and found so good Conveniences by Land and Water, that They returned to the King the next Day with an Account, "that the State of the *Dutch* Fleet was confirmed to be "the same that his Majesty had heard, and that They believed the other "concerning the Duke of *Beaufort* to be very probable; whereupon They "had concluded with a mutual Consent and Approbation, *that Prince* Ru- "pert *should take twenty of the Ships, which He had already chosen, to meet* "*the* French, *though They were superiour in Number, whilst the General re-* "*mained in the* Downs *with the rest:* And in Order to this that the Prince "went aboard his Ship before They came away, and the rather, because "the Wind was so much against him, that his Majesty's Orders, if He "found Cause to send any, would be sure for some Days to find him upon "the Western Coast; and the Wind that was against him was so favoura- "ble to the Duke of *Beaufort*, that it was probable They might speedily "meet, and in a Place to be wished." The King saw no Cause yet to send Orders to the Contrary; and this was the Reason, and all the Circumstances, of the Separation of the Fleet that proved unfortunate.

It appeared very soon after, which Secretary had the better Intelligence: For the very next Day after the Departure of the Prince, the General, who remained in the *Downs*, had certain Intelligence that the *Dutch* were come out of their Harbours, having it seems received Intelligence likewise of the *French* Fleet's being at Sea, and being obliged to meet them, and had been long ready to do so; which had deceived the Court, They believing that They stayed because They were not ready to come out, whereas They were ready and expected only the other Advertisement.

As soon as the General was informed, He sent Notice presently to the Duke late in the same Evening, who, informing the King of it, gave Orders to Sir *William Coventry* to prepare Orders to Prince *Rupert* immediately to return; and if those Orders had been carefully dispatched, they

might have come to the Prince before the Morning. But Sir *William Coventry* thought He had done his Part when He got the Order ſigned, which was about twelve of the Clock at Night, and then ſent them by his Servant to the Lord *Arlington*, whoſe Part He thought it was to charge a Meſſenger with them: But He was gone to Bed, and his Servants durſt not diſquiet him, a Tenderneſs not accuſtomed to be in the Family of a Secretary. But whether They did not wake him, as He pretended, or being awake He deferred it, it was not ſent away till the next Day, and never came to Prince *Rupert's* Hand till He had turned his Sails upon the Thunder of the Cannon; and no He ſooner endeavoured to return, but the Wind chopped about to retard him, that He could make little Way that Day or the Night following. Whoſe Fault it was that theſe important Orders were not ſent with more Expedition, whether Sir *William Coventry* ought not to have taken Care for the conveying them, at leaſt to have given the Lord *Arlington* Notice what the Contents of them were, of which He denied to have any Notice, was diſputed with ſome Warmth between themſelves, and ſo came to be publiſhed: But it was never examined any where elſe, though the Negligence was very miſchievous in its Effect; but They were Both too great Men to be queſtioned in any Judicatory.

A Neglect in forwarding an Order to Prince Rupert to rejoin the Fleet.

THE General, after the Notice He had received of the Motion of the *Dutch*, ordered the Fleet to weigh Anchor about three of the Clock in the Morning upon the firſt of *June* 1666, to ſail to the *Buoy of the Gunfleet* to join with ſome other Ships which lay there, to get more Men, being then but ill manned: And about ſeven of the Clock in the Morning the Scouts came in, and brought the General Notice, that the *Dutch* Fleet was to the Leeward, and probably intended to decline fighting till They might join with the *French*. And it had been to be wiſhed that the *Engliſh* had ſtood off too, upon Confidence that Prince *Rupert*, whom the Wind had kept from being far off, as They could not but know, would receive Direction from Court to return. But the General (who was as impatient upon the Sight of an Enemy to engage with him as Prince *Rupert* himſelf, and had a natural Contempt of the *Dutch*) called his Flag-Officers to Council, and quickly reſolved, "that it was not convenient nor ſafe nor honourable "to decline the Battle, leſt it might take off the preſent Courage of the "Seamen." And truly in all thoſe Conſultations, upon the like Occaſions, whoever propoſed any wary Advice ran great Hazard of being reputed a Coward. And ſo They bore up with a full Wind upon the Enemy, notwithſtanding the viſible Diſadvantage They were in, in Reſpect of the Strength of the Enemy, for in the Abſence of Prince *Rupert* there remained little above fifty Sail with the General; whereas *De Ruyter's* Fleet conſiſted of above fourſcore Sail, who eaſily perceived his Advantage, and that a great Part of the *Engliſh* Fleet was abſent, and ſo willingly embraced the Occaſion, and made what Sail He could to meet with them.

The Dutch Fleet comes out.

IT was about two of the Clock in the Afternoon when the Engagement began; and the *Engliſh* had got the Wind, which was ſo high that They could not carry out their lower Tiers. The Admiral was ſo ſhattered in his Rigging and Maſts, that He was compelled to get off and anchor, that He might mend what was amiſs; and many of his Squadron had their Mainyards ſhot off, and received ſuch Damage in their Tackling, which was the chief Aim of the *Dutch*, that They could hardly govern their Ships. And by this Means the Enemy got the Wind; and the Battle continued with great Fierceneſs, and Loſs of many Men on Both Sides, till nine or ten of the Clock at Night, when all were willing to have ſome Reſt.

The ſecond general Engagement.

The firſt Day's Action.

The ſecond Day's Action.

THAT Night was ſpent in repairing Maſts and Rigging: And at ſix of the Clock in the Morning the Battle began again with the ſame Fierceneſs, and laſted till Night. And that Day the *Dutch* ſuffered much, and one of their Vice-Admirals was boarded and afterwards ſunk, as many of their other Ships likewiſe were; ſo that They began to fall off: When ſixteen new great Ships came to their Aid, which gave them new Courage; ſo that that They renewed and maintained the Fight with great Reſolution, and killed many Men of the *Engliſh* and diſabled many of the Ships, till the Night again parted them.

The Dutch reinforced.

The Engliſh retire.

UPON the Account the General received that Night, and the new Acceſs of Force to the *Dutch*, He thought it neceſſary to retire; for though He had loſt no Ship, very many were ſo diſabled, that there was Reaſon to fear they would hardly hold out to recover the Shore. And thereupon He cauſed all thoſe Ships to be put before and make all the Sail they could, and himſelf with ſixteen Ships in a Breadth went in the Rear: Which as ſoon as the Enemy perceived, They purſued, but came not within Reach of their Guns till four of the Clock in the Afternoon; and then though They ſhot hard They did very little Harm, the Sternpieces of the *Engliſh* over-reaching their Broadſides, which made many of them get off as quickly as They could. But by this Time the *Engliſh* deſcried about twenty Sail of Ships ſtanding towards them, which They concluded to be Prince *Rupert* (as it proved): And ſo being earneſt to join, They edged up towards them, but ſo unfortunately, that many of the Flag-Ships were on Ground off the *Galloper-Sand*. But with much ado they all got off ſafe, the *Royal Prince* only excepted, which for this laſt Age, and till the late War, was held the beſt Ship in the World. This brave Ship ſtuck ſo faſt that no Art or Induſtry could move her; ſo that the Enemy, when They found They could not carry her off, ſet her on Fire, and took the Captain Sir *George Ayſcue* and all the Company Priſoners, and without Diſtinction uſed all with great Barbarity, in which They pretended only to uſe Retaliation.

The third Day's Action.

Prince Rupert comes up with his Squadron.

That Night Prince *Rupert* joined: And then They bore to the Northward, that They might get clear of the Sands; and thereby the Enemy got the Wind again.

The fourth Day's Action.

THE fourth Day of the Battle, which was the fourth of *June*, the Enemy being to Windward about three Leagues, the Generals in the Morning made all Sail towards them: And They lay with their Sails to the Maſts to ſtay for them, which They would not have had the Courage to have done, if They had not had Intelligence from the Priſoners of the *Prince*, in how tattered a Condition the Fleet was. The Battle began about eight of the Clock in the Morning with extraordinary Confidence on Both Sides, the *Dutch* continuing their old Guard to ſpend all their Shot upon the Rigging and Maſts, and to defend themſelves from being boarded, which the *Engliſh* moſt intended and laboured to do. But the Deſign of the others ſucceeded better: Inſomuch that one of the Vice-Admirals of a Squadron, and other of the beſt Ships, were ſo diſabled that They bore off from the Battle, that They might mend and repair; which gave no ſmall Encouragement to the Enemy. But the two Generals were invincible, and continued the Battle all the Day in ſeveral Forms, and by the Advantage of the Wind fired ſix or ſeven of their Ships, and ſunk others, and had two or three of their own likewiſe ſunk. And between ſix and ſeven at Night, as if by Conſent (and no Doubt Both Sides were very weary of the Encounter), They ſeparated without looking after each other, and haſtened to their ſeveral Coaſts; many of the *Engliſh* being ſo hurt in Yards, Maſts, Rigging and

and Hulls, many of them wanting Men to ply their Guns, and their Powder and Shot near ſpent, that with very much Difficulty they got into Harbour: And ſo concluded that great Action, wherein either Side pretended to have Advantage, and Both loſt very much. *Both Sides claim the Victory.*

THE next Day after the Battle was ſpent in fitting their Maſts and repairing their Rigging, that They might be able to reach the Coaſt: And when They came near it, the Generals called a Council about diſpoſing thoſe Ships which could not remain at Sea, and ſent them to ſuch ſeveral Places as they might be ſooneſt repaired in; and gave every Captain very ſtrict Order, "that all poſſible Diligence and Expedition ſhould be uſed to "get their Ships ready, and furniſhed with whatſoever was wanting;" and the Commiſſioners of the Navy were required to be aſſiſtant in all Places. And ſo wonderful Diligence was uſed (which appears almoſt incredible) that the whole Fleet was ſo well fitted, that by the ſeventeenth Day of the ſame Month, within a Fortnight after ſo terrible a Battle, it was gathered together to a Rendezvous to the *Buoy of the Nore*. The Enemy made as much Haſte, rather to meet with the *French*, who were every Day ſtill expected, than to fight with the *Engliſh*, and kept as near to their own Coaſt as conveniently They could: So that how ready ſoever the Generals were (who had never left their Ships) with the Fleet by the ſeventeenth of the Month, the Winds were ſo averſe or ſo calm, that it was the four and twentieth Day of that Month before They could reach the Sight of the Enemy.

AND the next Day, which was the twenty fifth, the *Engliſh* made all the Sail They could, and by ten in the Morning engaged in as hot an Encounter as had hitherto been in any Engagement: And though the *Dutch* ſeemed not to fight with the ſame Spirit and Mettle, yet the Battle held till two in the Afternoon, when by the Advantage of the Wind They bore away faſter than the *Engliſh* could follow. However here They took Vice-Admiral *Banchart*, and his Ship of threeſcore Guns and three hundred Men was burned; and another Ship of ſeventy Guns and three hundred Men was likewiſe taken and burned; which the Generals thought better, than to undergo the poſſible Inconvenience of keeping them: And ſo They kept up as cloſe to the Enemy in the Night as They could do. The next Morning They uſed all their Sails, and deſigned to board *De Ruyter*; which, the Wind leſſening, They could not effect, He fighting very well but running faſter: And ſo, though very well purſued, He got into his Faſtneſs at the *Wierings*, with thoſe who were neareſt to him. But the reſt who were farther off, and were like to have the Benefit of the Night, tacked about: Which They who attacked *De Ruyter* perceiving, and that They could follow him no farther, and that the reſt were five and forty Sail, They followed them, the Generals doing all They could with their Squadron to put themſelves between them and the Coaſt; but the Wind growing on a ſudden calm, about Midnight They dropped their Anchors, that They might not be driven farther than They had a Mind to be. But in the Morning, when They weighed Anchor to purſue them, and made all the Way They could with a little Wind, the Enemy got ſo cloſe to their own Shore, their Ships drawing leſs Water than the *Engliſh*, that there could be no farther Purſuit. *The third general Engagement.* *The Engliſh victorious.*

ANOTHER Part of the Fleet, which was ſeparated when *De Ruyter* got into the *Wierings*, and which the Generals looked upon as their own, was ſo unhappily purſued, though by Men of very good Name, that they eſcaped; which raiſed a great Diſtemper in the Fleet, whilſt ſome Officers of the prime and moſt unqueſtionable Courage charged and accuſed others,

who had always given great Teſtimony that They durſt do any Thing, "of "baſe declining to fight when the Enemy was in their Power, and that "They choſe rather to ſuffer them to eſcape than to encounter them." And this Diſpute and Expoſtulation, between Men who had many Seconds, divided the Generals, one declaring himſelf on the one Side as the other did on the other; but They wiſely laid aſide the Debate, till They ſhould be at more Leiſure with leſs Inconvenience to determine it.

THE Generals thereupon, having thus ſcattered the Enemy, reſolved to ply upon the *Dutch* Coaſt to take all Ships of Trade, which They did; and off the *Texel* and the *Flie* took many Prizes, both homeward and outward bound, of great Value. And They having now Nothing to do but to lie ſtill, there was a *Dutch* Captain, one *Laurence Van Humskerke*, who after the firſt Battle, in the Faction between *Evertſon* and *Van Trump*, had given *De Wit* ſo great an Advantage, that if He had not made his Eſcape He had been hanged, who from that Time had always been on Board with Prince *Rupert*: This Man, whilſt the Fleet lay in this Poſture, adviſed Prince *Rupert* to attempt a Place near the *Flie*, which was ſo locked in the Land that it was always looked upon as very ſecure (and where all Ships laden at *Amſterdam* for the *Straits* and thoſe Parts, when they were outward bound, uſed to lie two or three Days, as in a ſafe Port, until all Things which might be forgotten were prepared, and all the Company came together), and had never been invaded in any War; and by it was a pretty large Village, called *Schelling*, which had many good Houſes in it, beſides others inhabited by, and for the Entertainment of, Seamen.

The Attempt upon the Iſland of Schelling.

THIS Enterpriſe was committed to Sir *Robert Holmes*, a very bold and expert Man; who with a Number of ſmall Veſſels very well manned, beſides a Body of ſtout Foot to land upon Occaſions, being aſſiſted by the *Dutchman*, ſo vigorouſly aſſaulted it, that He burned all the *Dutch* Ships lying there, being of ineſtimable Value, all outward bound, and ſome of them worth above one hundred thouſand Pounds each Ship. They burned likewiſe the whole Town of *Schelling*; which Conflagration, with that of the Ships, appearing at the Break of Day ſo near *Amſterdam*, put that Place into that Conſternation that They thought the Day of Judgment was come, not thinking of their Ships there, as being out of the Power or Reach of any Enemy: And no Doubt it was the greateſt Loſs that State ſuſtained in the whole War, that is, greater than all the reſt. And as this Victory, if it can be called a Victory when there is no Reſiſtance, occaſioned great Triumph in *England*, ſo it raiſed *great Thoughts of Heart* in *De Wit*, and a Reſolution of Revenge before any Peace ſhould be conſented to; which They effected to a good Degree the next Year.

The chief Town and a large Fleet of Merchant Ships burnt.

THERE appeared no more Likelihood of the *Dutch* coming out again: So about the fifteenth of *Auguſt* the Generals returned to *Southwould Bay* to receive a Recruit of Men, Proviſions and Ammunition, having left Ships enough upon the Coaſt of *Holland* to take Prizes, and Scouts upon the Coaſt to get Intelligence in what Readineſs the Enemy's Fleet was, and what was done within the Land. And about the twenty ſeventh a little Pink, that waited upon the Coaſt of *Zealand*, brought Notice that the Enemy, conſiſting of about fourſcore Sail of Ships, were ready to come out from the *Wierings*; and the next Day They were aſſured that They were come out and bound Weſtward, by which They concluded that They had Hope to join the *French* Fleet. Whereupon the Generals gave preſent Orders to unmoor the Fleet; and weighing Anchor about ſeven of the Clock in the Morning ſtood to Sea, and about Noon diſcovered the *Dutch* Fleet about

The Dutch *Fleet puts to Sea again.*

four Leagues to the Leeward. The Generals made all Sail towards them: But the Enemy ſtood away for the Coaſt of *Flanders*, whilſt the *Engliſh* were ſo entangled upon the *Galloper-Sands*, that They could not ſtand after the Enemy till late in the Afternoon; ſo that it was Night before They came near each other, and then ſeveral Guns were fired to little Purpoſe.

THE next Morning, being the firſt of *September*, the Seaſon when the Winds begin to grow boiſterous, They had upon the breaking of the Day loſt the Sight of the Enemy, though They believed that They had bore up in the Night for them: But when it was Light, They found that They were to the Leeward as far as They could diſcover, near *St. John's Bay* beyond *Calais*. The *Engliſh* purſued them, and making ſome Stay for the Fireſhips, which could not make Haſte by Reaſon of the bluſtering Weather, it was four in the Afternoon before the Fleet came up together to them; when *De Ruyter* made a Shew as if He would draw off from the Shore towards them. But when He ſaw the *Engliſh* ſtand with him and advance with their uſual Reſolution, He tacked back again, and ſtood cloſe in to the Shore, where the reſt of the Fleet was, in the Bay of *Staples*. And then the Night came; and the Wind blew ſo violently, that the *Engliſh* were forced to tack, and many of the Ships were forced to the Leeward, the Night being ſo foul, that neither the Generals nor the chief Flags could be diſcerned. And though the Storm continued very violent the next Day, a good Part of the Fleet got again together, and ſtood to the Bay of *Staples*, where the *Dutch* ſtill remained cloſe under the Shore at Anchor, but could not be invited to come out. So the *Engliſh* found it neceſſary to ſtand farther out to the Sea; and then They diſcovered the reſt of the Fleet at a great Diſtance to the Leeward, and ſo bore after them, and at Night They all arrived at *St. Helen's Point*. And though the Tempeſt ſtill increaſed, a Squadron went every Day out to the Coaſt of *France*.

The Engliſh *Fleet diſperſed by a Storm.*

IN this Tempeſt the *French* Fleet had a very narrow Eſcape, by a Providence They are ſeldom without. A Gentleman of good Quality of that Nation returned at this Time out of *England* (whither They repaired with as much Liberty and were as kindly treated as if there were no War, whilſt no *Engliſhman* could be ſafe there); and landing at *Calais*, and finding that the Duke of *Beaufort* was every Day expected, He diſpatched two or three Barks to find him, with Information how and where the *Engliſh* lay; one of which came ſo luckily to him towards the Evening, that He changed his Courſe, and by the Darkneſs of the Night got into the Road of *Diepe*, where He dropped his Anchors. But his Vice-Admiral, being the biggeſt and the beſt Ship but one in the Fleet, and carrying ſeventy Pieces of Cannon, purſuing the Courſe He was directed, in the Dark of the Night fell amongſt the *Engliſh*, as the reſt had done if it had not been for that Advertiſement; and after a little defending himſelf, which He ſaw was to no Purpoſe, was taken Priſoner, and deſired to be brought to Prince *Rupert*, who knew him well, and treated him as a gallant Perſon ought to be, and cauſed many Things which belonged to his own Perſon to be reſtored to him; and when He was brought into *England*, He found another Kind of Reception (though He was Priſoner in the *Tower*) than any of the *Engliſh*, though of the ſame Quality, met with abroad. By this Accident the *French* Fleet made a happy Eſcape: And the Continuance of the Storm for many Days kept the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch* from any farther Engagement. But the ſame Winds, and at the ſame Time, did much more Miſchief at Land than at Sea.

The French *Fleet has a narrow Eſcape.*

IT was upon the firſt Day of that *September*, in the diſmal Year of 1666 (in which many Prodigies were expected and ſo many really fell out), that

The Fire of London.

that memorable and terrible Fire brake out in *London*, which begun about Midnight, or nearer the Morning of *Sunday*, in a Baker's Houſe at the End of *Thames Street* next the *Tower*, there being many little narrow Alleys and very poor Houſes about the Place where it firſt appeared; and then finding ſuch Store of combuſtible Materials, as that Street is always furniſhed with in Timber-Houſes, the Fire prevailed ſo powerfully, that that whole Street and the Neighbourhood was in ſo ſhort a Time turned to Aſhes, that few Perſons had Time to ſave and preſerve any of their Goods; but were a Heap of People almoſt as dead with the ſudden Diſtraction, as the Ruins were which They ſuſtained. The Magiſtrates of the City aſſembled quickly together, and with the uſual Remedies of Buckets, which They were provided with: But the Fire was too ravenous to be extinguiſhed with ſuch Quantities of Water as thoſe Inſtruments could apply to it, and faſtened ſtill upon new Materials before it had deſtroyed the old. And though it raged furiouſly all that Day, to that Degree that all Men ſtood amazed, as Spectators only, no Man knowing what Remedy to apply, nor the Magiſtrates what Orders to give: Yet it kept within ſome Compaſs, burned what was next, and laid Hold only on Both Sides; and the greateſt Apprehenſion was of the *Tower*, and all Conſiderations entered upon how to ſecure that Place.

But in the Night the Wind changed, and carried the Danger from thence, but with ſo great and irreſiſtible Violence, that as it kept the *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Fleets from grappling when they were ſo near each other, ſo it ſcattered the Fire from purſuing the Line it was in with all its Force, and ſpread it over the City: So that They, who went late to Bed at a great Diſtance from any Place where the Fire prevailed, were awakened before Morning with their own Houſe's being in a Flame; and whilſt Endeavour was uſed to quench that, other Houſes were diſcovered to be burning, which were near no Place from whence They could imagine the Fire could come; all which kindled another Fire in the Breaſts of Men, almoſt as dangerous as that within their Houſes.

Monday Morning produced firſt a Jealouſy, and then an univerſal Concluſion, that this Fire came not by Chance, nor did They care where it began; but the breaking out in ſeveral Places at ſo great Diſtance from each other made it evident, that it was by Conſpiracy and Combination. And this Determination could not hold long without Diſcovery of the wicked Authors, who were concluded to be all the *Dutch* and all the *French* in the Town, though They had inhabited the ſame Places above twenty Years. All of that Kind, or, if They were Strangers, of what Nation ſoever, were laid Hold of; and after all the ill Uſage that can conſiſt in Words, and ſome Blows and Kicks, They were thrown into Priſon. And ſhortly after, the ſame Concluſion comprehended all the *Roman Catholicks*, who were in the ſame Predicament of Guilt and Danger, and quickly found that their only Safety conſiſted in keeping within Doors; and yet ſome of them, and of Quality, were taken by Force out of their Houſes and carried to Priſon.

When this Rage ſpread as far as the Fire, and every Hour brought Reports of ſome bloody Effects of it, worſe than in Truth there were, the King diſtributed many of the Privy Council into ſeveral Quarters of the City, to prevent, by their Authorities, thoſe Inhumanities which He heard were committed. In the mean Time, even They or any other Perſon thought it not ſafe to declare, "that They believed that the Fire came by Accident, or "that it was not a Plot of the *Dutch* and the *French* and *Papiſts* to burn the "City;" which was ſo generally believed, and in the beſt Company, that

He who ſaid the Contrary was ſuſpected for a Conſpirator, or at beſt a Favourer of them. It could not be conceived, how a Houſe that was diſtant a Mile from any Part of the Fire could ſuddenly be in a Flame, without ſome particular Malice; and this Caſe fell out every Hour. When a Man at the fartheſt End of *Bread-Street* had made a Shift to get out of his Houſe his beſt and moſt portable Goods, becauſe the Fire had approached near them; He no ſooner had ſecured them, as He thought, in ſome Friend's Houſe in *Holborn*, which was believed a ſafe Diſtance, but He ſaw that very Houſe, and none elſe near it, in a ſudden Flame. Nor did there want, in this woful Diſtemper, the Teſtimony of Witneſſes who ſaw this Villany committed, and apprehended Men who They were ready to ſwear threw Fireballs into Houſes, which were preſently burning.

THE Lord *Hollis* and Lord *Aſhley*, who had their Quarters aſſigned about *Newgate-Market* and the Streets adjacent, had many brought to them in Cuſtody for Crimes of this Nature; and ſaw, within a very little Diſtance from the Place where They were, the People gathered together in great Diſorder; and as They came nearer ſaw a Man in the Middle of them without a Hat or Cloak, pulled and hauled and very ill uſed, whom They knew to be a Servant to the *Portugal* Ambaſſadour, who was preſently brought to them. And a ſubſtantial Citizen was ready to take his Oath, "that He "ſaw that Man put his Hand in his Pocket, and throw into a Shop a Fire-"ball; upon which He ſaw the Houſe immediately on Fire: Whereupon, "being on the other Side of the Way, and ſeeing this, He cried out to the "People to ſtop that Gentleman, and made all the Haſte He could him-"ſelf;" but the People had firſt ſeized upon him, and taken away his Sword, which He was ready to draw; and He not ſpeaking nor underſtanding *Engliſh*, They had uſed him in the Manner ſet down before. The Lord *Hollis* told him what He was accuſed of, and "that He was ſeen to "have thrown Somewhat out of his Pocket, which They thought to be a "Fireball, into a Houſe which was now on Fire;" and the People had diligently ſearched his Pockets to find more of the ſame Commodities, but found Nothing that They meant to accuſe him of. The Man ſtanding in great Amazement to hear He was ſo charged, the Lord *Hollis* aſked him, "what it was that He pulled out of his Pocket, and what it was He "threw into the Houſe:" To which He anſwered, "that He did not think "that He had put his Hand into his Pocket; but He remembered very well, "that as He walked in the Street He ſaw a Piece of Bread upon the Ground, "which He took up and laid upon a Shelf in the next Houſe;" which is a Cuſtom or Superſtition ſo natural to the *Portugueſe*, that if the King of *Portugal* were walking, and ſaw a Piece of Bread upon the Ground, He would take it up with his own Hand, and keep it till He ſaw a fit Place to lay it down.

THE Houſe being in View, the Lords with many of the People walked to it, and found the Piece of Bread juſt within the Door upon a Board, where He ſaid He laid it; and the Houſe on Fire was two Doors beyond it, which the Man who was on the other Side of the Way, and ſaw this Man put his Hand into the Houſe without ſtaying, and preſently after the Fire break out, concluded to be the ſame Houſe; which was very natural in the Fright that all Men were in: Nor did the Lords, though They were ſatisfied, ſet the poor Man at Liberty; but, as if there remained Ground enough of Suſpicion, committed him to the Conſtable, to be kept by him in his own Houſe for ſome Hours, when They pretended They would examine him again. Nor were any Perſons who were ſeized upon in the ſame

Manner, as Multitudes were in all the Parts of the Town, eſpecially if They were Strangers or *Papiſts*, preſently diſcharged, when there was no reaſonable Ground to ſuſpect; but all ſent to Priſon, where They were in much more Security than They could have been in full Liberty, after They were once known to have been ſuſpected; and moſt of them underſtood their Commitment to be upon that Ground, and were glad of it.

The Fire and the Wind continued in the ſame Exceſs all *Monday*, *Tueſday*, and *Wedneſday* till Afternoon, and flung and ſcattered Brands burning into all Quarters; the Nights more terrible than the Days, and the Light the ſame, the Light of the Fire ſupplying that of the Sun. And indeed whoever was an Eyewitneſs of that terrible Proſpect, can never have ſo lively an Image of the laſt Conflagration till He beholds it; the Faces of all People in a wonderful Dejection and Diſcompoſure, not knowing where They could repoſe themſelves for one Hour's Sleep, and no Diſtance thought ſecure from the Fire, which ſuddenly ſtarted up before it was ſuſpected; ſo that People left their Houſes and carried away their Goods from many Places which received no Hurt, and whither They afterwards returned again; all the Fields full of Women and Children, who had made a Shift to bring thither ſome Goods and Conveniences to reſt upon, as ſafer than any Houſes, where yet They felt ſuch intolerable Heat and Drought, as if They had been in the Middle of the Fire. The King and the Duke, who rode from one Place to another, and put themſelves into great Dangers amongſt the burning and falling Houſes, to give Advice and Direction what was to be done, underwent as much Fatigue as the meaneſt, and had as little Sleep or Reſt; and the Faces of all Men appeared ghaſtly and in the higheſt Confuſion. The Country ſent in Carts to help thoſe miſerable People who had ſaved any Goods: And by this Means, and the Help of Coaches, all the neighbour Villages were filled with more People than they could contain, and more Goods than they could find Room for; ſo that thoſe Fields became likewiſe as full as the other about *London* and *Weſtminſter*.

It was obſerved that where the Fire prevailed moſt, when it met with brick Buildings, if it was not repulſed, it was ſo well reſiſted that it made a much ſlower Progreſs; and when it had done its Worſt, that the Timber and all the combuſtible Matter fell, it fell down to the Bottom within the Houſe, and the Walls ſtood and encloſed the Fire, and it was burned out without making a farther Progreſs in many of thoſe Places; and then the Vacancy ſo interrupted the Fury of it, that many Times the two or three next Houſes ſtood without much Damage. Beſides the ſpreading, inſomuch as all *London* ſeemed but one Fire in the Breadth of it, it ſeemed to continue in its full Fury a direct Line to the *Thames* Side, all *Cheapſide* from beyond the *Exchange*, through *Fleetſtreet*; inſomuch as for that Breadth, taking in Both Sides as far as the *Thames*, there was ſcarce a Houſe or Church ſtanding from the Bridge to *Dorſet-Houſe*, which was burned on *Tueſday* Night after *Baynard's Caſtle*.

On *Wedneſday* Morning, when the King ſaw that neither the Fire decreaſed nor the Wind leſſened, He even deſpaired of preſerving *Whitehall*, but was more afraid of *Weſtminſter-Abbey*. But having obſerved by his having viſited all Places, that where there were any vacant Places between the Houſes, by which the Progreſs of the Fire was interrupted, it changed its Courſe and went to the other Side; He gave Order for pulling down many Houſes about *Whitehall*, ſome whereof were newly built and hardly finiſhed, and ſent many of his choice Goods by Water to *Hampton-Court*; as moſt of

the Perſons of Quality in the *Strand*, who had the Benefit of the River, got Barges and other Veſſels, and ſent their Furniture for their Houſes to ſome Houſes ſome Miles out of the Town. And very many on Both Sides the *Strand*, who knew not whither to go, and ſcarce what They did, fled with their Families out of their Houſes into the Streets, that They might not be within when the Fire fell upon their Houſes.

BUT it pleaſed God, contrary to all Expectation, that on *Wedneſday*, about four or five of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Wind fell: And as in an Inſtant the Fire decreaſed, having burned all on the *Thames* Side to the New Buildings of the *Inner-Temple* next to *White-Friars*, and having conſumed them, was ſtopped by that Vacancy from proceeding farther into that Houſe; but laid Hold on ſome old Buildings which joined to *Ram-Alley*, and ſwept all thoſe into *Fleet Street*. And the other Side being likewiſe deſtroyed to *Fetter-Lane*, it advanced no farther; but left the other Part of *Fleet Street* to the *Temple-Bar*, and all the *Strand*, unhurt, but what Damage the Owners of the Houſes had done to themſelves by endeavouring to remove; and it ceaſed in all other Parts of the Town near the ſame Time: So that the greateſt Care then was, to keep good Guards to watch the Fire that was upon the Ground, that it might not break out again. And this was the better performed, becauſe They who had yet their Houſes ſtanding had not the Courage to ſleep, but watched with much leſs Diſtraction; though the ſame Diſtemper ſtill remained in the utmoſt Extent, "that all this had fallen out "by the Conſpiracy of the *French* and *Dutch* with the *Papiſts*;" and all Gaols were filled with thoſe who were every Hour apprehended upon that Jealouſy, or rather upon ſome Evidence that They were guilty of the Crime. And the People were ſo ſottiſh, that They believed that all the *French* in the Town (which no Doubt were a very great Number) were drawn into a Body, to proſecute thoſe by the Sword who were preſerved from the Fire: And the Inhabitants of a whole Street have ran in a great Tumult one Way, upon the Rumour that the *French* were marching at the other End of it; ſo terrified Men were with their own Apprehenſions. *The Fire decreaſes.*

WHEN the Night, though far from being a quiet one, had ſomewhat leſſened the Conſternation, the firſt Care the King took was, that the Country might ſpeedily ſupply Markets in all Places, that They who had ſaved themſelves from burning might not be in Danger of ſtarving; and if there had not been extraordinary Care and Diligence uſed, many would have periſhed that Way. The vaſt Deſtruction of Corn, and all other Sorts of Proviſions, in thoſe Parts where the Fire had prevailed, had not only left all that People deſtitute of all that was to be eat or drank; but the Bakers and Brewers, which inhabited the other Parts which were unhurt, had forſaken their Houſes, and carried away all that was portable: Inſomuch as many Days paſſed, before They were enough in their Wits and in their Houſes to fall to their Occupations; and thoſe Parts of the Town which God had ſpared and preſerved were many Hours without any Thing to eat, as well as They who were in the Fields. And yet it can hardly be conceived, how great a Supply of all Kinds was brought from all Places within four and twenty Hours. And which was more miraculous, in four Days, in all the Fields about the Town, which had ſeemed covered with thoſe whoſe Habitations were burned, and with the Goods which They had ſaved, there was ſcarce a Man to be ſeen: All found Shelter in ſo ſhort a Time, either in thoſe Parts which remained of the City and in the Suburbs, or in the neighbour Villages; all Kind of People expreſſing a marvellous Charity towards thoſe who appeared to be undone. And very many, with

more Expedition than can be conceived, ſet up little Sheds of Brick and Timber upon the Ruins of their own Houſes, where They choſe rather to inhabit than in more convenient Places, though They knew They could not long reſide in thoſe new Buildings.

The King was not more troubled at any Particular, than at the Imagination which poſſeſſed the Hearts of ſo many, that all this Miſchief had fallen out by a real and formed Conſpiracy; which, albeit He ſaw no Colour to believe, He found very many intelligent Men, and even ſome of his own Council, who did really believe it. Whereupon He appointed the Privy Council to ſit both Morning and Evening, to examine all Evidence of that Kind that ſhould be brought before them, and to ſend for any Perſons who had been committed to Priſon upon ſome Evidence that made the greateſt Noiſe; and ſent for the Lord Chief Juſtice, who was in the Country, to come to the Town for the better Examination of all Suggeſtions and Allegations of that Kind, there having been ſome malicious Report ſcattered about the Town, "that the Court had ſo great a Prejudice againſt any "Kind of Teſtimony of ſuch a Conſpiracy, that They diſcountenanced all "Witneſſes who came before them to teſtify what They knew;" which was without any Colour of Truth. Yet many, who were produced as if their Teſtimony would remove all Doubts, made ſuch ſenſeleſs Relations of what They had been told, without knowing the Condition of the Perſons who told them, or where to find them, that it was a hard Matter to forbear ſmiling at their Evidence. Some *Frenchmens* Houſes had been ſearched, in which had been found many of thoſe Shells for Squibs and other Fireworks, frequently uſed in Nights of Joy and Triumph; and the Men were well known, and had lived many Years there by that Trade, and had no other: And one of theſe was the King's Servant, and employed by the Office of Ordnance for making Grenades of all Kinds, as well for the Hand as for Mortarpieces. Yet theſe Men were looked upon as in the Number of the Conſpirators, and remained ſtill in Priſon till their Neighbours ſolicited for their Liberty. And it cannot be enough wondered at, that in this general Rage of the People no Miſchief was done to the Strangers, that no one of them was aſſaſſinated outright, though many were ſorely beaten and bruiſed.

Hubert's *ſtrange Confeſſion.*

There was a very odd Accident that confirmed many in what They were inclined to believe, and ſtartled others, who thought the Conſpiracy impoſſible, ſince no Combination not very diſcernible and diſcovered could have effected that Miſchief, in which the immediate Hand of God was ſo viſible. Amongſt many *Frenchmen* who had been ſent to *Newgate*, there was one *Hubert*, a young Man of five or ſix and twenty Years of Age, the Son of a famous Watchmaker in the City of *Roan*; and this Fellow had wrought in the ſame Profeſſion with ſeveral Men in *London*, and had for many Years both in *Roan* and in *London* been looked upon as diſtracted. This Man confeſſed "that He had ſet the firſt Houſe on Fire, and that He had been "hired in *Paris* a Year before to do it: That there were three more com-"bined with him to do the ſame Thing, and that They came over toge-"ther into *England* to put it in Execution in the Time of the Plague; "but when They were in *London*, He and two of his Companions went "into *Sweden*, and returned from thence in the latter End of *Auguſt*, and "He reſolved to undertake it; and that the two others went away into "*France*."

The whole Examination was ſo ſenſeleſs, that the Chief Juſtice, who was not looked upon as a Man who wanted Rigour, did not believe any

Thing He ſaid. He was aſked, "who it was in *Paris* that ſuborned him "to this Action:" To which He anſwered, "that He did not know, having "never ſeen him before;" and in the enlarging upon that Point He contradicted himſelf in many Particulars. Being aſked "what Money He had "received to perform a Service of ſo much Hazard," He ſaid, "He had "received but a *Piſtole*, but was promiſed five *Piſtoles* more when He ſhould "have done his Work;" and many ſuch unreaſonable Things, that Nobody preſent credited any Thing He ſaid. However They durſt not ſlight the Evidence, but put him to a Particular, in which He ſo fully confirmed all that He had ſaid before, that They were ſurpriſed with Wonder, and knew not afterwards what to ſay or think. They aſked him, "if He knew the "Place where He firſt put Fire;" He anſwered, "that He knew it very "well, and would ſhew it to any Body." Upon this the Chief Juſtice, and many Aldermen who ſate with him, ſent a Guard of ſubſtantial Citizens with the Priſoner, that He might ſhew them the Houſe; and They firſt led him to a Place at ſome Diſtance from it, and aſked him "if that "were it;" to which He anſwered preſently, "No, it was lower, nearer "to the *Thames*." The Houſe and all which were near it were ſo covered and buried in Ruins, that the Owners themſelves, without ſome infallible Mark, could very hardly have ſaid where their own Houſes had ſtood: But this Man led them directly to the Place, deſcribed how it ſtood, the Shape of the little Yard, the Faſhion of the Door and Windows, and where He firſt put the Fire; and all this with ſuch Exactneſs, that They who had dwelt long near it could not ſo perfectly have deſcribed all Particulars.

THIS ſilenced all farther Doubts. And though the Chief Juſtice told the King, "that all his Diſcourſe was ſo disjointed that He did not believe him "guilty;" nor was there one Man who proſecuted or accuſed him: Yet upon his own Confeſſion, and ſo ſenſible a Relation of all that He had done, accompanied with ſo many Circumſtances (though without the leaſt Shew of Compunction or Sorrow for what He ſaid He had done, nor yet ſeeming to juſtify or to take Delight in it; but being aſked whether He was not ſorry for the Wickedneſs, and whether He intended to do ſo much, He gave no Anſwer at all, or made Reply to what was ſaid; and with the ſame Temper died), the Jury found him guilty, and He was executed accordingly. *Upon which He is executed.* And though no Man could imagine any Reaſon why a Man ſhould ſo deſperately throw away his Life, which He might have ſaved though He had been guilty, ſince He was only accuſed upon his own Confeſſion; yet neither the Judges nor any preſent at the Trial did believe him guilty, but that He was a poor diſtracted Wretch weary of his Life, and choſe to part with it this Way. Certain it is, that upon the ſtricteſt Examination that could be afterwards made by the King's Command, and then by the Diligence of the Houſe, that upon the general Jealouſy and Rumour made a Committee, that was very diligent and ſolicitous to make that Diſcovery, there was never any probable Evidence (that poor Creature's only excepted) that there was any other Cauſe of that woful Fire, than the Diſpleaſure of God Almighty: The firſt Accident of the Beginning in a Baker's Houſe, where there was ſo great a Stock of Faggots, and the Neighbourhood of much combuſtible Matter, of Pitch and Roſin and the like, led it in an Inſtant from Houſe to Houſe through *Thames Street*, with the Agitation of ſo terrible a Wind to ſcatter and diſperſe it.

LET the Cauſe be what it would, the Effect was very terrible; for above two Parts of three of that great City were burned to Aſhes, and thoſe the moſt rich and wealthy Parts of the City, where the greateſt Warehouſes and

the beſt Shops ſtood. The *Royal-Exchange* with all the Streets about it, *Lombard Street*, *Cheapſide*, *Paternoſter-Row*, *St. Paul's* Church, and almoſt all the other Churches in the City, with the *Old Bailey*, *Ludgate*, all *Paul's Church-Yard* even to the *Thames*, and the greateſt Part of *Fleet Street*, all which were Places the beſt inhabited, were all burned without one Houſe remaining.

The ineſtimable Loſs ſuſtained by the Fire.

THE Value or Eſtimate of what that devouring Fire conſumed, over and above the Houſes, could never be computed in any Degree: For beſides that the firſt Night (which in a Moment ſwept away the vaſt Wealth of *Thames Street*) there was not any Thing that could be preſerved in Reſpect of the Suddenneſs and Amazement (all People being in their Beds till the Fire was in their Houſes, and ſo could ſave Nothing but themſelves), the next Day with the Violence of the Wind increaſed the Diſtraction; nor did many believe that the Fire was near them, or that They had Reaſon to remove their Goods, till it was upon them and rendered it impoſſible. Then it fell out at a Seaſon in the Year, the Beginning of *September*, when very many of the ſubſtantial Citizens and other wealthy Men were in the Country, whereof many had not left a Servant in their Houſes, thinking themſelves upon all ordinary Accidents more ſecure in the Goodneſs and Kindneſs of their Neighbours, than They could be in the Fidelity of a Servant; and whatſoever was in ſuch Houſes was entirely conſumed by the Fire, or loſt as to the Owners. And of this *Claſſis* of abſent Men, when the Fire came where the Lawyers had Houſes, as They had in many Places, eſpecially *Serjeants-Inn* in *Fleet Street*, with that Part of the *Inner-Temple* that was next it and *White-Friars*, there was ſcarce a Man to whom thoſe Lodgings appertained who was in the Town: So that whatſoever was there, their Money, Books and Papers, beſides the Evidences of many Mens Eſtates depoſited in their Hands, were all burned or loſt, to a very great Value. But of particular Mens Loſſes could never be made any Computation.

IT was an incredible Damage that was and might rationally be computed to be ſuſtained by one ſmall Company, the Company of Stationers, in Books, Paper, and the other leſſer Commodities which are vendible in that Corporation, which amounted to no leſs than two hundred thouſand Pounds: In which prodigious Loſs there was one Circumſtance very lamentable. All thoſe who dwelt near *Paul's* carried their Goods, Books, Paper, and the like, as others of greater Trades did their Commodities, into the large Vaults which were under *St. Paul's* Church, before the Fire came thither: Which Vaults, though all the Church above the Ground was afterwards burned, with all the Houſes round about, ſtill ſtood firm and ſupported the Foundation, and preſerved all that was within them; until the Impatience of thoſe who had loſt their Houſes, and whatſoever They had elſe, in the Fire, made them very deſirous to ſee what They had ſaved, upon which all their Hopes were founded to repair the reſt.

IT was the fourth Day after the Fire ceaſed to flame, though it ſtill burned in the Ruins, from whence there was ſtill an intolerable Heat, when the Bookſellers eſpecially, and ſome other Tradeſmen, who had depoſited all They had preſerved in the greateſt and moſt ſpacious Vault, came to behold all their Wealth, which to that Moment was ſafe: But the Doors were no ſooner opened, and the Air from without fanned the ſtrong Heat within, but firſt the dryeſt and moſt combuſtible Matters broke into a Flame, which conſumed all, of what Kind ſoever, that till then had been unhurt there. Yet They who had committed their Goods to ſome leſſer Vaults, at a Diſtance from that greater, had better Fortune; and having learned from the ſecond Ruin of their Friends to have more Patience, at-

tended till the Rain fell, and extinguiſhed the Fire in all Places, and cooled the Air: And then They ſecurely opened the Doors, and received all from thence that They had there.

IF ſo vaſt a Damage as two hundred thouſand Pounds befell that little Company of Stationers in Books and Paper and the like, what ſhall We conceive was loſt in Cloth (of which the Country Clothiers loſt all that They had brought up to *Blackwell-Hall* againſt *Michaelmaſs*, which was all burned with that fair Structure), in Silks of all Kinds, in Linen, and thoſe richer Manufactures? Not to ſpeak of Money, Plate and Jewels, whereof ſome were recovered out of the Ruins of thoſe Houſes which the Owners took Care to watch, as containing Somewhat that was worth the looking for, and in which Deluge there were Men ready enough to fiſh.

THE Lord Mayor, though a very honeſt Man, was much blamed for Want of Sagacity in the firſt Night of the Fire, before the Wind gave it much Advancement: For though He came with great Diligence as ſoon as He had Notice of it, and was preſent with the firſt, yet having never been uſed to ſuch Spectacles, his Conſternation was equal to that of other Men, nor did He know how to apply his Authority to the remedying the preſent Diſtreſs; and when Men who were leſs terrified with the Object preſſed him very earneſtly, "that He would give Order for the preſent pulling down "thoſe Houſes which were neareſt, and by which the Fire climbed to go "farther" (the doing whereof at that Time might probably have prevented much of the Miſchief that ſucceeded), He thought it not ſafe Counſel, and made no other Anſwer, "than that He durſt not do it without the "Conſent of the Owners." His Want of Skill was the leſs wondered at, when it was known afterwards, that ſome Gentlemen of the *Inner-Temple* would not endeavour to preſerve the Goods which were in the Lodgings of abſent Perſons, nor ſuffer others to do it, "becauſe," They ſaid, "it was "againſt the Law to break up any Man's Chamber."

THE ſo ſudden Repair of thoſe formidable Ruins, and the giving ſo great Beauty to all Deformity (a Beauty and a Luſtre that City had never before been acquainted with), is little leſs wonderful than the Fire that conſumed it.

IT was hoped and expected that this prodigious and univerſal Calamity, for the Effects of it covered the whole Kingdom, would have made Impreſſion, and produced ſome Reformation in the Licenſe of the Court: For as the Pains the King had taken Night and Day during the Fire, and the Dangers He had expoſed himſelf to, even for the ſaving the Citizens Goods, had been very notorious, and in the Mouths of all Men, with good Wiſhes and Prayers for him; ſo his Majeſty had been heard during that Time to ſpeak with great Piety and Devotion of the Diſpleaſure that God was provoked to. And no Doubt the deep Senſe of it did raiſe many good Thoughts and Purpoſes in his Royal Breaſt. But He was narrowly watched and looked to, that ſuch melancholick Thoughts might not long poſſeſs him, the Conſequence and Effect whereof was like to be more grievous than that of the Fire itſelf; of which that looſe Company that was too much cheriſhed, even before it was extinguiſhed, diſcourſed as of an Argument for Mirth and Wit to deſcribe the Wildneſs of the Confuſion all People were in; in which the Scripture itſelf was uſed with equal Liberty, when They could apply it to their profane Purpoſes. And Mr. *May* preſumed to aſſure the King, "that this was the greateſt Bleſſing that God had "ever conferred upon him, his Reſtoration only excepted: For the Walls "and Gates being now burned and thrown down of that rebellious City, "which was always an Enemy to the Crown, his Majeſty would never ſuf-

The King ſeriouſly affected with this Calamity.

Meaſures taken to efface ſuch good Impreſſions in him.

"fer them to repair and build them up again to be a *Bit in his Mouth and* "*a Bridle upon his Neck*; but would keep all open, that his Troops might "enter upon them whenever He thought neceſſary for his Service, there "being no other Way to govern that rude Multitude but by Force."

THIS Kind of Diſcourſe did not pleaſe the King, but was highly approved by the Company; and for the Wit and Pleaſantneſs of it was repeated in all Companies, infinitely to the King's Diſſervice, and corrupted the Affections of the Citizens and of the Country, who uſed and aſſumed the ſame Liberty to publiſh the Profaneneſs and Atheiſm of the Court. And as Nothing was done there in private, ſo it was made more publick in Paſquils and Libels, which were as bold with Reflections of the broadeſt Nature upon the King himſelf, and upon thoſe in whoſe Company He was moſt delighted, as upon the meaneſt Perſon.

ALL Men of Virtue and Sobriety, of which there were very many in the King's Family, were grieved and heartbroken with hearing what They could not chooſe but hear, and ſeeing many Things which They could not avoid the ſeeing. There were few of the Council that did not to one another lament the Exceſſes, which muſt in Time be attended with fatal Conſequences, and for the preſent did apparently leſſen the Reverence to the King, that is the beſt Support of his Royalty: But few of them had the Courage to ſay that to his Majeſty, which was not ſo fit to be ſaid to any Body elſe. Nor can it be denied, that his Majeſty did, upon all Occaſions, receive thoſe Advertiſements from thoſe who preſented them to him, with Patience and Benignity, and without the leaſt Shew of Diſpleaſure; though the Perſons concerned endeavoured no one Thing more than to perſuade him, "that "it was the higheſt Preſumption imaginable in the Privy Council to be- "lieve, that They had any Juriſdiction in the Court, or ought to cenſure "the Manners of it."

And to leſſen his Eſteem of the Privy Council.

NOR were all thoſe Endeavours without making ſome Impreſſion upon his Majeſty, who rather eſteemed ſome particular Members of it, than was inclined to believe that the Body of it ought to receive a Reverence from the People, or be looked upon as a vital Part of the Government: In which his Majeſty (as hath been often ſaid before) by the ill Principles He had received in *France*, and the accuſtomed Liberty of his Bedchamber, was exceedingly and unhappily miſtaken. For by the Conſtitution of the Kingdom, and the very Laws and Cuſtoms of the Nation, as the Privy Council and every Member of it is of the King's ſole Choice and Election of him to that Truſt (for the greateſt Office in the State, though conferred likewiſe by the King himſelf, doth not qualify the Officer to be of the Privy Council, or to be preſent in it, before by a new Aſſignation that Honour is beſtowed on him, and that He be ſworn of the Council); ſo the Body of it is the moſt ſacred, and hath the greateſt Authority in the Government of the State, next the Perſon of the King himſelf, to whom all other Powers are equally ſubject: And no King of *England* can ſo well ſecure his own juſt Prerogative, or preſerve it from Violation, as by a ſtrict defending and ſupporting the Dignity of his Privy Council.

WHEN it was too much taken Notice of, that the King himſelf had not that Eſteem or Conſideration of the Council that was due to it, what They did or ordered to be done was leſs valued by the People; and that Diſreſpect every Day improved by the Want of Gravity and Juſtice and Conſtancy in the Proceedings there, the Reſolutions of one Day being reverſed or altered the next, either upon ſome Whiſpers in the King's Ear, or ſome new Fancy in ſome of thoſe Counſellors, who were always of one Mind againſt

all former Orders and Precedents; the Pride and inſolent Humour of Sir *William Coventry* taking not ſo much Delight in any Thing, as to croſs and oppoſe whatſoever the Chancellor or the Treaſurer adviſed, and to reverſe what had been ordered upon that Ground. And though He had ſucked his Milk at the Charge of the Law, no Man was ſo profeſſed an Enemy to it and to the Profeſſors of it, and ſhewed ſo little Reſpect to any Thing paſſed and granted under the Great Seal of *England*, but ſpake againſt it with the ſame Confidence as if it had been a common Scroll of no Signification; which Kind of Behaviour in a Perſon unqualified by any Office to ſpeak much in ſuch an Aſſembly, as it had never been accuſtomed, ſo it would have found much Reprehenſion there, if it had not been for Reſpect to the Duke, and if the King himſelf had not very often declared himſelf to be of his Opinion, even in Particulars which himſelf had cauſed to be propoſed to a contrary Purpoſe.

ONE Day his Majeſty called the Chancellor to him, and complained very much of the Licenſe that was aſſumed in the Coffeehouſes, which were the Places where the boldeſt Calumnies and Scandals were raiſed, and diſcourſed amongſt a People who knew not each other, and came together only for that Communication, and from thence were propagated over the Kingdom; and mentioned ſome particular Rumours which had been lately diſperſed from thoſe Fountains, which on his own Behalf He was enough diſpleaſed with, and aſked him what was to be done in it.

THE Chancellor concurred with him in the Senſe of the Scandal, and the Miſchief that muſt attend the Impunity of ſuch Places, where the fouleſt Imputations were laid upon the Government, which were held lawful to be reported and divulged to every Body but to the Magiſtrates, who might examine and puniſh them; of which there having yet been no Precedent, People generally believed that thoſe Houſes had a Charter of Privilege to ſpeak what They would, without being in Danger to be called in Queſtion: And "that it was high Time for his Majeſty to apply ſome Remedy to ſuch a "growing Diſeaſe, and to reform the Underſtanding of thoſe who believed "that no Remedy could be applied to it. That it would be fit, either by "a Proclamation to forbid all Perſons to reſort to thoſe Houſes, and ſo to-"tally to ſuppreſs them; or to employ ſome Spies, who, being preſent in "the Converſation, might be ready to charge and accuſe the Perſons who "had talked with moſt Licenſe in a Subject that would bear a Complaint; "upon which the Proceedings might be in ſuch a Manner, as would put an "End to the Confidence that was only miſchievous in thoſe Meetings." The King liked Both the Expedients, and thought that the laſt could not juſtly be made Uſe of till the former ſhould give fair Warning; and commanded him to propoſe it that ſame Day in Council, that ſome Order might be given in it.

THE Chancellor propoſed it, as He was required, with ſuch Arguments as were like to move with Men who knew the Inconveniences which aroſe from thoſe Places; and the King himſelf mentioned it with Paſſion, as derogatory to the Government, and directed that the Attorney might prepare a Proclamation for the Suppreſſion of thoſe Houſes, in which the Board ſeemed to agree: When Sir *William Coventry*, who had been heard within few Days before to inveigh with much Fierceneſs againſt the Permiſſion of ſo much ſeditious Prattle in the Impunity of thoſe Houſes, ſtood up, and ſaid, "that Coffee was a Commodity that yielded the King a good Re-"venue, and therefore it would not be juſt to receive the Duties and inhibit "the Sale of it, which many Men found to be very good for their Health,"

as if it might not be bought and drank but in thoſe licentious Meetings. "That it had been permitted in *Cromwell's* Time, and that the King's "Friends had uſed more Liberty of Speech in thoſe Places than They durſt "do in any other; and that He thought it would be better to leave them "as they were, without running the Hazard of Ill being continued not-"withſtanding his Command to the Contrary." And upon theſe Reaſons his Majeſty was converted, and declined any farther Debate; which put the Chancellor very much out of Countenance, nor knew He how to behave himſelf.

The Chancellor's Intereſt declines: Whilſt the Courtiers affect to repreſent it at the higheſt.

THE Truth is: He had a very hard Province, and found his Credit every Day to decay with the King; whilſt They who prevailed againſt him uſed all the Skill and Cunning They had to make it believed, "that his Power "with his Majeſty was as great as it had ever been, and that all thoſe "Things which He moſt oppoſed were acted by his Advice." And whilſt They procured all thoſe for whom He had Kindneſs, or who profeſſed any Reſpect towards him, to be diſcountenanced and undervalued, and preferred none but ſuch who were known to have an Averſion for him upon Somewhat that He had, or They had been told that He had, obſtructed their Pretences in; They perſuaded Men, "that Nobody had any Credit with "the King to diſpoſe of any Place but He."

THOSE very Men would often profeſs to him, "that They were ſo much "afflicted at the King's Courſe of Life, that They even deſpaired that He "would be able to maſter thoſe Difficulties which would ſtill preſs him;" and would then tell him ſome Particulars which He himſelf had ſaid or done, or had been ſaid or done lately in his own Preſence, and of which He had never heard before; which gave him Occaſion often to blame them, "that They, who had the Opportunity to ſee and know many Things which "He had no Notice of or could not take any, and foreſaw the Conſequence "that did attend them, did yet forbear to uſe the Credit They had with his "Majeſty, in advertiſing him what They thought and heard all others ſay;" and He offered "to go with them to his Majeſty, and make a lively Repre-"ſentation to him of the great Decay of his Reputation with the People upon "his exorbitant Exceſſes, which God could never bleſs:" To all which They were not aſhamed to confeſs, "that They never had nor durſt ſpeak to his "Majeſty to that Purpoſe, or in ſuch a Dialect." Indeed They were the honeſter Men in not doing it, for it had been groſs Hypocriſy to have found Fault with thoſe Actions, upon the purſuing whereof They moſt depended; and the Reformation which They would have been glad to have ſeen, had no Relation to thoſe inordinate and unlawful Appetites, which were the Root from whence all the other Miſchiefs had their Birth. They did not wiſh that the Lady's Authority and Power ſhould be leſſened, much leſs extinguiſhed; and that which would have been the moſt univerſal Bleſſing to the whole Kingdom, would have been received by them as the greateſt Curſe that could befall them.

Arlington laments to the Chancellor the King's Courſe of Life: The King enters the Room.

ONE Day the Chancellor and the Lord *Arlington* were together alone, and the Secretary according to his Cuſtom was ſpeaking ſoberly of many great Miſcarriages by the Licenſe of the Court, and how much his Majeſty ſuffered thereby; when the King ſuddenly came into the Room to them, and after He was ſate aſked them what They were talking of; to which the Chancellor anſwered "that He would tell him honeſtly and truly, and "was not ſorry for the Opportunity." And the other looking with a very troubled Countenance, He proceeded and ſaid, "that They were ſpeaking "of his Majeſty, and, as They did frequently, were bewailing the un-

To whom the Chancellor repeats the Diſcourſe.

" happy Life He lived, both with Reſpect to himſelf, who, by the Exceſs " of Pleaſures which He indulged to himſelf, was indeed without the true " Delight and Reliſh of any; and in Reſpect to his Government, which He " totally neglected, and of which the Kingdom was ſo ſenſible, that it " could not be long before He felt the ill Effects of it. That the People " were well prepared and well inclined to obey; but if They found that " He either would not or could not command, their Temper would quickly " be changed, and He would find leſs Obedience in all Places, than was " neceſſary for his Affairs: And that it was too evident and viſible, that He " had already loſt very much of the Affection and Reverence the Nation had " for him."

HE ſaid, " that this was the Subject They two were diſcourſing upon when " his Majeſty entered; and that it is the Argument, upon which all thoſe " of his Council with whom He had any Converſation did every Day en- " large, when They were together, with Grief of Heart, and even with " Tears; and that He hoped that ſome of them did, with that Duty that " became them, repreſent to his Majeſty their own Senſe, and the Senſe his " good Subjects had, of his Condition of living, both with Reference to God " who had wrought ſuch Miracles for him, and expected ſome proportionable " Return; and with Reference to his People, who were in the higheſt Diſcon- " tent. He doubted all Men did not diſcharge their Duty this Way; and " ſome had confeſſed to him *that They durſt not do it leſt They might of-* " *fend him, which* He had aſſured them often *that They would not do,* " *having had ſo often Experience himſelf of his Goodneſs in that Reſpect*; " and that He had the rather taken this Opportunity to make this Repre- " ſentation to him in the Preſence of another, which He had never uſed to " do:" And concluded " with beſeeching his Majeſty to believe that which " He had often ſaid to him, *that no Prince could be more miſerable, nor* " *could have more Reaſon to fear his own Ruin, than He who hath no Ser-* " *vants who dare contradict him in his Opinions, or adviſe him againſt his In-* " *clinations how natural ſoever.*"

THE King heard all this and more to the ſame Effect with his uſual Temper (for He was a patient Hearer), and ſpake ſenſibly, as if He thought that much that had been ſaid was with too much Reaſon; when the other, who wiſhed not ſuch an Effect from the Diſcourſe, inſtead of ſeconding any Thing that had been ſaid, made Uſe of the Warmth the Chancellor was in, and of ſome Expreſſions He had uſed, to fall into Raillery, which was his beſt Faculty; with which He diverted the King from any farther ſerious Reflections; and Both of them grew very merry with the other, and reproached his overmuch Severity, now He grew old and conſidered not the Infirmities of younger Men: Which increaſed the Paſſion He was in, and provoked him to ſay, " that it was obſerved abroad, that it was a Faculty very much im- " proved of late in the Court, to laugh at thoſe Arguments They could not " anſwer, and which would always be requited with the ſame Mirth amongſt " thoſe who were Enemies to it, and therefore it was Pity that it ſhould be " ſo much embraced by thoſe who pretended to be Friends;" and to uſe ſome other, too plain, Expreſſions, which it may be were not warily enough uſed, and which the good Lord forgot not to put the King in Mind of, and to deſcant upon the Preſumption, in a Seaſon that was more ripe for ſuch Reflections, which at the preſent He forbore to do, and for ſome Time after remembered only in merry Occaſions.

Arlington puts it off with Raillery.

THOUGH the King did not yet, nor in a good Time after, appear to diſlike the Liberty the Chancellor preſumed to take with him (who often told

him, "that He knew He made himſelf grievous to him, and gave his Ene-
"mies too great Advantages againſt him; but that the Conſcience of having
"done his Duty, and having never failed to inform his Majeſty of any
"Thing that was fit for him to know and to believe, was the only Support
"He had to bear the preſent Trouble of his Mind, and to prepare him for
"thoſe Diſtreſſes which He foreſaw He was to undergo:" Which his Ma-
jeſty heard with great Goodneſs and Condeſcenſion, and vouchſafed ſtill
to tell him, "that it was in Nobody's Power to divert his Kindneſs from
"him"): Yet He found every Day that ſome Arguments grew leſs accept-
able to him, and that the conſtant Converſation with Men of great Pro-
faneneſs, whoſe Wit conſiſted in abuſing Scripture, and in repeating and
acting what the Preachers ſaid in their Sermons, and turning it into Ridi-
cule (a Faculty in which the Duke of *Buckingham* excelled), did much leſſen
the natural Eſteem and Reverence He had for the Clergy; and inclined him
to conſider them as a Rank of Men that compounded a Religion for their
own Advantage, and to ſerve their own Turns. Nor was all He could ſay to
him of Weight enough to make Impreſſion to the Contrary.

The King complains to the Chancellor of the Liberties taken with his Character.

And then He ſeemed to think, "that Men were bolder in the examining
"his Actions and cenſuring them, than They ought to be:" And once He
told him, "that He thought He was more ſevere againſt common Infir-
"mities than He ſhould be; and that his Wife was not courteous in re-
"turning Viſits and Civilities to thoſe who paid her Reſpect; and that He
"expected that all his Friends ſhould be very kind to thoſe who They
"knew were much loved by him, and that He thought ſo much Juſtice
"was due to him."

The Chancellor, who had never diſſembled with him, but on the Con-
trary had always endeavoured to perſuade him to believe, that Diſſimulation
was the moſt diſhoneſt and ungentlemanly Quality that could be affected,

The Chancellor ſeriouſly remonſtrates with him.

anſwered him very roundly, "that He might ſeem not to underſtand his
"Meaning, and ſo make no Reply to the Diſcourſe He had made: But that
"He underſtood it all, and the Meaning of every Word of it; and there-
"fore that it would not become him to ſuffer his Majeſty to depart with an
"Opinion, that what He had ſaid would produce any Alteration in his Be-
"haviour towards him, or Reformation of his Manners towards any other
"Perſons."

"That for the firſt Part, the Liberty Men took to ſpeak of him
"and to cenſure his Actions, He was of the Opinion that it was a very great
"Preſumption, and a Crime very fit to be puniſhed: For let it be true or
"falſe, Men had been always ſeverely chaſtiſed for that Licenſe, becauſe it
"tended to Sedition. However He put his Majeſty in Mind of the Exam-
ple of *Philip* of *Macedon*, who, when one of his Servants accuſed a Per-
"ſon of Condition to him of having ſpoken ill of him, and offered to go
"himſelf to the Magiſtrate and make Proof of it, anſwered him; *that the*
"*Perſon He accuſed was a Man of the greateſt Reputation of Wiſdom and*
"*Integrity in the Kingdom, and therefore it would be fit in the firſt Place to*
"*examine, whether himſelf* (the King) *had not done Somewhat by which He*
"*had deſerved to be ſo ſpoken of:* Indeed this Way the beſt Men would
"often receive Benefit from their worſt Enemies. For the Matter itſelf,"
He ſaid, "He need make no Apology: For that it was notoriouſly known,
"that He had conſtantly given it in Charge to all the Judges, to make di-
"ligent Inquiry into Miſdemeanours and Tranſgreſſions of that Magnitude,
"and to puniſh thoſe who were guilty in the moſt exemplary Manner;
"and that He took not more Pains any Way, than to preſerve in the

"Hearts

" Hearts of the People that Veneration for his Perſon that is due to his Dig-
" nity, and to perſuade many who appeared afflicted with the Reports
" They heard, *that They heard more than was true*; *and that the ſuppreſſing*
" *all Reports of that Kind was the Duty of every good Subject, and would*
" *contribute more towards the reforming any Thing that in Truth is amiſs,*
" *than the propagating the Scandal by ſpreading it in Diſcourſes could do.*
" However that all this which was his Duty, and but his Duty, did not
" make it unfit for him, or any other under his Obligations, in fit Seaſons
" to make a lively Repreſentation to his Majeſty of what is done, and how
" ſecretly ſoever, that cannot be juſtified or excuſed; and of the Untruths
" and Scandals which ſpring from thence to his irreparable Diſhonour and
" Prejudice."

" For the other Part, of Want of Ceremony and Reſpect to thoſe who
" were loved and eſteemed by his Majeſty, He might likewiſe avoid en-
" larging upon that Subject, by putting his Majeſty in Mind, that He had
" the Honour to ſerve him in a Province that excuſed him from making Vi-
" ſits, and exempted him from all Ceremonies of that Kind. But He would
" not ſhelter himſelf under ſuch a general Defence, when He perceived that
" his Majeſty had in the Reprehenſion a particular Intention: And there-
" fore He confeſſed ingenuouſly to his Majeſty, that He did deny himſelf
" many Liberties, which in themſelves might be innocent enough and
" agreeable to his Perſon, becauſe they would not be decent or agreeable
" to the Office He held, which obliged him for his Majeſty's Honour, and
" to preſerve him from the Reproach of having put a light Perſon into a
" grave Place, to have the more Care of his own Carriage and Behaviour.
" And that, as it would reflect upon his Majeſty himſelf, if his Chancellor
" was known or thought to be of diſſolute and debauched Manners, which
" would make him as uncapable as unworthy to do him Service; ſo it would
" be a Blemiſh and Taint upon him to give any Countenance, or to pay
" more than ordinary, curſory and unavoidable Civilities, to Perſons in-
" famous for any Vice, for which by the Laws of God and Man They
" ought to be odious, and to be expoſed to the Judgment of the Church
" and State. And that He would not for his own Sake and for his own
" Dignity, to how low a Condition ſoever He might be reduced, ſtoop to
" ſuch a Condeſcenſion as to have the leaſt Commerce, or to make the Ap-
" plication of a Viſit, to any ſuch Perſon, for any Benefit or Advantage that
" it might bring to him. He did beſeech his Majeſty not to believe, that
" He hath a Prerogative to declare Vice Virtue; or to qualify any Perſon
" who lives in a Sin and avows it, againſt which God himſelf hath pro-
" nounced Damnation, for the Company and Converſation of innocent and
" worthy Perſons. And that whatever low Obedience, which was in Truth
" groſs Flattery, ſome People might pay to what They believed would be
" grateful to his Majeſty, They had in their Hearts a perfect Deteſtation of
" the Perſons They made Addreſs to: And that for his Part He was long
" reſolved that his Wife ſhould not be one of thoſe Courtiers; and that He
" would himſelf much leſs like her Company, if She put herſelf into theirs
" who had not the ſame Innocence."

The King was not the more pleaſed for the Defence He made, and did not diſſemble his Diſlike of it, without any other Sharpneſs, than by telling him " that He was in the Wrong, and had an Underſtanding different from " all other Men who had Experience in the World." And it is moſt certain, it was an avowed Doctrine, and with great Addreſs daily inſinuated to the King, " that Princes had many Liberties which private Perſons have

"not; and that a Lady of Honour who dedicates herſelf only to pleaſe a "King, and continues faithful to him, ought not to be branded with any "Name or Mark of Infamy, but hath been always looked upon by all Per- "ſons wellbred as worthy of Reſpect:" And to this Purpoſe the Hiſtory of all the Amours of his Grandfather were carefully preſented to him, and with what Indignation He ſuffered any Diſreſpect towards any of his Miſtreſſes.

BUT of all theſe Artifices the Chancellor had no Apprehenſion, out of the Confidence He had in the Integrity of the King's Nature; and that though He might be ſwayed to ſacrifice his preſent Affections to his Appetite, He could never be prevailed upon to entertain a real Suſpicion of his very paſſionate Affection and Duty to his Perſon. That which gave him moſt Trouble, and many Times made him wiſh himſelf in any private Condition ſeparated from the Court, was that Unfixedneſs and Irreſolution of Judgment that was natural to all his Family of the Male Line, which often expoſed them all to the Importunities of bold, and to the Snares of crafty, Men.

ONE Day the King and the Duke came to the Chancellor together; and the King told him with a very viſible Trouble in his Countenance, "that "They were come to confer and adviſe with him upon an Affair of Im- "portance, which exceedingly diſquieted them Both. That *Dick Talbot*" (which was the familiar Appellation, according to the ill Cuſtom of the Court, that moſt Men gave him) "had a Reſolution to aſſaſſinate the Duke "of *Ormond*. That He had ſworn in the Preſence of two or three Perſons "of Honour, *that He would do it in the Revenge of ſome Injuries which*, He "pretended, *He had done his Family: That He had much rather fight with "him, which He knew the Duke would be willing enough to do; but That He "ſhould never be able to bring to paſs; and therefore He would take his Re- "venge in any Way that ſhould offer itſelf.* And every Body knew that the "Man had Courage and Wickedneſs enough to attempt any Thing like it. "That the Duke of *Ormond* knew well enough that the Fellow threatened "it, and was like enough to act it; but that He thought it below him to "apprehend it: And that his Majeſty came to the Notice of it by the Earl "of *Clancarty*, to whom Sir *Robert Talbot*, the elder Brother of the other, "told it, to the End that the Earl might give the Duke Notice of it, and "find ſome Way to prevent it; and the Earl had that Day informed the "King of it, as the beſt Way He could think of to prevent it." His Majeſty ſaid, "there remained no Doubt to be made of the Truth of it; for "there were two or three more of unqueſtionable Credit who had heard him "uſe the ſame Expreſſions: And that He had firſt ſpoken with his Bro- "ther, whoſe Servant He was, whom He found equally incenſed as him- "ſelf; and that They came immediately together to conſult with him what "was to be done."

One Talbot, *an* Iriſhman, *deſigns to aſſaſſinate the Duke of* Ormond.

THE Chancellor knew all the Brothers well, and was believed to have too much Prejudice to them all. They were all of an *Iriſh* Family but of ancient *Engliſh* Extraction, which had always inhabited within that Circle that was called the *Pale*; which, being originally an *Engliſh* Plantation, was in ſo many hundred Years for the moſt Part degenerated into the Manners of the *Iriſh*, and roſe and mingled with them in the late Rebellion: And of this Family there were two diſtinct Families, who had competent Eſtates, and lived in many Deſcents in the Rank of Gentlemen of Quality; and thoſe Brothers were all the Sons, or the Grandſons, of one who was a Judge in *Ireland*, and eſteemed a learned Man. The eldeſt was Sir *Robert Talbot*, who was by much the beſt; that is, the reſt were much worſe Men: A Man, whom

An Account of this Man's Family: With the Character of the five Brothers.

Sir Robert Talbot, *the eldeſt.*

whom the Duke of *Ormond* moſt eſteemed of thoſe who had been in Rebellion, as one who had leſs Malice than moſt of the reſt, and had recommended to the King as a Perſon fit for his Favour. But becauſe He did not aſk all on his Behalf, which He muſt have done for a Man entirely innocent, this Refuſal was looked upon as the higheſt Diſobligation.

Peter *the ſecond, a* Jeſuit.

THE ſecond Brother was a *Jeſuit*, who had been very troubleſome to the King abroad, and had behaved himſelf in ſo inſolent a Manner, that his Majeſty had forbidden him his Court; after which He went into *England*, and applied himſelf to the ruling Power there, and was by that ſent into *Spain*, at the Time when the Treaty was at *Fuentarabia* between the two Crowns, to procure that *England* might be included in that Peace, and the King excluded, and not to be ſuffered to remain in *Flanders*. Of all which his Majeſty having Advertiſement, ſent poſitive Orders to Sir *Harry Bennet* his Reſident then in *Madrid* to complain of him, and to deſire *Don Lewis de Haro*, that He might receive no Countenance in that Court. But the *Jeſuit* had better and more powerful Recommendation; and was not only welcome there, but (which was very ſtrange, conſidering his Talent of Underſtanding) in a ſhort Time got ſo much Intereſt in the Reſident, that He received him into all Kind of Familiarity and Truſt, and undertook to reconcile the King to him, and was as good as his Word: And from the Time of his Majeſty's Return, or rather from the Return of Sir *Harry Bennet*, He was as much and as buſy in the Court as if He were a domeſtick Servant. And after the Queen came to *Whitehall*, He was admitted one of her Almoners; and walked with the ſame or more Freedom in the King's Houſe (and in Clergy Habit) than any of his Majeſty's Chaplains did, who did not preſume to be ſeen in the Galleries and other reſerved Rooms, where He was converſant with the ſame Confidence as if He were of the Bedchamber.

Gilbert *the third, called Colonel* Talbot.

THE third Brother was *Gilbert*, who was called Colonel *Talbot* from ſome Command He had with the Rebels againſt the King. And He had likewiſe been with the King in *Flanders*, that is, had lived in *Antwerp* and *Bruſſels* whilſt the King was there; and being a half-witted Fellow did not meddle with any Thing nor angered any Body, but found a Way to get good Cloaths and to play, and was looked upon as a Man of Courage, having fought a Duel or two with ſtout Men.

Thomas *the fourth, a* Franciſcan Friar.

THE fourth Brother was a *Franciſcan Friar*, of Wit enough, but of ſo notorious Debauchery, that He was frequently under ſevere Diſcipline by the Superiours of his Order for his ſcandalous Life, which made him hate his Habit, and take all Opportunities to make Journies into *England* and *Ireland*: But not being able to live there, He was forced to return and put on his abhorred Habit, which He always called his *Fool's Coat*, and came ſeldom into thoſe Places where He was known, and ſo wandered into *Germany* and *Flanders*, and took all Opportunities to be in the Places where the King was; and ſo He came to *Cologne* and *Bruſſels* and *Bruges*, and being a merry Fellow, was the more made of for laughing at and contemning his Brother the *Jeſuit*, who had not ſo good natural Parts, though by his Education He had more Sobriety, and lived without Scandal in his Manners. He went by the Name of *Tom Talbot*, and after the King's Return was in *London* in his *Man's Cloaths* (as He called them), with the natural Liceſe of an *Iriſh Friar* (which are a People, for the moſt Part, of the whole Creation the moſt ſottiſh and the moſt brutal), and againſt his Obedience, and all Orders of his Superiours, who interdicted him to ſay Maſs.

Richard *the fifth, the Perſon concerned.*

THE fifth Brother was this *Dick Talbot*, who gave the King and the Duke the Trouble mentioned before. He was brought into *Flanders* firſt by *Daniel ONeile*, as one who was willing to aſſaſſinate *Cromwell*; and He made a Journey into *England* with that Reſolution not long before his Death, and after it returned into *Flanders* ready to do all that He ſhould be required. He was a very handſome young Man, wore good Cloaths, and was without Doubt of a clear, ready Courage, which was Virtue enough to recommend a Man to the Duke's good Opinion; which, with more Expedition than could be expected, He got to that Degree, that He was made of his Bedchamber; and, from that Qualification, embarked himſelf after the King's Return in the Pretences of the *Iriſh*, with ſuch an unuſual Confidence, and upon private Contracts with very ſcandalous Circumſtances, that the Chancellor had ſometimes at the Council-Table been obliged to give him ſevere Reprehenſions, and often deſired the Duke to withdraw his Countenance from him. He had likewiſe declared very loudly againſt the *Jeſuit*, and, though He had made many Addreſſes unto him by Letters and by ſome Friends who had Credit with him, would never from the Time of the King's Return be perſuaded to ſpeak with him, and had once prevailed with the King ſo far, that He was forbid to come to the Court; but He had a Friend, who after ſome Time got that Reſtraint off again. The Chancellor had likewiſe obſerved the *Friar* to be too frequently in the Galleries, and ſometimes drunk there, and cauſed him to be forbid to come into the Court: And the eldeſt Brother, towards whom He had rather Kindneſs than Prejudice, finding many Obſtructions in his Pretences, was perſuaded to think him not his Friend. And ſo He got the Reproach of being an Enemy to the whole Family.

THIS Conſideration did really affect the Chancellor, ſo that He appeared more reſerved and more wary in this Particular propoſed by the King and by the Duke, than He uſed to be. He ſaid, "that in many Reſpects He was "not ſo fit to adviſe in this Particular as other Men were. Though this "Man's Behaviour was ſo ſcandalous that it deſerved exemplary Puniſhment, "yet He did not conceive any preſent Danger from it: That He would deny "it and repent it, and give any other Satisfaction that would be required or "aſſigned; and then his Majeſty and the Duke would be prevailed with to "take off their Diſpleaſure. And therefore it would be better not to make "ſuch a Matter publick, which, conſidering the Perſon and the Circum-"ſtances, would make a deep Impreſſion upon the Minds of all wiſe Men; "than, after the World takes Notice of it, to paſs it over with a light and "ordinary Puniſhment." The King interrupted him as He was going on, and told him, "there was no Danger of that, and that He would deal "freely with him. That as the Offence was in itſelf unpardonable, ſo He "and his Brother were reſolved to take this Opportunity and Occaſion to "free themſelves from the Importunity of the whole Family: That all the "Brothers were naughty Fellows, and had no good Meaning." And thereupon his Majeſty enlarged with much Sharpneſs upon the *Jeſuit* and *Friar*, with Charges upon Both very weighty and unanſwerable; and the Duke upon this Man who was the Subject of the Debate: And Both concluded, "that They ſhould be in great Eaſe by the Abſence of all of them, which "ſhould be enjoined as ſoon as a Reſolution ſhould be taken in this Par-"ticular."

THE Chancellor knew that there was Somewhat elſe, which was not ſo fit to be mentioned, that had offended them Both as much; and thought He had Reaſon to believe that They would be Both reſolute in the Puniſhment,

and that They had deliberated it too long to depart from the Proſecution. He therefore adviſed, "that the Gentleman ſhould be preſently apprehended "and examined upon the Words, which ſome Witneſs ſhould be ready to "affirm: And that thereupon He ſhould be ſent to the *Tower*, and the "next Day that his Majeſty ſhould inform the Privy Council of the Whole, "which without Queſtion would give Direction to his Attorney General to "proſecute this foul Miſdemeanour in ſuch a Manner, that ſhould put this "Gentleman in ſuch a Condition, that He ſhould not trouble the Court "with his Attendance; and other Men ſhould by his Example find, that "their Tongues are not their own, to be employed according to their own "malicious Pleaſures."

THE Perſon was the ſame Night ſent to the *Tower*; and both the King and the Duke declared themſelves, in the Preſence of their Servants and many others, to be as highly offended, and as poſitively reſolved to take as much Vengeance upon the impudent Preſumption of the Offender as the Rigour of the Law would inflict, as ever They had done upon any Occurrence and Accident in their Lives: And if They had had Perſons enough about them, who out of a juſt Senſe of their Honour would have confirmed them in the Judgment They were of, it would have been in Nobody's Power to have ſhaken them. But as from the firſt Day of his Commitment, the Servants near the Perſon both of the King and Duke preſumed, againſt all ancient Order (which made it a Crime in any to perform thoſe Civilities to Perſons declared to be under his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure), to viſit Mr. *Talbot*, and to cenſure thoſe who had adviſed his Commitment; ſo after ſome few Days, when They thought the Duke's Paſſion in ſome Degree abated, the Lord *Berkley* confidently told the Duke, "that "He ſuffered much in the Opinion of the World, in permitting a Servant "of ſo near Relation to be committed to Priſon for a few haſty and unad-"viſed Words, to which He had been provoked; and that it was well "enough known that it was by the Contrivement and Advice of the Chan-"cellor, who was taken Notice of to be an Enemy to that whole Family, "nor any great Friend to any of his Highneſs's Servants; and if He had "that Credit to remove any of them from his Perſon, there would in a "ſhort Time be few of them found in his Court."

He is ſent to the Tower by the Chancellor's Adviſe.

THIS was ſeconded by all the Standers by; and though it did not ſuddenly work its Effect, yet the continual preſſing it by Degrees weakened the Reſolution: And the ſame Offices being with equal Importunity performed towards the King, and with the more Zeal after it was publiſhed that the Whole was done by the Chancellor's Procurement; both his Majeſty and his Highneſs grew weary of their Severity, and, upon Conference together, reſolved to interpoſe with the Duke for his Remiſſion, who diſdained to make himſelf a Proſecutor in ſuch a Tranſgreſſion. And ſo the Priſoner returned to *Whitehall*, with the Advantage which Men who have been unjuſtly impriſoned uſually receive: And all Men thought He triumphed over the Chancellor, who, how unconcerned ſoever, knew every Day the leſs how to behave himſelf. And this unhappy Conſtitution grew ſo notorious (for there were too many Inſtances of it), that all Men grew leſs reſolute in Matters which concerned the King and drew the Diſpleaſure of others upon them, which was like to prove unprofitable to them.

But ſoon releaſed by the Artifice of the Chancellor's Enemies.

ACCORDING to their laſt Prorogation the Parliament convened again upon the one and twentieth of *September*; when the King told them, "that He "was very glad to meet ſo many of them together again, and thanked God "for their Meeting together again in that Place." He ſaid, "little Time had

The Parliament meets. The King's Speech.

"paſſed ſince They were almoſt in Deſpair of having that Place left to "meet in. They ſaw the diſmal Ruins the Fire had made; and Nothing "but a Miracle of God's Mercy could have preſerved what was left from "the ſame Deſtruction."

His Majeſty told them, "He need make no Excuſe to them for having "diſpenſed with their Attendance in *April*; He was confident They all "thanked him for it: The Truth is, He deſired to put them to as little "Trouble as He could; and He could tell them truly, He deſired to put "them to as little Coſt as was poſſible. He wiſhed with all his Heart that "He could bear the whole Charge of the War himſelf, and that his Sub- "jects ſhould reap the whole Benefit of it to themſelves. But He had two "great and powerful Enemies, who uſed all the Ways They could, fair "and foul, to make all the World to concur with them; and the War was "more chargeable by that Conjunction, than any Body thought it would "have been. He needed not tell them the Succeſs of the Summer, in "which God had given them great Succeſs; and no Queſtion the Enemy "had undergone great Loſſes; and if it had pleaſed God to have withheld "his late Judgment by Fire, He had been in no ill Condition." His Majeſty confeſſed, "that They had given him very large Supplies for the car- "rying on the War: And yet," He told them, "that if He had not, by "anticipating his own Revenue, raiſed a very great Sum of Money, He had "not been able to have ſet out the Fleet the laſt Spring; and He had ſome "Hope upon the ſame Credit to be able to pay off the great Ships as they "ſhould come in. They would conſider what was to be done next, when "They were well informed of the Expenſe: And He would leave it to their "Wiſdoms, to find out the beſt Expedients for the carrying on the War "with as little Burden to the People as was poſſible." He ſaid, "He would "add no more than to put them in Mind, that their Enemies were very "inſolent; and if They were able the laſt Year to perſuade their miſerable "People whom They miſled, *that the Contagion had ſo waſted the Nation,* "*and impoveriſhed the King, that He would not be able to ſet out any Fleet*; "how would They be exalted with this laſt Impoveriſhment of the City, "and contemn all reaſonable Conditions of Peace? And therefore He could "not doubt but that They would provide accordingly."

Indeed the King did not till now underſtand the Damage He had ſuſtained by the Plague, much leſs what He muſt ſuſtain from the Fire. Monies could neither be collected nor borrowed where the Plague had prevailed, which was over all the City and over a great Part of the Country; the Collectors durſt not go to require it or receive it. Yet the Fountains remained yet clear, and the Waters would run again: But this late Conflagration had dried up or ſo ſtopped the very Fountains, that there was no Proſpect when they would flow again. The two great Branches of the Revenue, the Cuſtoms and Exciſe, which was the great and almoſt inexhauſtible Security to borrow Money upon, were now bankrupt, and would neither bring in Money nor ſupply Credit: All the Meaſures by which Computations had been made were ſo broken, that they could not be brought to meet again. By a Medium of the conſtant Receipts it had been depended upon, that what had been borrowed upon that Fund would by this Time have been fully ſatisfied with all the Intereſt, whereby the Money would have been replaced in the Hands to which it was due, which would have been glad to have laid it out again; and the Security would have remained ſtill in Vigour to be applied to any other urgent Occaſions: But now the Plague had routed all thoſe Receipts, eſpecially in *London*, where the great Con-

duits of thoſe Receipts ſtill ran. The Plague and the War had ſo totally broken and diſtracted thoſe Receipts, that the Farmers of either had not received enough to diſcharge the conſtant Burden of the Officers, and were ſo far from paying any Part of the Principal that was ſecured upon it, that it left the Intereſt unpaid to ſwell the Principal. And now this Deluge by Fire had diſſipated the Perſons, and deſtroyed the Houſes, which were liable to the Reimburſement of all Arrears; and the very Stocks were conſumed which ſhould carry on and revive the Trade. And the third next conſiderable Branch of the Revenue, the Chimney-Money, was determined; and the City muſt be rebuilt before any Body could be required to pay for his Chimnies.

THIS was the true State of the Crown, if all other Inconveniences and caſual Expenſes had been away, and all Application to Things ſerious had been made by all Perſons concerned. And this woful Proſpect was in View when the Parliament met again; which came not together with the better Countenance by ſeeing all Hopes abroad with ſo ſad an Aſpect, and all Things at Home (that troubled them much more) appear ſo deſperate in many Reſpects. Yet within few Days after the King had ſpoken to them, the Houſe of Commons being moſt filled with the King's Servants, the Gentlemen of the Country being not yet come, there was a faint Vote procured, "that They would give a Supply to the King proportionable to his "Wants," without mentioning any Sum, or which Way it ſhould be raiſed: Nor from that Minute did They make the leaſt Reflection upon that Engagement in many Months after. Whilſt the Enemies, much more exalted than ever, believed, as They had good Cauſe, that They ſhould reap a much greater Benefit by the Burning of *London* than They had from the Contagion.

Diſcontents in the Houſe of Commons.

WHEN the Numbers of the Members increaſed, the Parliament appeared much more chagrined than it had hitherto done; and though They made the ſame Profeſſions of Affection and Duty to the King They had ever done, They did not conceal the very ill Opinion They had of the Court and the continual Riotings there: And the very idle Diſcourſes of ſome (who were much countenanced) upon the miſerable Event of the Fire made them even believe, that the former Jealouſies of the City, when They ſaw their Houſes burning at ſuch a Diſtance from each other, were not without ſome Foundation, nor without juſt Apprehenſion of a Conſpiracy, and that it had not been diligently enough examined; and therefore They appointed a Committee, with large Authority to ſend for and examine all Perſons who could give any Information concerning it.

A Committee appointed to inquire into the Cauſes of the Fire.

WHEN any Mention was made of the Declaration They had ſo lately paſſed, for giving the King Supply, and "that it was high Time to diſ-"patch it, that all neceſſary Proviſions might be made for the ſetting out "a Fleet againſt the Spring;" it was anſwered with Paſſion, "that the "King's Wants muſt be made firſt to appear before any Supply muſt be diſ-"courſed of: That there were already ſuch vaſt Sums of Money given to the "King, that there was none left in the Country; nor could any Commo-"dities there, upon which They ſhould raiſe wherewith to pay their Taxes, "be ſold for Want of Money, which was all brought to *London in Specie*, "and none left to carry on the Commerce and Trade in the Country, "where They could not ſell their Corn or their Cattle or their Wool for "Half the Value."

THEY who had not ſate in the Parliament at *Oxford* were exceedingly vexed, that there had been ſo much given there, ſo ſoon after the two Millions and a Half had been granted; and ſaid, "if the King wanted again "already,

"already, that He must have been abominably cheated, which was fit to be "examined. That the Number of the Ships, which had been set out by the "King in several Fleets since the Beginning of this War, was no Secret; and "that there are Men enough who are acquainted with the Charge of setting "out and manning and victualling Ships, and can make thereby a reason-"able Computation what this vast Expense can amount to: And that They "cannot but conclude, that if his Majesty hath been honestly dealt with, "there must remain still a very great Proportion of Money to carry on the "War, without Need of imposing more upon the People, till They are "better able to bear it. And therefore that it was absolutely necessary, that "all those, through whose Hands the Money had passed, should first give "an exact Account of what They had received, and what and how They "had disbursed it: And when that should appear, it would be seasonable "to demand an Addition of Supply, which would be cheerfully granted."

And for the better Expedition of this (for every Body confessed that the Time pressed) it was proposed, "that forthwith a Bill should be prepared, "which should pass into an Act of Parliament, in which such Commis-"sioners should be appointed as the Houses should think fit, to examine "all Accounts of those who had received or issued out any Monies for this "War; and where They found any Persons faulty, and who had broken "their Trust, They should be liable to such Punishment as the Parliament "should think fit:" And a Committee was presently named to prepare such a Bill accordingly. This Proposition found such a Concurrence in the House, that none of the Court thought fit to oppose it; and others who knew the Method to be new, and liable to just Exceptions, thought it to as little Purpose to endeavour to divert it: And so all Motions for present Supply were to be laid aside till a more favourable Conjuncture; and the Overture had been contrived and put on by many who seemed not to like it, which is an Artifice not unusual in Courts or Parliaments.

A Bill brought in for inspecting publick Accounts.

The Persons, who were principally aimed at (for no Doubt They believed that others would be comprehended), were Sir *George Carteret* the Treasurer of the Navy, through whom all that Expense had passed, who had many Enemies upon the Opinion that his Office was too great, and the more by the ill Offices Sir *William Coventry* was always ready to do him; and the Lord *Ashley*, who was Treasurer of all the Money that had been raised upon Prizes, which could not but be a great Proportion. The former was a punctual Officer and a good Accomptant, and had already passed his Account in the Exchequer for two Years, upon which He had his *Quietus est*; which was the only lawful Way known and practised by all Accomptants to the Crown, who can receive a good Discharge no other Way: And He was ready to make another Year's Account. But what Method Commissioners extraordinary by Act of Parliament would put it into, He could not imagine, nor be well satisfied with. The other, the Lord *Ashley*, had more Reason to be troubled, for He was by his Commission exempted from giving any other Account but to the King himself, which Exemption was the only Reason that made him so solicitous for the Office; and He well knew that there were great Sums issued, which could not be put into any publick Account: So that his Perplexity in several Respects was not small. And They Both applied themselves to the King for his Protection in the Point.

His Majesty was no less troubled, knowing that Both had issued out many Sums upon his Warrants, which He would not suffer to be produced; and called that Committee of the Privy Council with which He used to advise,

Upon which the King consults the private Committee.

viſe, and complained of this unuſual Way of Proceeding in the Houſe of Commons, which would terrify all Men from ſerving his Majeſty in any Receipts; to which Employment Men ſubmitted becauſe They knew what They were to do, and what They were to ſuffer. If They made their Account according to the known Rules of the Exchequer, their Diſcharge could not be denied; and if They failed, They knew what Proceſs would be awarded againſt them. But to account by ſuch Orders as the Parliament ſhould preſcribe, and to be liable to ſuch Puniſhment as the Parliament would inflict, was ſuch an Uncertainty as would deprive them of all Reſt and Quiet of Mind; and was in itſelf ſo unjuſt, that his Majeſty declared "that He would never ſuffer it: That He hoped it would never find a Conſent in the Houſe of Commons; if it ſhould, that the Houſe of Peers would "reject it; but if it ſhould be brought to him, He was reſolved never to "give his Royal Aſſent." There was no Man preſent, who did not ſeem fully to concur with his Majeſty that He ſhould never conſent to it: "However that the beſt Care and Diligence ſhould be uſed, that it might never "be preſented to him, but ſtopped in the Houſes; and to that Purpoſe that "the Members ſhould be prepared by giving them Notice of his Pleaſure."

The Chancellor delivers his Opinion very freely.

THE Chancellor upon this Argument, in which He diſcerned no Oppoſition, enlarged himſelf upon what He had often before put his Majeſty in Mind of; "that He could not be too indulgent in the Defence of the Pri-"vileges of Parliament; that He hoped He would never violate any of them:" But He deſired him "to be equally ſolicitous to prevent the Exceſſes in Par-"liament, and not to ſuffer them to extend their Juriſdiction to Caſes They "have Nothing to do with; and that to reſtrain them within their proper "Bounds and Limits is as neceſſary, as it is to preſerve them from being in-"vaded. That this was ſuch a new Encroachment as had no Bottom; and "the Scars were yet too freſh and green of thoſe Wounds which had been "inflicted upon the Kingdom from ſuch Uſurpation." And therefore He deſired his Majeſty "to be firm in the Reſolution He had taken, and not "to depart from it; and if ſuch a Bill ſhould be brought up to the Houſe "of Peers, He would not fail in doing his Duty, and ſpeaking freely his "Opinion againſt ſuch Innovations, how many ſoever it might offend." All which Diſcourſe of his was in a ſhort Time after communicated to thoſe, who would not fail to make Uſe of it to his Diſadvantage.

Which is ſoon reported abroad to his Prejudice.

THERE was a Correſpondence by this Time begun and warmly purſued between ſome diſcontented Members of the Houſe of Peers, who thought their Parts not enough valued (and the Duke of *Buckingham* was in the Head of them), and ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons, who made themſelves remarkable by oppoſing all Things which were propoſed in that Houſe for the King's Service, or which were like to be grateful to him, as Sir *Richard Temple*, Mr. *Seymour*, and Mr. *Garraway*, and Sir *Robert Howard*; who were all bold Speakers, and meant to make themſelves conſiderable by ſaying, upon all Occaſions, what wiſer Men would not, whatever They thought.

The Duke of Buckingham at the Head of the Oppoſition.

THE Duke of *Buckingham* took more Pains than was agreeable to his Conſtitution to get an Intereſt in all ſuch Perſons, invited them to his Table, pretended to have a great Eſteem of their Parts, aſked Counſel of them, lamented the King's neglecting his Buſineſs, and committing it to other People who were not fit for it; and then reported all the Licenſe and Debauchery of the Court in the moſt lively Colours, being himſelf a frequent Eye and Earwitneſs of it. He had a mortal Quarrel with the Lady, and was at this Time ſo much in the King's Diſpleaſure (as He was very frequently),

quently), that He forbore going to the Court, and revenged himſelf upon it by all the merry Tales He could tell of what was done there.

It cannot be imagined, conſidering the looſe Life He led (which was a Life more by Night than by Day) in all the Liberties that Nature could deſire or Wit invent, how great an Intereſt He had in Both Houſes of Parliament; that is, how many in Both would follow his Advice, and concur in what He propoſed. His Quality and Condeſcenſions, the Pleaſantneſs of his Humour and Converſation, the Extravagance and Sharpneſs of his Wit, unreſtrained by any Modeſty or Religion, drew Perſons of all Affections and Inclinations to like his Company; and to believe that the Levities and the Vanities would be wrought off by Age, and there would enough of Good be left to become a great Man, and make him uſeful to his Country, for which He pretended to have a wonderful Affection and Reverence; and that all his Diſpleaſure againſt the Court proceeded from their declared Malignity againſt the Liberty of the Subject, and their Deſire that the King ſhould govern by the Example of *France*. He had always held Intelligence with the principal Perſons of the *Levelling* Party, and profeſſed to deſire that Liberty of Conſcience might be granted to all; and exerciſed his Wit with moſt Licenſe againſt the Church, the Law and the Court.

The King had conſtant Intelligence of all his Behaviour, and the Liberty He took in his Diſcourſes of him, for which He had Indignation enough: But of this new Stratagem to make himſelf great in Parliament, and to have a Faction there to diſturb his Buſineſs, his Majeſty had no Apprehenſion, believing it impoſſible for the Duke to keep his Mind long bent upon any particular Deſign, or to keep and obſerve thoſe Hours and Orders of ſleeping and eating, as Men who pretend to Buſineſs are obliged to; and that it was more impoſſible, for him to make and preſerve a Friendſhip with any ſerious Perſons, whom He could never reſtrain himſelf from abuſing and making ridiculous, as ſoon as He was out of their Company. Yet with all theſe Infirmities and Vices He found a Reſpect and Concurrence from Men of different Tempers and Talents, and had an incredible Opinion with the People.

His Hatred to the Duke of Ormond.

The great Object of his Diſlike, Diſpleaſure and Hatred was the Duke of *Ormond*, who being his Equal in Title, and Superiour in Credit with the King, and at leaſt equal to him in all other Reſpects, He looked upon him as his Rival; and that his conſtant Attendance upon the King through all his Fortunes, was a Reproach to him for not having performed his Duty that Way, and gave him a general Reputation in the Kingdom with all Men who had been faithful to the Crown. The Duke of *Ormond's* younger Son had married his Niece, who was the Heir apparent of his Houſe; to which though He had given his Conſent when He ſaw it was not in his Power to contradict it, yet He pretended that the Duke had made many Promiſes of Friendſhip to him which He had not made good; whereas in Truth the other did really deſire, and had heartily endeavoured, to do him all the good Offices He could with the King, which ſome other new Extravagance of his own diſappointed and made uneffectual. Let the Ground and Reaſon be what they will, He did not diſſemble to hate the Duke of *Ormond* heartily, and to be willing to undertake the Proſecution of any Complaint againſt him; of which, in that diſtempered and disjointed Condition of *Ireland*, there could not be Occaſion wanting, as ſoon as it was known that ſuch a Patron was ready to undertake their Defence. And it cannot be denied (the Spirit of Envy is ſo powerful), that there were too many, who had no Affection for the Duke of *Buckingham*, who were yet willing that any

Thing ſhould be done to the Prejudice of the Duke of *Ormond*, who They thought eclipſed the Nobility of *England*.

THERE had been for many Months a great Murmur, rather than Complaint, "of the great Damage the Kingdom in general ſuſtained by the Im- "portation of ſuch great Quantities of *Iriſh* Cattle, which were bred there "for Nothing, and tranſported for little, that They might well underſell "all the Cattle here; and from hence the Breed of Cattle in the Kingdom "was totally given over, and thereby the Land would yield no Rent pro- "portionably to what it had ever done: And that this was a principal "Cauſe of the Want of Money in the Country, which could only be re- "medied by a very ſtrict Act of Parliament, to forbid the Importation of "any Sort of Cattle out of *Ireland* into this Kingdom." And ſome of them who had moſt thought of the Matter had prepared a Bill, and brought it into the Houſe of Commons, where it was read. At firſt it underwent very calm and reaſonable Debates. Very many Members of ſeveral Counties deſired, "that their Counties might not undergo any Damage for the "Benefit of other individual Places." They profeſſed "that their Coun- "ties had no Land bad enough to breed: But that their great Traffick "conſiſted in buying lean Cattle, and making them fat, and upon this "They paid their Rent; and if the bringing over *Iriſh* Cattle ſhould be "reſtrained, their Counties muſt be undone." And this appeared to be the Caſe of very many Counties in *England*. And the Complaint was of ſo new a Nature, that it had never been heard of in *England* till ſome few Months before this Meeting in Parliament; only it had been mentioned in the Parliament at *Oxford*, as a Grievance to the Northern Counties, which complained no leſs of the *Scots* than of the *Iriſh* Cattle; and the Bill that was at this Time brought into the Houſe of Commons provided as well againſt the one as the other.

A Bill brought into the Houſe of Commons againſt the Importation of Iriſh Cattle.

WHETHER this Complaint originally proceeded from the Damage which the People of ſome Counties ſuſtained, or thought They ſuſtained, which made their Members in Parliament preſs the Reſtraint with much Earneſtneſs (and it cannot be denied that many worthy Men were paſſionate in it, who were not like to be engaged in particular and factious Conteſts, to comply with the Humours of other Men), is not eaſy to other Men to judge of than thoſe who ſate in the Houſes, and obſerved the Manner and the Paſſion in which thoſe Debates were carried. And it cannot be denied but that, how innocently ſoever the Grievance firſt came to be mentioned, and to be recommended to the Conſideration and Wiſdom of the Houſe, the carrying it on was with unuſual Heat and Paſſion, different from what appeared in the Tranſaction of any other Buſineſs, that had an Aſpect only to the Publick: And it was obſerved, that the Cabal that is mentioned before, between ſome of the Houſe of Peers and of the Houſe of Commons, began at this Time to meet more frequently, and were united in the driving on this Affair; which ſuddenly grew to be inſiſted on as of that Importance, that there could be no Debate begun with Reference to the giving Money to the King, till this Bill were firſt paſſed.

IN the mean Time the Council of *Ireland* had the Alarm of what was intended before the Parliament, and did not only write to the King himſelf, but a large Letter to the Lords of the Privy Council, in which They repreſented the preſent diſtracted Condition of that Kingdom, "that there were "more than one hundred thouſand Perſons who had Nothing elſe to live "upon but their Droves of Cattle; out of which They twice a Year ſent "as many as They could ſpare into *England*, which enabled them to

The Privy Council of Ireland remonſtrate againſt this Bill.

"pay their Rents, and return ſuch Goods and Merchandiſe from thence as "the Kingdom ſtood in Need of;" for no Money *in Specie* was returned upon that Commerce. "That if this Liberty of Trade, which They had "enjoyed in all Ages, ſhould be taken from them, the King's Army could "not be ſupported, nor the Government maintained, but the Kingdom muſt "neceſſarily be ruined; and probably a new Rebellion, in ſo general a Diſ-"content as this Reſtraint would adminiſter, might be again entered into: "And therefore They deſired, that at leaſt ſome Years might be allowed to "that Traffick which had been always enjoyed; to the End that ſome other "Huſbandry might be introduced into the Kingdom, by which the People "might live, and which the Government would endeavour to plant with all "poſſible Diligence and Encouragement."

The King againſt the Bill.

THE King himſelf was ſo much moved with thoſe Letters, that He declared, "that He could neither in Juſtice nor in Conſcience conſent to ſuch a Bill, "which upon Pretence of Benefit to one of his Kingdoms might and muſt be "ſo miſchievous to the other two" (for *Scotland*, as is ſaid, was yet comprehended as well as *Ireland*): "That He was equally King to all, and obliged "to have an equal Care of all; and never to conſent to any Thing that might "be prejudicial to either of the other, eſpecially if the Benefit to the one "were not proportionable to, and as evident as, the Damage was to the "other." And upon theſe Grounds He recommended to them, "to give "ſuch a Stop to this Bill, that it might never be preſented to him, for if "it were He muſt poſitively reject it:" And without Doubt his Majeſty at that Time did not reſolve any Thing more within himſelf, than never to give his Royal Aſſent to that Bill.

The Privy Council divided in their Opinions upon it.

THE Letters from *Ireland* did not make the ſame Impreſſions upon the Lords of the Council, who were very much divided in their Opinions, even They whoſe Zeal for the King's Service was moſt unqueſtionable. Some were, upon the ſole Conſideration of the Injuſtice of it, and the Miſchief that it would produce in *Ireland*, poſitively againſt ever conſenting to it, and as poſitive that it might be ſtopped in the Houſe of Commons, or thrown out of the Lords Houſe, that it ſhould never come to the King: Others did as much believe that it was a real Grievance, in which the Subject ſhould have Relief; and inſiſted much, "that in a Point evidently for "the Benefit and Advantage of *England*, *Ireland* ought not to be put into "the Scale, becauſe it would be ſome Inconvenience there." Some did in Truth think that the King was too much inclined to favour the *Iriſh*, and in that Reſpect were well content that this Bill ſhould be a Mortification to them: And there wanted not others, who in dark Expreſſions (which grew clearer when the Matter came into the Houſe of Peers) ſeemed to think, "that the Eſtates in *Ireland* were more valuable than they were in *Eng-*"*land*; and that ſome Noblemen of that Kingdom lived in a higher Garb, "and made greater Expenſes, than the Noblemen in *England* were able "to do; which had not been in former Times." But They never conſidered, that thoſe Noblemen had Nothing but what deſcended to them from their Anceſtors; and that They had faithfully adhered to the King, and undergone as much Damage for doing ſo, as any Men had done.

THE Houſe of Commons ſeemed much more moroſe and obſtinate than it had formerly appeared to be, and ſolicitous to graſp as much Power and Authority as any of their Predeceſſors had done, though no Doubt with no ill Intention: And it may be this would not have ſo much appeared, if there had been the ſame Vigour in thoſe who had uſed to conduct the King's Buſineſs in that Houſe, as there had uſed to be. But that Spirit was much

fallen. The chief Men of the Court, upon whoſe Example other Men looked, were much more humble than They had uſed to be, and took more Pains to ingratiate themſelves than to advance the Intereſt of their Maſter: And inſtead of preſſing what was deſirable upon the Strength of Reaſon and Policy, as They had uſed to do, and by which the major Part of the Houſe had uſually concurred with them, They now applied themſelves with Addreſs to thoſe, who had always frowardly oppoſed whatſoever They thought would be grateful to the King; and deſired rather to buy their Votes and Concurrence by Promiſes of Reward and Preferment (which is the moſt diſhonourable and unthrifty Brokery that can be practiſed in a Parliament, which from this Time was much practiſed, and brought many ill Things to paſs), than to prevail upon thoſe weighty and important Arguments which would bear the Light. Which low Artifice raiſed the Inſolence of thoſe, which would, as eaſily as it had been, have been ſtill overruled and ſuppreſſed; and was quickly diſcerned by thoſe others, who upon the Principles of Honour and Wiſdom had hitherto ſwayed the Houſe in all Matters of publick Concernment, and who now concluded by thoſe new Condeſcenſions, that the former ſober Spirit and Reſolution was laid aſide, and that peeviſh Men would be compounded with; and ſo reſolved to ſit ſtill or look on, till the Succeſs of this Stratagem might be diſcerned.

AND by this Means the Bill for *Iriſh* Cattle was driven on with more Fury, and the other concerning Accounts more paſſionately ſpoken of; whilſt every Day not only many of thoſe, who had conſtantly obſerved the Advice that had been given them on the Behalf of the King, fell off to the other Party, but many of his houſhold Servants concurred in the Bill for *Ireland*; whilſt the reſt, who did not yet think fit to do ſo, applied themſelves to the King for his Leave that They might do the ſame. And Sir *William Coventry*, who had now by his Inſinuations and Communication made himſelf very grateful to the refractory Party, perſuaded the King, "that "the Houſe had taken the *Iriſh* Bill ſo much to Heart, that They would "never enter upon the Debate of Money, till that had paſſed the Houſe "and was ſent to the Lords, who no Doubt, upon the Knowledge of his "Majeſty's Mind and Reſolution, would eaſily throw it out. That if his Ser-"vants continued obſtinate in oppoſing it below, They ſhould but provoke "and anger the Houſe, and render themſelves uſeleſs to other Parts of his "Majeſty's more important Buſineſs: Whereas if They did now gratify "the Houſe by concurring with them in this Matter, They ſhould make "themſelves acceptable, have Credit enough to divert the Bill of Ac-"counts, and preſently to diſpoſe every Body to enter upon the Matter of "Supply."

THE King was not pleaſed with the Counſel, but had a very good Opinion of the Counſellor, who He believed could not but judge aright of the Temper of thoſe with whom He had ſate and converſed ſo long: And ſo his Majeſty told him, "He was contented He ſhould follow the Dictates "of his own Judgment and Conſcience;" and the ſame Anſwer He gave to all ſuch Members of the Houſe of Commons who came to receive his Orders. And after all this, the Bill was carried with great Difficulty, and long Oppoſition given to it by thoſe Members of ſeveral Counties, which profeſſed, "that the bringing over the *Iriſh* Cattle was ſo much for their Be-"nefit, that They could not live well without it," and were exceedingly perplexed that it ſhould paſs; which yet They hoped would be prevented in the Houſe of Peers: And ſo the Bill was in great Triumph, and by all

The Bill, after great Oppoſition, paſſed by the Commons.

the Members (as in Caſes They much delight in is uſual), preſented to the Houſe of Peers.

And the Commons no ſooner repaired to their own Houſe, than They aſſumed the Debate upon the Accounts, with the ſame Fervour They had purſued the other Bill of *Ireland*, and with the ſame Declaration, "that They "would not enter upon the Subject of Money, till They ſaw what Suc- "ceſs that Bill would likewiſe have;" and appearing every Day more out of Humour, expreſſed leſs Reverence towards the Court. And ſome Expreſſions were frequently uſed, which ſeemed to glance at the Licenſe and Diſorders and extravagant Expenſe of that Place, not without ſome Reflections which aimed at the Lady, and at the exorbitant Power exerciſed by her. And this imperious Way of Proceeding confirmed thoſe in their Warineſs, who had no Mind to oppoſe or contradict the Party that They would and meant ſhould prevail: But They the more endeavoured to render themſelves gracious to the Leaders, as being willing to adminiſter Fewel to the Fire the others intended to kindle; and, ſo They might preſerve themſelves, were very willing to expoſe other Miniſters to the Jealouſy of them, who They thought would not be quiet without ſome Sacrifice. And thus They alarmed the King with the new Apprehenſions, "that the Houſe, which "had yet dutiful Intentions, if They were croſſed in what They deſigned "for his Service, might be provoked to be bolder with his Majeſty than They "had been yet, and to mention the Prevalence of the Lady," which every Body knew the Duke of *Buckingham* would have been glad to have contributed to. And with theſe continued Repreſentations, but eſpecially with their old Argument of caſting it out by the Houſe of Peers, where his Power could not be doubted, They at laſt prevailed with the King to leave all Men to themſelves in the Buſineſs of the Accounts (where there was a greater Concurrence), as He had done in the *Iriſh* Bill: And ſo that Bill likewiſe was tranſmitted to the Lords.

The Bill for inſpecting publick Accounts paſſed by the Commons.

And at this Time many wiſe Men thought, that it would have been very happy for the King if He would have diſſolved the Parliament, and preſently after called another; which would have diſcovered many Combinations, when the Actors had found themſelves excluded from entering again upon the Stage; and it would have appeared, that all the Storms had been raiſed by thoſe Winds which had their Birth in the King's own Houſe. And ſuch a Diſſolution (to which the King himſelf was enough inclined) would have been very popular throughout the Kingdom, which naturally doth not love long Parliaments, and exceedingly deteſted this for having only given away their Money, and raiſed a War of which They ſaw no End nor poſſible Benefit, without paſſing any good Laws for the Advancement of the Peace and Happineſs of the Kingdom. And very few of thoſe, who had gotten Credit in the Houſe to obſtruct what the King deſired, were Men of any Intereſt or Reputation with the People.

The Propriety of diſſolving the Parliament at this Time.

But as Nobody was forward publickly to own and avow this Counſel, the Conſequence whereof They knew if it were not conſented to; ſo They who meant to do themſelves more Good by the preſent Indiſpoſition and Diſtemper, than They could propoſe from a new Convention of Men utterly unknown, and who were like enough to bring Prejudice againſt their own Particulars, uſed all the Means They could deviſe to divert the King from that Inclination. They told him, "that He would never have ſuch ano- "ther Parliament, where He had near one hundred Members of his own "menial Servants and their near Relations, who were all at his Diſpoſal; "by which They had incurred ſo much Prejudice in the Country, that very

"few of them would ever be elected again. That the preſent Diſtemper "was contracted by Accidents and Miſtakes, and would vaniſh upon very "reaſonable Condeſcenſions, and in another Prorogation: Whereas if it "ſhould be diſſolved and new Writs ſent out, the People would return none "but *Preſbyterians* and known Enemies to the Church, and ſuch who were "moſt notoriouſly diſaffected to the Court." And this Argument, preſſed by Men who had no more Affection for the Church than the *Quakers* had, prevailed with moſt of the Biſhops to diſſuade the King from hearkening to any ſuch Advice; when They had much more Reaſon to expect a ſtronger Party in a new Parliament, and might have obſerved that their Friends fell from them every Day in Both Houſes, and that the Court was not propitious to them, of which They had afterwards a ſad Experience, and which They might then have well foreſeen.

Great Animoſities in the Houſe of Lords upon the Bill againſt Iriſh *Cattle.*

THE Houſe of Peers was no ſooner poſſeſſed of the Bill againſt *Iriſh* Cattle, but it was read, and a marvellous keen Reſolution appeared in many to uſe all Expedition in the paſſing it; though if the Matter itſelf had been without Exception, there were ſo many Clauſes and *Proviſos* in it ſo derogatory to the King's Honour and Prerogative, that many thought it a high Diſreſpect to his Majeſty to admit them into Debate. But of theſe anon. The Duke of *Buckingham* appeared in the Head of thoſe who favoured the Bill, with a marvellous Concernment: And at the Times appointed for the Debate of it, contrary to his Cuſtom of coming into the Houſe, indeed of not riſing till eleven of the Clock, and ſeldom ſtaying above a Quarter of an Hour, except upon ſome Affair which He concerned himſelf in, He was now always preſent with the firſt in a Morning, and ſtayed till the laſt at Night; for the Debate often held from the Morning till four of the Clock in the Afternoon, and ſometimes till Candles were brought in.

AND it grew quickly evident, that there were other Reaſons which cauſed ſo earneſt a Proſecution of it, above the Encouragement of the Breed of Cattle in *England:* Inſomuch as the Lord *Aſhley*, who next the Duke of *Buckingham* appeared the moſt violent Supporter of the Bill, could not forbear to urge it as an Argument for the proſecuting it, "that if this Bill did "not paſs, all the Rents in *Ireland* would riſe in a vaſt Proportion, and thoſe "in *England* fall as much; ſo that in a Year or two the Duke of *Ormond* "would have a greater Revenue than the Earl of *Northumberland*;" which made a viſible Impreſſion in many, as a Thing not to be endured. Whereas the Duke had indeed at leaſt four Times the Proportion of Land in *Ireland* that deſcended to him from his Anceſtors, that the Earl had in *England*; and the Revenue of it before the Rebellion was not inferiour to the other's. But Nothing was more manifeſt, than that the Warmth of that Proſecution in the Houſe of Peers in many Lords did proceed from the Envy They had of the Duke's Station in one Kingdom, and of his Fortune in the other.

AND the whole Debate upon the Bill was ſo diſorderly and unparliamentary, that the like had never been known: No Rules or Orders of the Houſe for the Courſe and Method of Debate were obſerved. And there being, amongſt thoſe who advanced the Bill, fewer Speakers than there were of thoſe who were againſt it, thoſe few took upon them to ſpeak oftner than They ought to do, and to reply to every Man who declared himſelf to be of another Opinion: And when They were put in Mind of the Rule of the Houſe, "that no "Man ſhould ſpeak above once upon the ſame Queſtion," They called preſently to have the Houſe reſolved into a Committee, which any ſingle Member may require, and then every Man may ſpeak as often as He pleaſe;

and ſo the Time was ſpent unprofitably without the Buſineſs being advanced. In the mean Time the Houſe of Commons proceeded as irregularly, in ſending frequent Meſſages to haſten the Diſpatch of the Bill, when They knew well the Debate of every Day: And it was frequently urged as an Argument, "that the Houſe of Commons was the fitteſt Judge of the "Neceſſities and Grievances of the People; and They having paſſed this "Bill, the Lords ought to conform to their Opinion." In Fine, there grew ſo great a Licenſe of Words in this Debate, and ſo many perſonal Reflections, that every Day ſome Quarrels aroſe, to the great Scandal and Diſhonour of a Court that was the ſupreme Judicatory of the Kingdom.

THE Duke of *Buckingham*, who aſſumed a Liberty of ſpeaking when and what He would in a Dialect unuſual and ungrave, his Similes and other Expreſſions giving Occaſion of much Mirth and Laughter, one Day ſaid in the Debate, "that whoever was againſt that Bill had either an *Iriſh* Intereſt "or an *Iriſh* Underſtanding:" Which ſo much offended the Lord *Oſſory*, who was eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Ormond* (who had very narrowly eſcaped the Cenſure of the Houſe lately, for reproaching the Lord *Aſhley* with having been a Counſellor to *Cromwell*, and would not therefore truſt himſelf with giving a preſent Anſwer), that meeting him afterwards in the Court, He deſired the Duke "that He would walk into the next Room with him;" and there told him, "that He had taken the Liberty to uſe many looſe and "unworthy Expreſſions which reflected upon the whole *Iriſh* Nation, and "which He himſelf reſented ſo much that He expected Satisfaction, and to "find him with his Sword in his Hand;" which the Duke endeavoured to avoid by all the fair Words and Shifts He could uſe, but was ſo far preſſed by the other, whoſe Courage was never doubted, that He could not avoid appointing a Place where They would preſently meet, which He found the other would exact to prevent Diſcovery, and therefore had choſen rather to urge it himſelf than to ſend a Meſſage to him. And ſo He named a known Place in *Chelſea Fields*, and to be there within leſs than an Hour.

The Lord Oſſory challenges the Duke of Buckingham.

THE Lord *Oſſory* made Haſte thither, and expected him much beyond the Time; and then ſeeing ſome Perſons come out of the Way towards the Place where He was, and concluding They were ſent out to prevent any Action between them, He avoided ſpeaking with them, but got to the Place where his Horſe was, and ſo retired to *London*. The Duke was found by himſelf in another Place on the other Side of the Water, which was never known by the Name of *Chelſea Fields*, which He ſaid was the Place He had appointed to meet.

FINDING that Night that the Lord *Oſſory* was not in Cuſtody, and ſo He was ſure He ſhould quickly hear from him, and upon Conference with his Friends, that the Miſtake of the Place would be imputed to him; He took a ſtrange Reſolution, that every Body wondered at, and his Friends diſſuaded him from. And the next Morning, as ſoon as the Houſe was ſate, the Lord *Oſſory* being likewiſe preſent that He might find ſome Opportunity to ſpeak with him, the Duke told the Houſe, "that He muſt inform "them of Somewhat that concerned himſelf; and being ſure that it would "come to their Notice ſome other Way, He had therefore choſe to acquaint "them with it himſelf:" And thereupon related "how the Lord *Oſſory* had the "Day before found him in the Court, and deſired him to walk into the next "Room, where He charged him with many Particulars which He had ſpoken "in that Place, and in few Words told him He ſhould fight with him; "which though He did not hold himſelf obliged to do in Maintenance of any "Thing He had ſaid or done in the Parliament, yet that it being ſuitable

The Duke of Buckingham *informs the Houſe of the Affair.*

"and agreeable to his Nature, to fight with any Man who had a Mind to "fight with him" (upon which He enlarged with a little Vanity, as if Duelling were his daily Exercise and Inclination), "He appointed the "Place in *Chelsea Fields*, which He understood to be the Fields over against "*Chelsea*; whither, having only gone to his Lodging to change his Sword, "He hastened, by presently crossing the Water in a Pair of Oars, and stayed "there in Expectation of the Lord *Ossory*, until such Gentlemen," whom He named, "found him there, and said, *They were sent to prevent his and* "*the Lord* Ossory's *Meeting*, *whom others were likewise sent to find for* "*the same Prevention.* Whereupon, concluding that for the present there "would be no Meeting together, He returned with those Gentlemen to his "Lodging, being always ready to give any Gentleman Satisfaction that "should require it of him."

EVERY Body was exceedingly surprised with the Oddness and Unseasonableness of the Discourse, which consisted, with some Confusion, between aggravating the Presumption of the Lord *Ossory*, and making the Offence as heinous as the violating all the Privileges of Parliament could amount unto; and magnifying his own Courage and Readiness to fight upon any Opportunity, when it was clear enough that He had declined it by a gross Shift: And it was wondered at, that He had not chosen rather that some other Person might inform the House of a Quarrel between two Members, that it might be examined and the Mischief prevented. But He believed that Way would not so well represent and manifest the Lustre of his Courage, and might leave him under an Examination that would not be so advantageous to him as his own Information: And therefore no Persuasion and Importunity of his Friends could prevail with him to decline that Method.

THE Lord *Ossory* seemed out of Countenance, and troubled that the Contest was like to be only in that Place, and cared not to deny any Thing that the Duke had accused him of; only "wondered, that He should say He "had challenged him for Words spoken in the House, when He had ex- "pressly declared to him, when his Grace insisted much upon the Privilege "of Parliament to decline giving him any Satisfaction, *that He did not* "*question him for any Words spoken in Parliament, but for Words spoken in* "*other Places, and for Affronts, which He had at other Times chosen to bear* "*rather than to disturb the Company.*" He confessed, "He had attended "in the very Place where the Duke had done him the Honour to promise to "meet him;" and mentioned some Expressions which He had used in designing it, which left the Certainty of it not to be doubted.

WHEN They had Both said as much as They had a Mind to, They were Both required, as is the Custom, to withdraw to several Rooms near the House: And then the Lords entered upon Debate of the Transgression; many insisting "upon the Magnitude of the Offence, which concerned the "Honour and Safety of the highest Tribunal in the Kingdom, and the Li- "berty and Security of every Member of the House. That if in any De- "bate any Lord exceeded the modest Limits prescribed, in any offensive "Expressions, the House had the Power and the Practice to restrain and "reprehend and imprison the Person, according to the Quality and Degree "of the Offence; and that no other Remedy or Examination could be ap- "plied to it, even by the King himself. But if it should be in any pri- "vate Man to take Exceptions against any Words which the House finds no "Fault with, and to require Men to justify with their Swords all that They "say in Discharge of their Conscience, and for the Good and Benefit of

" their Country; there is an End of the Privilege of Parliament and the " Freedom of Speech: And therefore that there could not be too great a " Puniſhment inflicted upon this notorious and monſtrous Offence of the " Lord *Oſſory*, which concerned every Lord in particular, as much as it did " the Duke of *Buckingham*; who had carried himſelf as well as the ill Cuſ- " tom and Iniquity of the Age would admit, and had given no Offence to " the Houſe, towards which He had always paid all poſſible Reſpect and " Reverence."

THEY who conſidered the Honour and Dignity only of the Houſe, and the ill Conſequence of ſuch Violations as theſe, which Way ſoever their Affections were inclined with Reference to their Perſons, were all of Opinion, " that their Offences were ſo near equal that their Puniſhment ought " to be equal: For that beſides the Lord *Oſſory's* Denial that He had made " any Reflection upon any Words ſpoken in Parliament, which was the Aggra- " vation of his Offence, there was ſome Teſtimony given to the Houſe by " ſome Lords preſent, that the Lord *Oſſory* had complained of the Duke's Com- " portment towards him before thoſe Words uſed in the Houſe by him, *of the* " Iriſh *Intereſt or* Iriſh *Underſtanding*, and reſolved to expoſtulate with him " upon it; ſo that thoſe Words could not be the Ground of the Quarrel. " And it was evident by the Duke's own Confeſſion and Declaration, that " He was as ready to fight, and went to the Place appointed by himſelf for " Encounter; which made the Offence equal." And therefore They moved, " that They might be Both brought to the Bar, and upon their Knees re- " ceive the Sentence of the Houſe for their Commitment to the *Tower*."

SOME, who would ſhew their Kindneſs to the Duke, were not willing that He ſhould undergo the ſame Puniſhment with the other, until ſome Lords, who were known not to be his Friends, were very earneſt " that " the Duke might receive no Puniſhment, becauſe He had committed no " Fault; for that it was very evident that He never intended to fight, " and had, when no other Tergiverſation would ſerve his Turn, prudently " miſtaken the Place that was appointed by himſelf;" which was preſſed by two or three Lords in ſuch a pleaſant Manner, with Reflection upon ſome Expreſſions uſed by himſelf, that his better Friends thought it would be more for his Honour to undergo the Cenſure of the Houſe, than the Penalty of ſuch a Vindication: And ſo They were Both ſent to the *Tower*.

They are Both ſent to the Tower.

AND during the Time They remained there, the Bill againſt *Ireland* remained in Suſpenſe, and uncalled for by thoſe, who would not hazard their Cauſe in the Abſence of their ſtrongeſt Champion. But the ſame Spirit was kept up in all other Arguments, the Diſpleaſure, that had ariſen againſt each other in that, venting itſelf in Contradictions and ſharp Replies in all other Occaſions; a Miſchief that is always contracted from the Agitation of private Affairs, where different Intereſts are purſued; from whence perſonal Animoſities ariſe, which are not quickly laid aſide, after the Affair itſelf that produced thoſe Paſſions is compoſed and ended. And this Kind of Diſtemper never more appeared, nor ever laſted longer, than from the Debate and Conteſtation upon this Bill.

THOSE two Lords were no ſooner at Liberty, and their Diſpleaſure towards each other ſuppreſſed or ſilenced by the King's Command, but another more untoward Outrage happened, that continued the ſame Diſturbance. It happened that upon the Debate of the ſame Affair, the *Iriſh* Bill, there was a Conference appointed with the Houſe of Commons, in which the Duke of *Buckingham* was a Manager; and as They were ſitting down in the *Painted Chamber*, which is ſeldom done in good Order, it chanced that the Mar-

A Scuffle between the Duke of Buckingham and the Marquis of Dorcheſter.

quis of *Dorcheſter* ſate next the Duke of *Buckingham*, between whom there was no good Correſpondence. The one changing his Poſture for his own Eaſe, which made the Station of the other the more uneaſy, They firſt endeavoured by juſtling to recover what They had diſpoſſeſſed each other of, and afterwards fell to direct Blows; in which the Marquis, who was the lower of the two in Stature, and was leſs active in his Limbs, loſt his Periwig, and received ſome Rudeneſs, which Nobody imputed to his Want of Courage, which was ever leſs queſtioned than that of the other.

THE Miſdemeanor, greater than had ever happened, in that Place and upon ſuch an Occaſion, in any Age when the leaſt Reverence to Government was preſerved, could not be concealed; but as ſoon as the Conference was ended, was reported to the Houſe, and Both Parties heard, who Both confeſſed enough to make them undergo the Cenſure of the Houſe. The Duke's Friends would fain have juſtified him, as being provoked by the other; and it was evident their mutual undervaluing each other always diſpoſed them to affect any Opportunity to manifeſt it. But the Houſe ſent them Both to the *Tower*; from whence after a few Days They were again releaſed together, and ſuch a Reconciliation made as after ſuch Rencounters is uſual, where either Party thinks himſelf beforehand with the other, as the Marquis had much of the Duke's Hair in his Hands to recompenſe for his pulling off of his Perriwig, which He could not reach high enough to do to the other.

For which They are committed to the Tower.

WHEN all Things were thus far quieted, the Bill was again entered upon with no leſs Paſſion for the Stock that had been waſted. The Arguments which were urged againſt the Bill for the Injuſtice of it were, "that They "ſhould, without any Cauſe or Demerit on their Part, or any viſible Evi- "dence of a Benefit that would accrue from it to this Kingdom, deprive his "Majeſty's two other Kingdoms of a Privilege they had ever been poſſeſſed "of. That They might as reaſonably take away the Trade from any one "County in *England*, becauſe it produced ſome Inconvenience to another "County more in their Favour. That the large Counties of *Norfolk*, *Suf-* "*folk*, *Kent*, and other Provinces, would loſe as much by the paſſing of "this Act, as the Northern and any other Counties would gain by it. That "thoſe two Kingdoms might with the ſame Juſtice preſs his Majeſty's Con- "currence, that They might have no Trade with *England*, which would "bring more Damage to *England* by much, than it would gain by this "Act of Reſtraint: And that it was againſt all the Maxims of Prudence, to "run the Danger of a preſent Miſchief and Damage, as this would produce "in *Ireland* by the Teſtimony of the Lord Lieutenant and Council of that "Kingdom, only upon the Speculation of a future Benefit that might accrue, "though it were yet only in Speculation."

Arguments urged againſt the Iriſh *Bill in the Houſe of Peers.*

THESE, and many other Arguments of this Kind, which for the moſt Part were offered by Men who had not the leaſt Relation to *Ireland*, made no other Impreſſion, than that They were content to leave *Scotland* out of the Bill; which increaſed their Party againſt *Ireland*, and gave little Satisfaction to the other, who did not ſo much value the Commerce with the other Kingdom. And this Alteration the Houſe of Commons likewiſe conſented to, but with great Oppoſition, ſince in Truth that Conceſſion deſtroyed the Foundation upon which the whole Fabrick of the Bill was ſupported.

THEN the Debate fell upon ſome derogatory Clauſes, and *Proviſos* very contrary to his Majeſty's juſt Prerogative and Power (for They made his Majeſty's own Licenſe and Warrant of no Effect or Authority, but liable

Againſt Clauſes in it derogatory to the Prerogative.

to be controlled by a Conſtable; nor would permit the Importation of three thouſand Beeves, which, by an Act of Parliament in *Ireland*, were every Year to be delivered at *Cheſter* and another Port for the Proviſion of the King's Houſe); which in many Reſpects the Houſe generally diſliked, and deſired "that it might have no other Style than had been accuſtomed in all "the penal Acts of Parliament which were in Force, it being to be pre-"ſumed, that the King would never diſpenſe with any Violation of it, ex-"cept in ſuch Caſes as the Benefit and Good of the Kingdom required it; "which might naturally fall out, if there ſhould happen ſuch a Murrain "amongſt the Beaſts of that Species, as had been theſe late Years amongſt "Horſes, which had deſtroyed ſo many thouſand, that good Horſes were "now hard to be procured. And if the ſame or the like Deſtruction ſhould "fall upon the other Cattle, We ſhould have then more Cauſe to complain "of the Scarcity and the Dearneſs of Meat, than We have now of the Plenty "and Cheapneſs, which was the only Grievance now felt, and which King-"doms ſeldom complained of: And in ſuch a Caſe it would be very great "Pity, that the King ſhould not have Power enough to provide for the "Supply of his Subjects, and to prevent a common Dearth."

But this was again oppoſed with as much Paſſion and Violence as had fallen out in any Part of the Debate; and ſuch rude Arguments uſed againſt ſuch a Power in the King, as if the Queſtion were upon repoſing ſome new Truſt in him, whereas it was upon diveſting him of a Truſt that was inherent in him from all Antiquity: And "that it was the ſame Thing to be "without the Bill, and not to provide againſt the King's diſpenſing with "the not obeying it, whoſe Inclinations were well known in this Particu-"lar; and therefore the Effect of them, and of the Importunity of the "Courtiers, muſt be provided againſt." And throughout this Diſcourſe there was ſuch a Liberty of Language made Uſe of, as reflected more upon the King's Honour, and indeed upon his whole Council and Court, than had been heard in that Houſe, but in a Time of Rebellion, without very ſe-vere Reprehenſion: And it ſo much offended the Houſe now, that, not-withſtanding all the ſturdy Oppoſition, it was reſolved that thoſe Clauſes and *Proviſos* ſhould be amended in ſome Places, and totally left out in others. And with the Alteration and Amendments it was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons.

Theſe Clauſes are amended by the Lords.

At this Time the publick Affairs and Neceſſities were little looked after or conſidered. The Fleet was come into the Ports, but there was no Money to pay off the Men: And what was equally miſchievous, there was no Way to make the Proviſions for the next Spring, that the Fleet might be ready for the Sea by the Time the Enemy would aſſuredly be out. If the Victualler were not ſupplied, who had much Money due to him, the Sea-ſon would be paſt in which He was to buy the Cattle that He muſt kill; and He complained how much He ſhould ſuffer by this Bill of *Ireland*, which already raiſed the Price of all Meats. And the Yards wanted all thoſe Tacklings and Rigging and Maſts, without which another Fleet could not be ſent out, and which could no otherwiſe be provided than by ready Money. The King had anticipated all his own Revenue, and was ready to expoſe that for farther Security, but Nobody would truſt. The new *Proviſos* in the Bill of Supply at *Oxford* gave no new Credit, but were found as miſchievous as any Body had apprehended they would be: And the Bankers, who in all ſuch Occaſions were a ſure Refuge, wanted now Credit themſelves; which that They might not recover, the Parliament had treated them as ill ſince They came together, that is, with Reproaches

and Threats, as They had done at *Oxford*. In which Kind of Perſecution Sir *William Coventry*, and ſome who followed him, led the Van, very much to the King's Prejudice and againſt his Command; but They excuſed themſelves, upon the Credit it gave them in the Houſe to do him Service.

ALL this was well enough underſtood: And it was as viſible, that They intended to make it a forcible Argument for the paſſing the *Iriſh* Bill, which, though from different Motives, was now become the Sacrifice without which They would not be appeaſed; and therefore, when the Bill was ſent to them with thoſe Alterations and Amendments, They rejected them all, and voted, "that They would adhere to their own Bill without de- "parting from a Word of it, except with Reference to *Scotland*," from which They had receded. And if upon this very unuſual Return the Houſe of Peers had likewiſe voted, "that They too would adhere," which They might regularly have done, and would have been conſented to by the major Part of the Houſe if the Queſtion had been then put; there had been an End of that Bill. But that muſt not be ſuffered: The Party that cheriſhed it was too much concerned to let it expire in a deep Silence, and were numerous enough to obſtruct and deſer what They liked not, though not to eſtabliſh what They deſired. Some of them, that is, ſome who deſired that the Bill ſhould paſs, though uncorrupted by their Paſſions, did not like the Obſtinacy of the Houſe of Commons in not departing from ſome unuſual Clauſes and Pretences; yet were not willing to have the like Vote for adhering to paſs in that Houſe, which it might do when all other Remedies ſhould fail; and therefore moved, "that a Conference might be "required, in which ſuch Reaſons might be given as might ſatisfy them." Many Conferences, and free Conferences, were held, in which the Commons ſtill maintained their Adherence with a wonderful Petulance: And thoſe Members, who were appointed to manage the Conferences, took the Liberty to uſe all thoſe Arguments, and the very Expreſſions, which had been uſed in the Houſe of Peers, againſt leaving any Power in the King to diſpenſe; and added ſuch other of their own as more reflected on his Majeſty's Honour; and yet concluded as if They could ſay more if They were provoked, upon which every Man might make what Gloſſes He pleaſed, and the King himſelf was left to his own Imaginations.

The Commons adhere to their Bill.

THERE need be no other Inſtance given of the unheard of and incredible Paſſion that was ſhewed in the Tranſaction of that Bill, than a Particular that related to the City of *London*. Upon the News of the great Fire in *London*, and the Devaſtation that it made there, there was ſo general a Lamentation in *Ireland* as might be expected from a neighbour Province, that had ſo great a Commerce with and Dependance upon it. And the Conſent in this Lamentation was ſo digeſted, that the ſeveral Provinces had made a Computation and Diviſion between themſelves, and preſented a Declaration to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, "that They had ſo tender a "Senſe of that Calamity, that if They were able to raiſe Money to admi- "niſter ſome Aſſiſtance to the City towards the Reparation of their great "Loſs, They would willingly offer and preſent it: But that not being in "their Power or Poſſeſſion, the great Scarcity and Want of Money through- "out that Kingdom being notoriouſly known, but there being Somewhat in "their Power to offer, which might at leaſt teſtify their Good-Will, and not "be wholly uſeleſs towards the End They deſigned it; They had agreed be- "tween themſelves to give unto the Lord Mayor and City of *London*, to be "diſpoſed of by them to ſuch particular Uſes as They ſhould judge moſt "convenient, the Number of thirty thouſand *Iriſh* Beaſts, which ſhould be

An Inſtance of the Paſſion of the Commons in this Affair.

"delivered within ſuch a Time and at ſuch Ports," which were named, "to "any ſuch Perſons as ſhould be appointed to receive them." And of this They deſired the Lord Lieutenant and Council to advertiſe the King, and likewiſe give Notice to the City of *London:* Both which were done accordingly; and the Advertiſement arrived in the City in the Time when this Bill was depending in the Lords Houſe. Whereupon the Lord Mayor and Aldermen preſented a Petition to the Lords, with a *Proviſo* that They deſired might be inſerted in the Bill that was before them, by which it was provided, "that Nothing contained in that Bill ſhould hinder the City of "*London* from enjoying the charitable Donative of the thirty thouſand "Cattle, but that They might have Liberty to import the ſame."

It can hardly be believed with what Paſſion and Indignation this Petition was received by the Houſe, what Invectives were made againſt the City, "for their Preſumption in interpoſing their own particular Intereſt to ob-"ſtruct the publick Affairs of the Kingdom;" and then the Reflections which were made upon the Council of *Ireland*, "for giving Countenance "to ſuch an Addreſs, and becoming Inſtruments themſelves to promote and "advance it:" Which They would not allow "to be an Offering of Cha-"rity, but a Cheat and a Cozenage by Combination to elude an Act of Par-"liament, which They could not chooſe but hear of, and could not but "believe that it was paſſed by this Time. Which if it had been, and that "Power left in the King as had been propoſed, They might now ſee how "it would have been applied: For They could not doubt, but there would "enough have adviſed the King, that He ſhould gratify the City of *London* "with a Licenſe for this Importation; which could not or would not have "been ſo warily drawn, but that, under the Licenſe for thirty thouſand, "there would be three hundred thouſand imported into *England*; and this "the great Charity aimed at and was aſſured of." And ſo, after much Bitterneſs, They deſired "that the Petition and the *Proviſo* might be Both "rejected."

But this Paſſion did not cover the whole Houſe, which neither commended nor approved it, and were much leſs tranſported with it. They believed it was a very ſeaſonable Intention of Charity, and would not take upon them to fruſtrate it; and ſo prevailed, that it was paſſed in that Houſe, and tranſmitted with Approbation to the other. But it had the ſame Fate there with the other *Proviſos*, and was thrown out with that Bitterneſs and Obſervation which had been offered againſt it by ſome Lords. Nor could any Expedients alter or remove their Obſtinacy, though many were offered upon Conferences, and particularly "that all the Beaſts ſhould "be killed in *Ireland* and powdered there, and then ſent over in Barrels or "other Caſks;" but They found Cozenage in that too, and were as angry with the Cattle when they were dead, as when they were alive, as if it would for a Time keep down the Price of Meat in *England*, which They deſired to advance: So that there was Nothing gotten in all thoſe Conferences, but the Diſcovery of new Jealouſies of the King and the Court, and new Inſinuations of the Diſcontents and Murmurs in the Country, that this Bill was ſo long obſtructed. Which being ſtill repreſented to the King with the moſt ghaſtly Aſpects towards what Effects it might produce, his Majeſty in the End was prevailed upon, notwithſtanding very earneſt Advice to the Contrary, not only to be willing to give his Royal Aſſent when it ſhould be offered to him, but to take very great Pains to remove thoſe Obſtructions which hindered it from being offered to him, and to ſolicit particularly very many Lords to depart from their own Senſe, and to conform to what He

thought convenient to his Service; which gave thoſe who loved him not great Argument of Triumph, and to thoſe who loved him very paſſionately much Matter of Mortification. Yet after all this, and when his Majeſty had changed ſome Mens Reſolutions, and prevailed with others to withdraw and to be abſent when the Bill ſhould come again to be diſcuſſed, it was carried with great Difficulty and with great Oppoſition, and againſt the Proteſtation of many of the Lords.

The Bill at length conſented to by the Houſe of Lords.

IN all the Debate upon this Bill, and upon the other of Accounts, the Chancellor had the Misfortune to loſe much Credit in the Houſe of Commons, not only by a very ſtrong and cordial Oppoſition to what They deſired, but by taking all Occaſions, which were offered by the frequent Arguments which were urged "of the Opinion and the Authority of the Houſe "of Commons, and that it was fit and neceſſary to concur with them," to mention them with leſs Reverence than They expected. It is very true: He had always uſed in ſuch Provocations to deſire the Lords, "to "be more ſolicitous in preſerving their own unqueſtionable Rights and "moſt important Privileges, and leſs tender in reſtraining the Exceſs and "new Encroachments of the Houſe of Commons, which extended their "Juriſdiction beyond their Limits." He put them often in Mind "of the "Miſchiefs which had their Original from the Liberties the Houſe of Commons aſſumed, and the Compliance the Houſe of Peers had deſcended to, "in the late ill Times, and which produced the Rebellion; and were "carried ſo far, till, after all the multiplied Affronts, They had wreſted "the whole Authority out of the Hands of the Houſe of Peers, and at "laſt declared them uſeleſs Members of the Commonwealth, and ſhut "up the Door of their Houſe with a Padlock, which They had never "Power to unfaſten till the King's Return." And in thoſe Occaſions his Expreſſions were many Times ſo lively, that they offended many of the Lords who were preſent, and had too much contributed to thoſe Extravagancies, as much as it could do any of the Commons.

The Chancellor offends the Commons by deſiring the Peers to reſtrain their Encroachments.

THE Truth is; He did never diſſemble from the Time of his Return with the King, whom He had likewiſe prepared and diſpoſed to the ſame Sentiments whilſt his Majeſty was abroad, that his Opinion was, "that the "late Rebellion could never be extirpated and pulled up by the Roots, till "the King's regal and inherent Power and Prerogative ſhould be fully "avowed and vindicated; and till the Uſurpations in Both Houſes of Parliament ſince the Year 1640 were diſclaimed and made odious; and many "other Exceſſes, which had been affected by Both before that Time under "the Name of Privileges, ſhould be reſtrained or explained:" For all which Reformation the Kingdom in general was very well diſpoſed, when it pleaſed God to reſtore the King to it. Nor did the Convention, which proclaimed the King and invited him to return, exerciſe after his Return any exorbitant Power, but what was of Neceſſity upon former Irregularities, and contributed to the preſent Ends and Deſires of the King.

AND this Parliament, that was upon the Diſſolution of the former quickly ſummoned by the King's Writ, willingly inclined to that Method, as appears by thoſe many excellent Acts which vindicated the King's Sovereign Power over Parliaments, and declared the Nullity of all Acts done by one or Both Houſes without the King's Aſſent; declared and ſettled the abſolute Power of the Crown over the Militia; repealed that Act of Parliament that had excluded the Biſhops from being Members of the Houſe of Peers, and reſtored them to their Seſſion there; and repealed that other infamous Act for Triennial Parliaments, which had Clauſes in it to have led the People

into Rebellion; and would willingly have profecuted the ſame Method, if They had had the ſame Advice and Encouragement.

But They had continued to ſit too long together, and were invited to meddle and interpoſe in Matters out of their own Sphere, to give their Advice with Reference to Peace and War, to hold Conferences with the King, and to offer their Advices to him, and to receive Orders from himſelf; and his Majeſty was perſuaded by very unſkilful Men, "that They were "ſo abſolutely at his Diſpoſal, that He need never doubt their undertaking "any Thing that would be ingrateful to him, and that whilſt He preſerved "that entire Intereſt He had in the lower Houſe (which He might eaſily do) "He need not care what the other Houſe did or had a Mind to do;" and ſo induced his Majeſty to undervalue his Houſe of Peers as of little Power to do him Good or Harm, and prevailed with him too far to countenance that falſe Doctrine; towards which the Houſe of Peers themſelves contributed too much, by not inquiring into or conſidering the publick State of the Kingdom, or providing Remedies for growing Evils, or indeed meddling with any Thing in the Government till They were invited to it by ſome Meſſage or Overture from the Houſe of Commons: Inſomuch as They ſate not early in the Morning, according to the former Cuſtom of Parliaments, but came not together till ten of the Clock; and very often adjourned as ſoon as They met, becauſe that Nothing was brought from the Houſe of Commons that adminiſtered Cauſe of Conſultation; and upon that Ground often adjourned for one or two Days together, whilſt the other Houſe ſate, and drew the Eyes of the Kingdom upon them, as the only vigilant People for their Good.

Then when any Thing fell in their Way, that They could draw a Conſequence from that might relate to their Privileges, They were ſo jealous of an Invaſion, that They neither conſidered former Precedents, nor Rules of Honour or Juſtice; and were not only ſolicitous for that Freedom which belonged to themſelves and their menial Servants, who ought not to be diſquieted by private Suits and Proſecutions in Law, whilſt They are obliged to attend upon the Service of their Country in Parliament, but gave their Protections *ad Libitum*, which were commonly ſold by their Servants to bankrupt Citizens, and to ſuch who were able but refuſed to pay their juſt Debts. And when their Creditors knew that They could have no Relation of Attendance to any Man, and thereupon cauſed them to be arreſted, They produced ſome Protection granted to them by ſome Lord; whereupon They were not only diſcharged, but their Creditors, and all who bore any Part in the Proſecution, were puniſhed with great Rigour, and to their great Loſs and Damage, and to the great Prejudice of the City, and Interruption of the whole Courſe of the Juſtice of the Kingdom.

When the Houſe of Commons ſent up a Bill for the Suppreſſion or Reformation of many Irregularities and Miſdemeanors, which had grown up in the late Times of Diſorder and Confuſion, as Conventicles and other riotous Aſſemblies, wherein there was a Neceſſity of ſome Clauſes of Power to inferiour Officers, whereby They were qualified to diſcover thoſe Tranſgreſſions which would otherwiſe be concealed; the Lords would be ſure always to inſert ſome *Proviſo* to ſave their Privileges, even in Acts which provided for the Puniſhment of ſuch Crimes as no Perſon of Quality could be ſuppoſed to be guilty of, as ſtealing of Wood, and ſuch vile Treſpaſſes: Which took up much Time in Debate, and incenſed the Houſe of Commons, and produced many froward Debates, in which the King thought the Peers in the Wrong.

THIS Kind of Temper or Diſtemper upon very trivial and light Occaſions, in Seaſons which required Gravity and Diſpatch, provoked the Houſe of Commons to take more upon them, to enter upon Conteſts ſometimes unreaſonably with the Lords, and to aſſume to themſelves an Authority in Matters in which They ought not to interpoſe; and then were encouraged and indeed induced by thoſe who had near Relation to the King and were truſted in his Service, to affect Novelties both in the Form and Subſtance of their Proceedings, which thoſe Perſons concurred in, much out of Ignorance what was to be done, and more out of Affectation to compaſs ſome crooked End of their own, to the Prejudice of another Perſon who was in their Diſfavour. And when theſe Sallies out of the old trodden Path were taken Notice of, and his Majeſty had been adviſed to prevent them in Time, He was perſuaded, either "that the Exceptions were in Matters of little Moment, "and made only by formal Men who liked Nothing that was out of the old "common Road; or that the Liberty would be applied to his Service, and in "many uſeful Occaſions would mollify or ſubdue the inconvenient Moroſity "of the Lords; or, when it ſhould exceed, it would be ſtill in his Majeſty's "Power to reſtrain it, when He found it neceſſary." And theſe Diſcourſes prevailed too much with his Majeſty, till He now found the Humour was grown too ſturdy for him to contend with; and the ſame Men, who had perſuaded him to contemn it, were now more importunate with him that He would comply with it.

He offends the Lords by adviſing them not to inſiſt unreaſonably upon Privilege.

THE Chancellor had always as earneſtly oppoſed the over-captious inſiſting upon Privilege in the Lords Houſe, either when in Truth there was not a juſt Ground for it, or when They would extend it farther than it would regularly reach; and oftentimes put them in Mind "of many exor-"bitant Acts which ſtood ſtill mentioned in their Journal-Books, of their "Proceedings in the late rebellious Times, which might be looked upon as "Precedents by Poſterity, and in which the Houſe of Commons had really "invaded their greateſt Privileges, and trampled upon their higheſt Juriſ-"diction; which was worthy of their moſt ſtrict Proceedings to vindicate "by Proteſtation, and by expunging the Memorial thereof out of all their "Books and Records, that there might be no Footſteps left to miſlead the "ſucceeding Ages;" and often deſired them "to preſerve a Power in them-"ſelves to put the Houſe of Commons in Mind of their exceeding their "Limits, for which They often gave them Occaſion, and particularly as "often as They ſent to quicken them in any Debate, which was a very "modern Preſumption, and derogatory from that Reſpect which a Houſe of "Commons had always paid to the Houſe of Lords. And this They could "not reaſonably or effectually do, till They declined all unjuſt or unne-"ceſſary Pretences to Privileges which were not their Due, and eſpecially "to a Power of calling private Caſes of Right and Juſtice, which ought to "be determined by the Law and in Courts of Juſtice, to be heard and ad-"judged before themſelves in Parliament; of which there were too frequent "Occaſions to oppoſe and contradict their Juriſdiction."

THIS free Way of Diſcourſe offended many of the Lords, who thought him not jealous enough of nor zealous for the Privilege of the Peerage: And They were now very glad that He uſed ſo much more Freedom againſt the Proceedings of the Houſe of Commons, which They were ſure would be reſented below, more than it had been above. And many of his Friends informed him "how ill it was taken; and how carefully all that He ſaid, and "much that He did not ſay, was tranſmitted by ſome of the Lords to them, "who would not fail in ſome Seaſon to remember and apply it to his higheſt

"Diſadvantage;" and therefore deſired him "to uſe leſs Fervour in thoſe "Argumentations." But He was in that, as in many Things of that Kind that related to the offending other Men, for his own Sake uncounſellable: Not that He did not know that it expoſed him to the Cenſure of ſome Men who lay in Wait to do him Hurt, but becauſe He neglected thoſe Cenſures, nor valued the Perſons who promoted them; being confident that He would be liable to no Charge that He ſhould be aſhamed of, and well knowing that He had, and being well known to have, a higher Eſteem of Parliament, and a greater Deſire to preſerve the juſt Privileges of Both Houſes, than They had who ſeemed to be angry with him on that Behalf; and that the extending them beyond their due Length would in the End endanger the Deſtruction of Parliaments.

BUT He ſhortly after found, that this Guard was not ſecure enough to defend him. What He ſaid in Parliament was the Senſe of more who would not ſpeak it, than there were of thoſe who diſliked it; and how much ſoever it offended them, They could not out of it find a Crime to accuſe him of. But They who were more concerned to remove him from a Poſt, where He too narrowly watched and too often obſtructed the Liberties They took, reſolved to ſacrifice all their Oaths and Obligations, which obliged them to the Contrary, to the Satisfaction of their Envy and their Malice: And ſo whatſoever He ſaid or adviſed in the moſt ſecret Council to the King himſelf with Reference to Things or Perſons, They communicated all to thoſe who had moſt Reaſon to be angry, yet could not own the Information. Of all which He had Advertiſement, and that a Storm would be ſhortly raiſed to ſhake him, of which He had little Apprehenſion; never ſuſpecting that it would ariſe out of that Quarter, from whence He ſoon after diſcerned it to proceed.

Lord Roos *moves for a Bill to ſet aſide the Iſſue of his Lady.*

THERE was another particular and private Accident that fell out at this Time, that adminiſtered more Occaſion of Faction and Diſſention in the Houſes, which always obſtructed and perplexed all publick Buſineſs. The Marquis of *Dorcheſter* had ſome Years before married one of his Daughters to the Lord *Roos*, eldeſt Son to the Earl of *Rutland*; Both Families very noble in themſelves, and of great Fortunes, and allied to all the great Families of the Kingdom. The Lady being of a Humour not very agreeable, and not finding the Satisfaction She expected where She ought to have received it, looked for it abroad where She ought not to find it. And her Huſband, as Men conſcious to themſelves of any notable Defect uſe to be, was indulgent enough, not ſtrictly inquiring how She behaved herſelf, and She as little diſſembling or concealing the Contempt She had of her Huſband; until his Friends, eſpecially the Mother (who was a Lady of a very great Spirit and moſt exalted Paſſion), took Notice of her frequent Abſence from her Huſband, and of her little Kindneſs towards him when She was preſent with him. And the young Lady, who with her other Defects had Want of Wit to bear a Reprehenſion She deſerved, inſtead of excuſing, avowed her no Eſteem of her Huſband; charged him with Debauchery, and being always in Drink, which was too true; and reproached him with Folly, as a Man not worthy to be beloved. And the Paſſion ſwelling to a great Height on Both Sides, the Marquis came to be engaged on the Behalf of his Daughter, and challenged her Huſband to fight with him, who in many Reſpects was not capable, nor did underſtand thoſe Encounters.

IN the End, after many Acts of Paſſion, which adminiſtered too much Cauſe of Mirth and Scandal to the World, yet by the Advice and Mediation of Friends, as good a Reconciliation as in ſuch Caſes is uſual was made, and the

the young Couple brought to live again together. And the Lady having the Aſcendant over the Lord, who was very deſirous to live quietly upon any Conditions, that He might enjoy himſelf though He could not enjoy her, He was contented that She made a Journey to *London* upon Pretence to ſee ſome Friends: And the Time being expired which She had preſcribed for her Abſence, He ſent to her to return, which She deferred from Time to Time. But at laſt after many Months She returned to him in ſo groſs a Manner, that it appeared that She had kept Company too much, which She never endeavoured to conceal; and when her Huſband told her "that She was with Child," and aſked "who got it;" She anſwered him confidently, "that whoever "got it, if it proved a Boy, as She believed it would, He ſhould be Earl of "*Rutland*."

THIS was more than the young Man could bear without informing his Mother (the good Earl not loving to engage himſelf in ſo much Noiſe), who preſently took Care that the greatbellied Lady was made a Priſoner in her Chamber, ſtrictly guarded, that She could not go out of thoſe Lodgings which were aſſigned her; all her own Servants removed from her, and others appointed to attend; and all other Things ſupplied that She could ſtand in Need of or require, Liberty only excepted. Yet in this cloſe Reſtraint She found Means to advertiſe her Father of the Condition She was in, and made it much worſe than it was, ſeeming to apprehend the Safety of her Life threatened by the Malice of the Counteſs, Mother to her Huſband, "who," She ſaid, "did all She could to alienate his Affection from her; "and now that She found She was with Child, would perſuade him that it "was not his; and took all this extreme Courſe, either to make her miſcarry "and ſo endanger her Life, or to put an End to Mother and Child when "She ſhould miſcarry:" And therefore beſought her Father, "that He would "find ſome Way to procure her Liberty, and to remove her from that Place, "as the only Means to ſave her Life."

THE Marquis, with the Paſſion of a Father, and Confidence of his Daughter's Virtue, and having no Reverence for the Counteſs, thought it an Act of great Barbarity, and conſulted whether He could have any Remedy at Law to recover his Daughter's Liberty; and finding little Hope from thence (the Reſtraint of a Wife by the Jealouſy of her Huſband in his own Houſe being not a Crime the Law had provided a Remedy againſt) He reſorted then to the King, who as little knew how to meddle in it. In the mean Time He ſent Women to ſee and attend his Daughter, who were admitted to ſee and confer with her, but not to ſtay with her; the Counteſs declaring, "that She ſhould want Nothing; but that ſince it was impoſſible that the "Child could be of Kin to her Son, who had not ſeen her in ſo many "Months before the Child muſt have been got, She would provide that there "ſhould be no more foul Play, when She ſhould be delivered; and after that "Time She ſhould have no more Reſtraint or Reſidence in that Houſe, but "be at Liberty to go whither She would."

THE Concluſion was: The Lady was delivered, and a Son born, who was quickly chriſtened by the Name of *Ignoto*, and committed to a poor Woman, who lived near, to be nurſed; and as ſoon as the Lady recovered Strength enough, She was diſmiſſed and ſent to a Houſe of her Father, who received her with the Affection He thought was due to her. And having conferred and examined her with all the Strictneſs He could, He remained ſatisfied in her Innocence, and conſequently of the barbarous Treatment She had received, and the Injury and Indignity, both to him and her, that was done to the Son; for which He was reſolved to leave no Way untried in

which He might receive a Vindication. In Order to which He firſt deſired the King to hear all Parties, who was prevailed with to appoint a Day for the doing it, being attended by ſome Biſhops and other Lords of his Council; when the Marquis and his Daughter, and the Lord *Roos* and his Mother, appeared, with more Ladies than could have the Patience to ſtay till the End of the Examination, where there were ſo many indecent and uncleanly Particulars mentioned, that made all the Auditors very weary. Nor was there any Room for his Majeſty to interpoſe towards a Reconciliation, which was in View impoſſible; nor could the Lady be excuſed for a great Delight She took in making her Huſband jealous of her, and in expreſſing a Contempt of him, whatever elſe She was guilty of: And ſo the King left it as He found it. And the Marquis, who had heard many Things He did not expect to have heard, took his Daughter to his own Houſe, that by her own ſtrict Behaviour She might beſt vindicate herſelf from the Scandal She lay under: But She quickly freed him from that Hope and Expectation; for within a ſhort Time after, She, not being able to ſubmit to the ſtrict Order and Diſcipline of her Father's Houſe, which would not permit thoſe Wanderings She deſired to make, nor the Viſits She deſired to receive, made an Eſcape from thence, and lodged herſelf at more Liberty, and lived in that Manner as gave too much Evidence againſt her with Reference to the Time that was paſt.

The Marquis, who was a Man of great Honour, and moſt punctual in all Things relating to Juſtice, gave a noble Inſtance of Both, and how much He deteſted the baſe and unworthy Behaviour of his own Child, when it was manifeſt to him. He went to the other noble Family, aſked their Pardon "for his Incredulity, and for any Offence He had committed againſt them, "or Reproach He laid upon them, for the Vindication of an unworthy Wo- "man, who He believed now had deſerved all and more Aſperſions than "had been laid on her: And therefore He was ready to join with them to "free the Family, as much as was poſſible, from the Infamy She had "brought to them and him, and that her baſe Iſſue might not be an eter- "nal Reproach in their Family." Upon this She was firſt, upon the Complaint of her Huſband, cited into the Court of the Arches before the Eccleſiaſtical Judges: Where, after a full Examination of Witneſſes on Both Sides, and hearing what She could allege in her own Defence, her Crime was declared to be proved ſufficiently; and thereupon a Judgment was pronounced "of a full and entire Separation *a Toro et a Menſâ pro Cauſâ Adulterii*," in ſuch a Form, and with ſuch Circumſtances, as are of Courſe in thoſe Caſes.

But all this was not Remedy enough againſt the Baſtard's Title to the Honour of that illuſtrious Family: And therefore there was a Bill prepared, wherein all the foul Carriage of the Lady was ſet out, the Birth and Chriſtening of *Ignoto*, the Declaration and Judgment of the Court of the Arches, and Separation of the Parties for the Adultery proved; and thereupon a Deſire that it might be declared by Act of Parliament, "that the Son, *Ig-* "*noto* by Name, is a Baſtard, and incapable to inherit any Part of the "Title, Honour or Eſtate of or belonging to the Houſe of *Rutland*; and "the ſame Incapacity to attend all other Children, which from that Time, "the Birth of *Ignoto*, had or might be born from the Body of that Lady." And this Bill being preſented to the Houſe of Peers by a Lord nearly allied to that Family, the Earl of *Rutland* being preſent with the Marquis, as ſoon as it was read the Marquis ſtood up, and "with Expreſſions of "Trouble, and of the Juſtice that was due to the Greatneſs of a noble "Houſe, that had received a foul Blemiſh by a Woman of too near a Re- "lation

A Bill brought in for this Purpoſe.

"lation to him, of whom He was aſhamed," gave his free Conſent to the Bill, and deſired that it might paſs: And the Earl likewiſe beſought the Houſe, "that ſo infamous a Branch might not be ingrafted into his Family, "of which his Son the Lord *Roos* was the ſole Heir Male, with whom the "Honour muſt expire."

IT was a Caſe of general Concernment as well as Compaſſion, that an impudent Woman ſhould have the Power to give an Heir to inherit a noble Title and Fortune by Deſcent, when it was ſo notoriouſly known and adjudged to be illegitimate, and a mere Stranger to the Blood of the Houſe. Yet there were ſome very good Lords, and who deteſted the Woman and the Wickedneſs, made much Scruple of making a new Precedent in a particular Caſe, that undermined a Foundation of Law, and opened a Door to let in an unjuſt Declaration, upon Pretences not ſo well proved, to the Diſinheriſon of one that ſhould not be illegitimate. But though it was a rare Caſe, it was found not to be a new one, there having been one or two Declarations of Baſtardy in Parliament in the Reign of King *Henry* VII. and *Henry* VIII.

Some Lords againſt a Precedent of this Nature.

HOWEVER it was as juſt that She ſhould be heard, to defend both herſelf and her Son; and therefore the Bill being read the ſecond Time, it was committed, with Direction "that the Lady ſhould have perſonal Notice to "attend, before the Committee entered upon it:" And after long Inquiry at the Places where She uſed to be, it was found that She had tranſported herſelf into *Ireland*, in the Company of the Perſon whom She had preferred before her Huſband; and there was Reaſon to believe, that it was after She had Notice of the Bill. However all Proceedings were reſpited till there was full Proof given to the Houſe, by the Perſon himſelf who had ſpoken with her in *Ireland*, and given her the Warrant that required her Attendance upon the Committee: And then, after many Days longer Delay, it was read and debated, and by the Committee reported to the Houſe to be engroſſed.

AND then, and not till then, the Duke of *Buckingham* oppoſed the paſſing of it, upon Pretence, "that in the Bill the Lord *Roos* had aſſumed a "Title that belonged to him by his Mother, who had been Heir Female "to *Francis* Earl of *Rutland*;" when that Title, now challenged, had deſcended to *George* the Brother of *Francis*, and had been enjoyed by two Earls of *Rutland* ſince. It was generally thought a ſtrange Exception: Nor was it known, whether the Duke was diſpoſed to it as a Revenge upon the Marquis, or to ſhew his own Power (for He had many who concurred with him in Both Houſes upon many Occaſions), or whether He did in Truth deſire to ſupport the Lady in her Infamy, He not being over-tender in Caſes of that Nature. However it was neceſſary to recommit the Bill, that ſome Expedient might be there found to remove the Obſtruction, which though He was obſtinate in till the Houſe was tired with many Days Debate upon it, in which moſt of his Adherents upon the Unreaſonableneſs left him, He perſiſted ſtill and maintained the Debate almoſt alone, till the Time of the Seſſion approached; when the Lord *Roos* was compelled to humour him in leaving out a Title that all the World gave him. And then, after intolerable Vexation to the Houſe and Loſs of Time, He deſiſted to appear againſt it; and the Act paſſed the Royal Aſſent.

The Duke of Buckingham obſtructs the Bill.

But it is at length paſſed.

THE ill Humour of the Houſe of Commons was not abated; and though They knew well that their *Iriſh* Bill could never have paſſed the upper Houſe but by the King's powerful Interpoſition, They remained ſtill jealous, or pretended to be ſo, that He would not give his Aſſent; which till He ſhould do,

They would admit no Debate of Money: So that as ſoon as the Bill was preſented to him, his Majeſty came to the Houſe of Peers, and ſent for the Commons to attend him upon the 18th Day of *January*; when, after He had given his Conſent to that and another private Bill which They had preſented, He told them, "that He had now paſſed their Bills, and that He had been in Hope "to have had other Bills ready to have paſſed too." He ſaid, "that He "could not forget, that within few Days after their coming together in *Sep-* "*tember*, Both Houſes had preſented to him their Vote and Declaration, "*that They would give him a Supply proportionable to his Occaſions*; and the "Confidence of that had made him anticipate that ſmall Part of his Revenue "which was unanticipated, for the Payment of the Seamen; and his Cre- "dit had gone farther than He had Reaſon to think it would, but it was "now at an End."

The King paſſes the Iriſh *Bill with a Speech.*

"This was the firſt Day," He ſaid, "He had heard of a Supply, being "the 18th of *January*, and what it would amount unto, God only knew; "and what Time He had to make ſuch Preparations as were neceſſary to "meet three ſuch Enemies as He had, They could well enough judge. And "He muſt tell them, what Diſcourſes ſoever were abroad, He was not in "any Treaty; but by the Grace of God He would not give over himſelf "and them, but would do what was in his Power for Defence of Both. It "was high Time for them to make good their Promiſe; and it was high "Time for them to be in the Country, as well for the raiſing of Money, as "that the Lords Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants might watch thoſe ſe- "ditious Spirits which were at Work to diſturb the publick Peace. And "therefore He was reſolved to put an End to that Seſſion on *Monday* next "come Sennight, before which Time He deſired that all Things might be "made ready that He was to diſpatch." His Majeſty ſaid, "He was not "willing to complain that They had dealt unkindly with him in a Bill He "had then paſſed, in which They had manifeſted a greater Diſtruſt of him "than He had deſerved. He did not pretend to be without Infirmities, but "He had never broken his Word to them; and if He did not flatter him- "ſelf, the Nation had never leſs Cauſe to complain of Grievances, or the "leaſt Injuſtice or Oppreſſion, than it had had in thoſe ſeven Years ſince it "had pleaſed God to reſtore him to them: He would," He ſaid, "be glad "to be uſed accordingly."

This little Quickneſs in his Majeſty prevailed more upon them, than all the former Application had done: And now They ſaw that They ſhould not be ſuffered to continue longer together, They reſolved to leave ſome Reliſh of their former Duty and Compliance. Not that the Humour was at all reformed or abated in thoſe who had ſhewed ſo much Frowardneſs, who ſtill continued as perverſe as ever; but They were over-ruled by the major Part of the Houſe, as They would have been ſooner, if it had not been that a contrary Courſe had been purſued to what had been formerly. Nor were They, who had adviſed that Change, willing that his Majeſty ſhould decline the ſame Method, and were much troubled that He had not careſſed the Houſe more in his late Diſcourſe. And as They had before adviſed his Majeſty freely and without any Condition to offer the Repeal, and releaſe the Act that had granted the Chimney-Money to him, which was a very good and a growing Revenue, but They obſerved to be unpopular; upon a Preſumption (which They aſſured him could not fail) that ſo generous an Action in his Majeſty towards his People would be immediately requited by a Grant of much greater Value (and They had prevailed in this Counſel, if the Chancellor and the Treaſurer had not with great Reſolution oppoſed it,

and made evident to his Majeſty, "that He ought never to propoſe it himſelf "though with Conditions, becauſe it would make the Grace undervalued, "and the Conditions to be eſteemed unreaſonable; nor to hearken to any "general Propoſition, or conſent to the Repeal of that Act, without having "a full and equivalent Recompenſe (which ought to be very well weighed) "granted in the ſame Act of Parliament; for He had now ſufficient Evi- "dence, that the conſtant Good-Humour of the Houſe was not to be de- "pended upon:" Which confirmed his Majeſty to reſolve never to hearken to the one without the other, and ſo that Miſchief was prevented): So They were now as deſirous that the Houſe of Commons would ſtill preſs the Diſpatch of the Bill of Accounts, which reſted in the Lords Houſe; and aſſured them, "that if They would embrace the ſame Poſitiveneſs They had done, the "Chancellor would be no more able to hinder the paſſing of that Act, than "He had been to keep his Majeſty from conſenting to the *Iriſh* Bill ſo much "againſt his Reſolution." But They and their Friends could not keep up the ſame Spirit of Stubbornneſs in the Houſe, nor prevail with the King to recede from his Purpoſe: So that the Bill for Accounts remained ſtill in the Houſe of Lords not fully diſcuſſed. And ſuch a Progreſs was made in the Houſe of Commons, notwithſtanding all Oppoſition, that a Bill for Supply was prepared within the Time preſcribed, though in Reſpect of the Propor- tion not equal to the Occaſions, and entangled ſtill with the ſame inconve- nient Clauſes and *Proviſos* which had ſo unwarily been admitted at *Oxford*, and which made what was granted unapplicable to the procuring ready Mo- ney; of which his Majeſty was now fully convinced. But the Time was too ſhort to labour in the Alteration. And ſo the Bill, as it was, was ſent up to the Lords, who, after the ſhort Formality that cannot be avoided, gave it a Paſſage through that Houſe: So that it was now ready for the King.

A Supply granted.

THE 8th of *February* the King came to the Parliament, and the Speaker of the Houſe preſented the Bill to the King, who gave his Royal Aſſent to it, and thanked them for it, with his Aſſurance "that the Money ſhould be "laid out for the Ends it was given: However," He ſaid, "He hoped He "ſhould live to have Bills of this Nature in the old Style, with fewer *Pro-* "*viſos*." He took Notice, "that the Bill of Accounts for the Money that "had been already raiſed ſince the War was not offered to him: But," his Majeſty ſaid, "that He would take Care (after ſo much Noiſe) that the "ſame ſhould not be ſtifled; but that He would iſſue out his Commiſſion "in the Manner He had formerly promiſed the Houſe of Peers; and the "Commiſſioners ſhould have very much to anſwer, if They ſhould not diſ- "cover all Matters of Fraud and Cozenage." He told them, "the Sea- "ſon of the Year was very far ſpent, in which the Enemy had got great "Advantage; but by the Help of God, He would make all the Prepara- "tions He could, and as faſt as He could: And yet He would tell them, "that if any good Overtures were made for an honourable Peace, He would "not reject them; and He believed all ſober Men would be glad to ſee it "brought to paſs."

The King's Speech at the Prorogation of the Parlia- ment.

"HE would now prorogue them till towards Winter, that They might in "their ſeveral Places intend the Peace and Security of their ſeveral Coun- "tries, where there were unquiet Spirits ſtill working. He did pray them, "and" ſaid "He did expect it from them, that They would uſe their ut- "moſt Endeavours to remove all thoſe falſe Imaginations out of the Hearts "of the People, which the Malice of ill Men had induſtriouſly infuſed into "them, of He knew not what Jealouſies and Grievances: For He muſt tell "them again, and He was ſure He was in the Right, *that the People had never*

"*ſo little Cauſe to complain of Oppreſſion and Grievances, as They had ſince* "*his Return to them.* If the Taxes and Impoſitions were grievous and heavy "upon them, They would put them in Mind, that a War with ſuch pow- "erful Enemies could not be maintained without Taxes; and He was ſure "the Money raiſed thereby came not into his Purſe." He concluded "with "promiſing himſelf good Effects from their Affections and Wiſdoms, where- "ever They were: And He did hope They ſhould all meet again of one "Mind, for his Honour, and the Good of the Kingdom." And ſo They were prorogued to the 10th Day of *October* next.

The King appoints Commiſſioners for inſpecting publick Accounts.

And now the King had very much to do, more than He had Time or Tools to diſpatch. Yet He began firſt where the Parliament left off, that when They came again together They might have no Cauſe to ſay, that He had not performed what He had promiſed, and ſo with the ſame Paſſion renew their Clamour upon the Accounts, which was made now a very popular Complaint; and whoever was accuſed of obſtructing that Examination, was preſently concluded to have had a Share in the Prey. Yet He was not willing that ſuch a ſtrict Account or Examination ſhould be made, eſpecially into the Receipt of the Lord *Aſhley* for the Prizes, that all the World ſhould know what Money had been iſſued out by his own immediate Orders, and to whom. Hereupon He commanded his Attorney and Solicitor General to prepare a Commiſſion, with all neceſſary Clauſes, to call all Perſons to Account who had received any ſuch Monies, and to examine and take any Exception to the ſame.

And that there might be no juſt Exception to the Commiſſion, which He knew would be ſtrictly looked into, They were required "to adviſe with "all or any of the Judges, that it might have their Approbation; and that "there ſhould be a Clauſe in the Commiſſion, whereby the Commiſſioners "ſhould be authoriſed to call any of the Judges to their Aſſiſtance, when "upon any Matters of Difficulty They ſhould think it neceſſary." And that there might be no Exception to any of the Commiſſioners, as like to be partial in Reſpect of Friendſhip or Alliance to any of thoſe who were to be called before them, his Majeſty appointed all thoſe Perſons, who were nominated for Commiſſioners in the Bill ſent to the Houſe of Lords by the Commons, to be inſerted into this Commiſſion; and likewiſe made Choice of ſuch a Number of the Peers as was fit, to be joined to the others, and named thoſe who had upon all Debates in the Houſe appeared moſt ſolicitous, that a very exact Account ſhould be required, and of ſuch others who had no Relation to the Court, and were looked upon with the utmoſt Eſteem by the Houſe of Commons: All which was prepared with the Expedition that was poſſible, and the Commiſſion ſealed; and Notice given to all the Commiſſioners, that They ſhould meet at a Place appointed, upon a Day named, preſently after *Eaſter*, by which Time the Judges would be returned out of their Circuits; and They were then at Liberty to adjourn to what Place They pleaſed.

We are now to enter upon the Occurrences of the Year 1667, a Year little more proſperous to the Publick than the Year preceding, and fatal in Reſpect to many calamitous Accidents to the Chancellor, and which put a Period to his Greatneſs; the Circumſtances whereof, very notorious, were ſo interwoven with the publick Tranſactions of State, that it is not eaſy to make a diſtinct and clear Relation of the one without the other.

The King involved in great Difficulties.

The Temper the Parliament had been in, and the Delay They had uſed in giving the King any Supply towards the carrying on the War, made the King diſcern that He had been too confident of their Generoſity, and that

They had already departed from that Spirit with which They firſt had perſuaded him to enter into that War: And it was as evident (which had been often foretold to him) that the *Dutch* could endure being beaten longer than He could endure to beat them. They were now relieved and ſupplied with the Money of *France*, and the governing Party had ſubdued all Contradictions; and whatever their Affections were, all Compliance and Submiſſion appeared to the Commands of the State; and there wanted Nothing but the Seaſon of the Year to carry their Fleet again to Sea, as great and as well provided as it had ever been. All Murmuring was tranſplanted from thence into *England*, where it grew up plentifully: And the King was, upon the Credit of an Act of Parliament that was paſſed on the 8th of *February*, to provide a Fleet ready to encounter with the potent Enemies in the Spring. There was no Trade by Sea, and therefore could not be much by Land, that could bring any Benefit to the King; and the Seamen ran all to the Privateers, who adventured for Booty, which They preferred before ſerving in the Royal Navy.

THE King in thoſe Streights called that Council together with whom He uſed to conſult his moſt ſecret Affairs; and the chief Officers at Sea, and the Commiſſioners of the Navy, attended to give ſuch Information as was neceſſary before any Reſolution could be taken. There the whole State of the Navy was inquired into; what was in the Stores, and what the Defects or Deficiencies were, and what Hopes there were of ſupplying them; what Ships were ready, and what would be made ready in three Months. The Victualler was ſent for to give an Account what Proviſion of Victuals was ready, and what could be provided and put on Board in the ſame Time, which was the utmoſt that could be limited. Every Officer proteſted, "that "there could not be the leaſt Attempt towards any Preparations without a "good Sum of ready Money:" And the Yards were in that Neceſſity by Reaſon of the great Arrear of Wages that was due to them, that They were near a Mutiny, and could not be kept to their Work, being neceſſitated to do any Work abroad to get Victual for their Families. The inferiour Officers, which belonged to the Stores, lived by ſtealing and ſelling what They were entruſted to keep. In ſhort: All Things were preſented to be in that Confuſion, that there appeared no Probability of being able to ſet out any Fleet before the Enemy would be ſo ſtrong upon the Coaſt, that it would be very difficult to make a Conjunction between thoſe Ships which were in the River, and the other which were at *Portſmouth* and in other Ports.

He conſults the private Committee upon the perplexing State of his Affairs.

THIS deſperate Repreſentation did not make the King take a ſudden Reſolution: But the ſame Council met many Days Morning and Evening. All Ways were thought upon which might adminiſter Hope to get any Money; and Conſiderations were entered upon what was to be done in Caſe a Fleet could not be provided fit to engage the Enemy, and which Way a defenſive War was to be made at Sea, and how the Trade ſhould be ſecured, and the Coaſts and Harbours be ſo preſerved, that the Enemy might do no Affront at Land; for every Day brought looſe and ungrounded Intelligence of Bodies of Horſe and Foot, drawn in *France* to the Seaſide in many Places upon that large Coaſt, and likewiſe in *Holland*, and great Proviſion of Flatbottoms, as if They intended to make ſome Deſcent; which Kind of Rumours exceedingly diſcompoſed the common People, though They who underſtood the Expeditions of that Nature, and with what Difficulty Land Armies were tranſported, were not moved by thoſe Reports. After all Expedients were conſidered and well weighed, his Majeſty found Cauſe to deſpair of

A Reſolution taken to act on the Defenſive.

being able to ſet out in any Time a Fleet equal to the Occaſion, and ſo contracted his Thoughts to the other Part, for the Defenſive.

THERE is a Point of Land on the *Kentiſh* Coaſt that extends itſelf into the Sea, and at the very Entrance of the River, where the King had often thought and diſcourſed of erecting a Royal Fort, that would both preſerve the Coaſt, and likewiſe be a great Security to the River: And the proſecuting this Deſign was in this Conſultation thought of great Importance, and the erecting another Fort in another Place, and repairing and ſtrengthening *Landguard Point* upon the Coaſt of *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*.

FOR Preparations for the Sea, it was thought fit and enough, "that a "good Squadron of light Frigats ſhould ride on the Coaſt of *Scotland*, "and another of the ſame Strength lie off *Plymouth*, Both which ſhould "intercept the Trade of *Holland* both outward and inward, if They did not "maintain it with ſtrong Convoys, which would break their Fleet; and in "thoſe Caſes the Frigats would eaſily retire to their Harbours. That ſome "Frigats ſhould be always in the *Downs*, to chaſe Picaroons from infeſting "the Coaſt, and to obſerve and get Intelligence of the Enemies Motion, "and upon Occaſion ſhould retire up the River. That there ſhould be "ſome of the greateſt Ships at *Chatham*, *Portſmouth* and other Places, pre- "pared and put in Readineſs againſt the End of Summer, before which "Time Money might be provided: And then the Enemies Fleet being "weary and foul, it might be preſumed the *French* would return early into "their own Ports, which were ſo far off; and then the Frigats from the "*Weſt* and the *North* might find the Way to join with the great Ships, "which ſhould be ready againſt that Time, and either fight the *Dutch* if "They ſhould chooſe it, or infeſt their Coaſt more than They had done this, "and take all their Ships homeward bound from all Places, which, upon the "Fame of their being Maſters of the Sea all the Summer, would repair "Home without Apprehenſion of an Enemy." And there were ſome Officers of great Experience at Sea, who, being called by the King to adviſe upon this Project, declared with Confidence, "that the *Dutch* would be "greater Loſers by the War thus conducted the next Summer, than They "had been in any Year ſince the War begun."

FOR the Security of Trade, it was declared, "that there was no poſſible "Way to ſecure it but by reſtraining it, and not ſuffering any Merchants "Ships to go to Sea, and by giving them Advice to ſend to all their Factors "and Correſpondents, *that They ſhould ſend no Goods Home till They received* "*new Orders:*" Which Reſtraint ſome were againſt, "both becauſe it "would have an ill Reception with the People, when They ſhould find that "a War, which had been entered into for the Enlargement and Advance- "ment of Trade, had produced a Ceſſation of all Trade; and it would ap- "pear very hard that Men, who had laid out their own Stocks and were "willing to venture them, ſhould be forbid and hindered from ſending "them to thoſe Markets for which They had provided them, which would "turn to little leſs Loſs to them than They ſhould incur by their being "taken by the Enemy. Then it would be, not a Diſcouragement but a "Diſſipation of the Seamen, who, if They could have no Employment "in the King's Ships or in the Merchant Ships, would be ſcattered abroad "to ſeek their Fortune, ſo that They would not be brought together when "the King had Occaſion for their Service. In the laſt Place: That the "giving this Order for Reſtraint, and Advice to the Merchants to inform "their Factors and Correſpondents, would be, and could not chooſe but be,

"an abſolute Publication of this Reſolution of the King to ſend out no Fleet "in the Spring; which was yet agreed to be the higheſt Secret."

ALL theſe Reaſons were temperately weighed and anſwered. "That it "could not be unreaſonable or unjuſt to hinder Men from doing them- "ſelves Harm: The King could not take their Goods from them to his "own Uſe; but He might lawfully hinder them from ſpoiling or deſtroy- "ing the Goods that were their own. That their being taken by the "Enemy (which would be unavoidable) concerned the King and the King- "dom little leſs than it did the private Owners: It would increaſe the "Inſolence and the Wealth of the Enemy, and reflect upon his Majeſty's "Honour as well as impoveriſh his Subjects; and the Difference would be "very great between loſing their Goods, and keeping them upon their Hands "for a better Market. For the Diſſipation of the Seamen, there would no "great Danger be of that: The Squadrons on the Weſtern and the Northern "Coaſts, which muſt be very well manned, would entertain good Num- "bers; and the reſt would put themſelves on Board the Privateers, who "ſhould be all bound to come Home againſt the Time the King would have "Occaſion for their Service, and then the Privateers ſhould be reſtrained as "now the Merchants. For the keeping the preſent Reſolution ſecret, which "would by this Means be publiſhed, it were to be deſired that it might re- "main a Secret as long as ſhould be poſſible: But as diſcerning Men would "eaſily diſcover it, and could not but already know that it was impoſſible "for the King in Time to ſet out a Fleet, ſo it would quickly be evident "to all the World; and the Secret was not to be affected longer than it could "be concealed."

THERE was another Inconvenience or Miſchief that was in View, that would *come like an armed Man* upon the City, which was Want of Fewel, eſpecially the Want of Coals from *Newcaſtle*, of which there had been a vaſt Quantity conſumed in the late Fire, which had likewiſe conſumed thoſe Houſes and Chimnies which ſhould be ſupplied; yet the People remained ſtill, and were not like to be much the warmer for being crowded cloſer together. But to that there could no other Remedy applied, but the ſend- ing Orders to *Newcaſtle* to employ all their Ships, and all They could procure, in ſending as much Coal as was poſſible to *London* and the Towns adjacent, before the Enemies Fleet could put to Sea; and Convoys were aſſigned too ſtrong for their Privateers or ſmall Parties of their Men of War: And the King gave two or three Veſſels of his own, and likewiſe Money, to fetch Coals, that the Poor might have them at the Rates they coſt; and di- rected the City to do the ſame. All which produced ſome good Effect.

UPON the whole Matter, and thorough Examination of the Whole, the King concluded upon all the Particulars mentioned before, aſſigning proper Perſons to ſuperviſe every Particular, that all ſhould be executed in Time that was agreed upon. The Duke iſſued out all his Orders to the Ships, with which Sir *William Coventry* was charged, whoſe Office it was: And the King would charge himſelf with that which was moſt important, the Fortification at *Sheerneſs*; whither his Majeſty made a Journey in the Cold and Depth of Winter, and took an Engineer and ſome Officers of the Ord- nance with him, that all Things might be ſupplied from thence which be- longed to that Office. He cauſed Maſter-Workmen to be ſent from *Lon- don*, and drew common Labourers enough out of the Country, having pro- vided Money to pay them. And after all Things were in this Order, and He had ſeen the Work begun, He left the Maſter-Engineer, whom He de- ſigned to be the Governour of the Fort, for which He was very equal, upon

The King in- ſpects the For- tifications of Sheerneſs.

the Place; and committed the overlooking of the Whole, that all poſſible Expedition might be uſed, to one of the Commiſſioners of the Ordnance, who promiſed to look carefully to it: And his Majeſty returned to *London*, when in the Opinion of all his Servants He had ſtayed too long in ſuch a Seaſon, and ſuch an Air, to the Danger of his Health. How all thoſe Reſolutions and Orders were executed afterwards, or complied with, muſt unavoidably be mentioned in its Place.

It cannot be imagined by any Man who in any Degree knew him, that the Chancellor, though He was preſent, could have any Part in theſe Reſolutions but the ſubmitting to them; every Particular being ſo much out of his Sphere, that He never pretended to underſtand what was fit and reaſonable to be done: Nor throughout the whole Conduct of the War was He ever known to preſume to give an Advice; but preſuming that all whoſe Profeſſion it was adviſed what was fit, He readily concurred. And He did always declare, "that in this laſt Conſultation all Points were ſo fully de-"bated; and that there was ſo concurrent an Opinion in the Commanders "of the Ships, and the Officers of the Navy, with the Approbation of the "Duke of *York*, Prince *Rupert* and the General, *that it was not poſſible to* "*ſet out a Fleet in Time equal to that of the Enemy, to engage with it*; *and* "*that the next beſt would be to ſtand upon the Defenſive in the Manner pro-*"*poſed*: That it did not appear to him, that there was any Election left but "to purſue that Courſe," which He did believe very reaſonably propoſed and reſolved upon; nor did any Thing occur to him, why very much Good might not be hoped from it, He being ſo totally unſkilful in the Knowledge of the Coaſt and the River, that He knew not where *Sheerneſs* was, nor had ever heard of the Name of ſuch a Place till this laſt Diſcourſe, nor had ever been upon any Part of the River with any other Thought about him, than to get on Shore as ſoon as could be poſſible.

The King had not himſelf thought of this defenſive Way, but approved it very much when He heard it ſo fully diſcuſſed, and in which himſelf had propoſed all his Doubts, which no Man raiſed more pertinently in Arguments of that Nature than his Majeſty; and it may be He liked it the better, becauſe at that Time, as He was heartily weary of the War, ſo He was not without a reaſonable Hope of Peace, which He reſolved to cheriſh, as He told the Parliament at parting He would do. The Grounds of which Hope, and the Progreſs thereupon, the entering upon a Treaty, and the Concluſion thereof, will be the Diſcourſe and Relation We ſhall next enter upon.

The Swedes diſpoſed to aſſiſt the Engliſh.

How ill Succeſs ſoever had attended the Negotiation of *Denmark* by the Irreſolution and Unſteadineſs of that Court, Mr. *Coventry* had conducted what had been committed to him with very good Effect in *Sweden*. And after He had diſpoſed that Court (where He had rendered himſelf extremely acceptable) to a juſt Eſteem of the King's Friendſhip, and an equal Averſion to the *Hollander*, and concluded ſuch Articles as were for the preſent and joint Convenience and Benefit of Both Nations, and prepared them to be willing to enter into a ſtricter and nearer Alliance, and to that Purpoſe to ſend Ambaſſadours into *England*, where They had an Agent; He returned to give his Majeſty an Account and Information of the Conſtitution and Temper of that Court, and of the Nature and Diſpoſition of the two Ambaſſadours who were to attend his Majeſty, who were choſen before He left *Stockholm*, and reſolved to embark within ten Days: Which They did, and arrived about the Time, or ſoon after, that the City was ſo miſerably deſtroyed by Fire; which was the leſs favourable Conjuncture, not ſo much by the Influence that dreadful Diſtraction and Damage was like to have

They ſend Ambaſſadours into England.

upon the vigorous carrying on the War, as by the ill Humour which the Parliament ſhortly after appeared to be in, and their manifeſt Obſtinacy againſt the King's Deſires; which was a Temper very different from what They expected to have found, and what They had been informed had poſſeſſed them from the Time of his Majeſty's Return. Nor was this manifeſt Indiſpoſition without ſome unhappy Impreſſion upon the Spirits of the Ambaſſadours, and that Alacrity They brought with them preſently to enter into a Treaty, and Conjunction of Forces againſt the common Enemy.

IT was manifeſt enough, that the Crown of *Sweden* was weary of the Obligations They had been long bound in to *France*, which had ſuperciliouſly neglected of late to comply with what was on their Part to be performed; and rather endeavoured to make Alliances with *Denmark*, and the leſſer neighbour Princes, as thoſe of the Houſe of *Brunſwick* and *Lunenburg*, to their Diſadvantage, than to conſider that Crown which had been ſo uſeful to them, as if their Friendſhip was ſo conſiderable to them. Nor was this out of a real Diſeſteem of them; but that They might bind them to a faſter Dependance upon them, and that They might not be ſevered from their Intereſt, whatſoever They ſhould declare it to be. And therefore, when it was firſt ſuſpected that They might be inclined to *England*, and *Holland* apprehended that They might be induced to make a Conjunction with the Biſhop of *Munſter*, *France* (as hath been touched before) ſent their Ambaſſadour *Pompone* into *Sweden*, with a full Year's Salary of what was in Arrear, much more ſtill remaining due, and to incline that Crown to a Neutrality between the *Engliſh* and the *Dutch*; in which He found Mr. *Coventry* had prevented him, and though He had not then the Character of Ambaſſadour, He was much better reſpected there than He was. And as They would have joined with the Biſhop of *Munſter*, if He had advanced according to his Pretence, or had not been abſolutely taken off by *France*; ſo, when He was diverted from his Purpoſe, They were the more inclined to make a firm Alliance with *England*, and thereby ſuch a farther Conjunction with other Princes, Proteſtant or Catholick, that might give ſome Check to the impetuous Humour of *France*, which They now were as jealous of, and of their overflowing all the Banks which belonged to their Neighbours, as They had been formerly of the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and for the ſame Reaſon were as deſirous to retire from any Dependance upon or Relation to that Crown, as They had been formerly of its Protection; and were very well prepared to change their Alliance, and, if They might not be Loſers by it, to make a Conjunction with *Germany* and the Houſe of *Auſtria*, into which it was reaſonable to be preſumed that the *United Provinces* would be glad to be received upon moderate Conditions, when a Peace ſhould be made with *England*.

AND this was the Proſpect that had been preſented to them by Mr. *Coventry*, and upon View of which They now ſent their Ambaſſadours, without being terrified by the Declaration of *France* on the Behalf of the *Dutch*; and with a Reſolution, if They could not perſuade *Holland* to ſeparate from that Conjunction, and make a Peace apart with the King (which They laboured by their Ambaſſadour the Count of *Dhona* to the *States*) to join their Intereſt frankly to that of his Majeſty, and to run the Hazard and expect the Iſſue and Event of the War.

THE two Ambaſſadours were *Flemming* and *Coyet*, Both Senators in the great Council of *Sweden*, and Men of prime Authority there: The former of the greater Place and Eſteem, being a Nobleman of an ancient and noble Extraction of a Family in *Scotland*, that had lived through many Deſcents *The Characters of the Ambaſſadours.*

in *Sweden* in great Employment and Luſtre; and this Man never diſſembled a particular Devotion to the King, and for that Reaſon principally was deſigned to this Negotiation. The other was not ſo well born or bred, or of ſo cheerful a Complexion, but a more thinking and melancholick Man, more converſant in Books, and more verſed in the Courſe and Forms of Buſineſs; and by his own Virtue and humble Induſtry had from a mean and low Birth, which in thoſe Northern Kingdoms is the higheſt Diſadvantage, by Degrees aſcended to the Degree of a Senator, which is the chiefeſt Qualification; and had gotten his firſt Credit and Reputation by a Negotiation He was intruſted with in *Holland*, and a Treaty well managed by him there; which made him liable in that Court to be much inclined to the *Dutch*, and to have ſome particular Friendſhip with *De Wit*, They having ſtudied together in *Leyden* when They were young; and their Familiarity after was improved to a good Correſpondence in that Negotiation in *Holland*.

THIS being well known and commonly ſpoken of there, Mr. *Coventry* endeavoured to prevent his Deſignation to that Employment, by ſpeaking to the Chancellor of that Kingdom, who always received him with open Arms, and gave good Teſtimony of his hearty and paſſionate Deſire of a firm Conjunction between the two Crowns; and, though He was of a *French* Extraction, had a full Jealouſy of the Want of Sincerity and Juſtice of that Nation. When He diſcovered the Apprehenſion Mr. *Coventry* had, He perſuaded him to acquieſce in his Judgment rather than to credit common Rumour: "That He well knew Both, and had contributed to the Election of "Both, who were very fit to be joined together in an Employment of this "Nature, the Gaiety and Warmth of the one ſtanding in Need ſometimes of "the Phlegm of the other, who would yet pay that Reverence to him that "was due to his ſuperiour Quality; and that He was too good a *Swede* to "have Inclinations to the *Dutch*, how much Converſation ſoever He had "with them. In a Word, He would paſs his Word;" which put an End to all farther Doubts: And it was well enough known, that He had been raiſed by and was a Creature of the Chancellor.

AND in Truth, from the Time of their Arrival in *England* He carried himſelf very fairly, and without any viſible Inclination to the *Dutch*, and much leſs to the *French*; and They Both very frankly declared to thoſe of the King's Miniſters with whom They conferred with Intimacy, "that that "Crown would gladly be ſeparated from them, if a good Expedient might "be found to make them no Loſers by it." Yet it is as true, that after They had been ſome Months in *England*, and ſaw in how ill a Poſture the King was for the carrying on the War, and how far the Parliament was from giving Money, or from any reaſonable Compliance with his Majeſty's Deſires, *Coyet* did not concur with the ſame Warmth in his Diſpatches, with *Flemming*, into *Sweden*; but writ apart to the Miniſters there, "that They "muſt take new Meaſures, and not depend upon a Conjunction with *Eng*-"*land*, to which, how well ſoever the King was inclined, He would not "be able to bear the Part They expected, by Reaſon that He had no "Power with the Parliament;" which Letters his Majeſty's Agent then in *Sweden* had a Sight of: Which produced no other Effect there, but a Reſolution, that if They ſaw that either the King was inclined to a Peace, or would be reduced to a Neceſſity to treat, the Ambaſſadours ſhould offer in the Name of their Maſter his Interpoſition, which their Miniſters in *France* and *Holland* ſhould then likewiſe make Proffer of, upon Advertiſement firſt from them, but with a ſecret Aſſurance to the King, "that if a Treaty

"ſhould not take Effect" (which it could hardly be believed it would do), "the Crown of *Sweden* would firmly unite itſelf to his Majeſty's Intereſt, "and engage in the War with him;" which it was evident They were more inclined to, than to a Peace in which *France* might be comprehended. But that which They moſt deſired was, that a Peace might be made with the *Dutch* without comprehending *France*, in which They would willingly enter, which would draw *Spain* and all the Princes of *Germany* to deſire to be admitted for their own Security.

Sweden *is deſirous of a ſeparate Treaty with* Holland.

THE *Conde* of *Molina* was Ambaſſadour from *Spain*, near the King, a Man rather ſincere than ſubtil, and ſo had the more Need of the Advice and Aſſiſtance of the Baron of *Iſola*, who was, under the Title of Envoy from the Emperour, entirely truſted and ſupported (as moſt of the Emperour's Miniſters were) by the King of *Spain*; who being a *Burgundian*, born in thoſe Parts which remain ſubject to *Spain*, had an implacable Hatred to the *French*; and by the Employments He had undergone in *Italy* and other Places, where He had been Ambaſſadour, had made himſelf ſo conſiderable, that He was become notoriouſly odious to the *French*, and was a Man of great Experience and very ſubtil Parts. Both thoſe Miniſters did heartily wiſh a Peace between *England* and *Holland*, with the Excluſion of *France*: But if that could not be, They had much rather the War ſhould continue as it was, than that *France* ſhould be comprehended in the Peace; for which They had ſome Reaſon. For at this Time the King of *Spain* died, which They had too many Reaſons to believe would put an End to the Quiet of *Flanders*; and therefore would be glad that They might have the Aſſiſtance of *England* for their Defence, and in which *Holland* could not think itſelf unconcerned. The Probability of this, and the conſtant Intelligence They received from the *Hague*, "that there were already Jealouſies grown "up between the *French* and the *Dutch*," perſuaded them, and They endeavoured to perſuade the King, "that *Holland* might be now induced to "treat by themſelves; or if They could not do that, but muſt proceed "jointly with *France*, They would upon Aſſurance of the King's Affection "ſever themſelves from them, if They inſiſted upon any Thing that was "not for the joint Benefit of all." The King left them to do what They thought fit towards it, without undertaking any Thing on his Part until their fair Intentions were diſcerned, and then to aſſure them of his Majeſty's Inclinations to Peace upon juſt and honourable Conditions.

The ſame endeavoured by the Spaniſh *and* Imperial *Ambaſſadours.*

THERE is no Doubt, there was a real Jealouſy and Diſſatisfaction between *France* and *Holland* at this Time. The *Dutch* complained, "that the *French* "had broken their Promiſe with them no leſs this Year than They had done "the laſt: They had indeed declared and proclaimed a War, but They had "done no Acts of Hoſtility; and whereas They were engaged that their "Fleet ſhould have joined with theirs in the Month of *May*, They had "never been in View but at a great Diſtance, and ſuffered the *Dutch* to fight "ſo many Days together without any Help from them. And upon their "renewed Promiſe, They had again carried out their Fleet to meet with "them in *Auguſt*; when They failed again, and left them expoſed to the "whole *Engliſh* Fleet: So that They were compelled with ſome Loſs to get "again into their Harbours." And now They had a real Apprehenſion, that They might treat with *England* apart, and leave them to ſupport the War at Sea by themſelves, whilſt They purſued their Expedition againſt *Flanders* upon the Death of the King of *Spain*.

Holland *and* France *jealous of each other.*

ON the other Side, *France* as much complained of the Proceedings of the *Dutch*: "That after They had received a great Sum of Money from them,

" without which They could not have ſet out their Fleet, They no more cared " for a Conjunction with their Ships, nor went to that Length at Sea which " They were bound to to join with them; which They might have done, if " They had continued their Courſe when They put to Sea in the Beginning " of *June*. Inſtead of which They went over to the Coaſt of *England* to find " the *Engliſh*, confeſſing thereby, that They had no Need of the Aſſiſtance " of the *French* Ships; but leaving them to ſhift for themſelves. And after- " wards, in the End of *Auguſt*, They came not to the Place They had " promiſed to have done; by Reaſon of which Neglect and Breach of " Faith, if a ſingular Act of Providence had not prevented it, their whole " Fleet had fallen into the Hands of the *Engliſh*, as ſome Part of it did." But that which made them likewiſe willing that this War ſhould be at an End was, that now, the King of *Spain* being dead, They might enter upon a War with *Spain*; towards which They prepared *Manifeſtos* to publiſh upon the Matter of their Right, and already prepared Levies of Men, of which They could pretend no other Uſe: Yet They profeſſed to the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſadour to have no ſuch Deſign in their Purpoſes. However They would not enter upon any Treaty apart without the *Dutch*: Nor would *De Wit*, who entirely governed the Councils of *Holland*, be induced to conſent to any Overtures made to ſeparate, before or in the Treaty, from *France*; but gave Information of whatſoever was propoſed by the Baron of *Iſola*, or the *Spaniard* or any other Perſon, to that Purpoſe, and enlarged upon that Information more than was true, to endear his own Punctuality.

The Queen Mother endeavours to bring about a Peace with France.

THE Mother of the King was then at *Paris*, having choſen rather to reſide there than in *England*, ſince She ſaw the Reſolution of a War between them, and deſired Nothing more than to be an Inſtrument in the compoſing thoſe Differences, which She thought were not good for either of the Crowns; and found now another Style in that Court than it had uſed to diſcourſe in, and, from the Time of the News of the Death of the King of *Spain*, that the *French* King had ſpoken as if He wiſhed a Peace with *England*: Whereupon about the Time when the Parliament was prorogued, the Earl of *St. Albans* came to *London*, as to look to the Queen's Affairs, of which He was the great Intendant. He informed the King " of the good Temper the " *French* Court was in, and that He was confident, if his Majeſty would " make any Advance towards a Peace, the Queen would be able to diſpoſe " that King to hearken to it, and to be a Mediator between *England* and " *Holland*; and either to draw them to conſent to what was juſt, or to ſe- " parate from them: And He thought it very reaſonable, that the Condi- " tions ſhould be referred to the King of *France*, who He was ſure, upon " ſuch a Truſt, would be very careful of the King's Honour and Intereſt." He profeſſed " to have no Authority for any Thing He propoſed, from the " *French* King or any of his Miniſters, but from the Queen's Conjectures and " his own Obſervation: And if the King would give him a Commiſſion, He " would preſently return, and would not be known to have any Powers, till " He ſhould find ſuch a Conjuncture to own it, as that the Peace ſhould be " concluded before there ſhould be any Diſcourſe of a Treaty (which He knew " the *French* moſt deſired) leſt *Spain* might interpoſe to perplex or delay it." And therefore He propoſed, " that He might carry Inſtructions with him, " upon what Conditions the King would be willing that a Peace ſhould " be eſtabliſhed." His Majeſty was reſolved never to make the *French* King Arbitrator of the Conditions of the Peace, nor that it ſhould be treated at *Paris*; and moſt of all, that the Earl of *St. Albans* ſhould not have any Power to treat, " who," the King always uſed to ſay, " was more a *French*

She ſends the Earl of St. Albans *into* England *for that Purpoſe.*

"than an *Engliſh* Man:" And He likewiſe reſolved, "that no Overture "ſhould be made towards Peace in his Name."

WHILST this was in Suſpenſe, the Earl received Letters from *Paris*, in which He was adviſed "to return thither with Power to treat, and with In- "formation what Conditions the King expected; for that his moſt *Chriſtian* "Majeſty had ſo prepared the *Dutch*, that He ſhould have preſent Power "to treat and conclude; and ſo all Things might be ſettled before the For- "mality of a Treaty ſhould be entered into or heard of." This did not alter the King's Reſolution againſt authorizing the Earl to treat, or making *Paris* the Place of the Treaty. But becauſe the Letters were written by *Monſieur Ruvigny*, who was a Perſon well known to the King, and of whom He had a good Opinion, and whom He well knew to be too wary a Man to write in that Manner without having good Authority to do ſo; his Ma- jeſty was contented "that the Earl ſhould make Haſte to *Paris*; and if He "found by *Ruvigny* that what They propoſed was really deſired, He ſhould "undertake to know that the King was very well inclined to Peace, and "that himſelf would willingly confer with any Body He would carry him "to; and whatſoever ſhould be propoſed, He would with all poſſible Ex- "pedition tranſmit it to the King:" With this farther Direction, "that if "He were ſatisfied that their Intentions were real, which the Alterations in "their own Affairs made probable, He ſhould endeavour, by the Queen or "*Ruvigny*, to diſcover whether it would not be poſſible to perſuade that "King to treat apart and exclude *Holland*; and if it appeared to him that "was not to be hoped, that at leaſt his Majeſty would think it reaſon- "able, that the *Dutch* ſhould reſtore whatſoever Fort or other Place They "had taken upon the Coaſt of *Guinea*, and likewiſe pay a good Sum of "Money to the King towards the Charge of the War."

THE Earl of *St. Albans* had no Mind to return with no larger a Com- miſſion, and pretended to know "that this was not the Way to advance a "Treaty, and that He could as well write what the King directed, and "know again by Letter what They thought of it; and therefore He would "ſtay and diſpatch the Buſineſs which the Queen ſent him about, before He "would return." But when He ſaw the King was contented He ſhould ſtay; rather than have Nothing to do in the Treaty, He choſe to be at the Be- ginning of it, and thought He ſhould not be afterwards left out; and ſo offered the King to depart without farther Delay.

THE King had from the Beginning informed the Chancellor of all that the Earl had ſaid to him from his Arrival: And when He had received thoſe Letters from *Ruvigny*, He ſent him to ſhew them to him; and himſelf came preſently whilſt the Earl was there, and directed him to prepare the Inſtruc- tions for him, which the Earl likewiſe deſired He might do. The Chan- cellor very well knew, that his Credit with the King was much leſſened, and that of the Lord *Arlington* much increaſed, who did not like that He ſhould meddle in the Affairs proper to his Office: Beſides He had no Mind to be intruſted in the Tranſactions with *France*, of whoſe Want of Faith He had too much Experience; which would neither be grateful to the Queen Mother nor to the Earl. And therefore He very earneſtly beſought the King, "that, it being the Lord *Arlington's* Province, all thoſe Diſ- "patches might paſs through his Hands." The King ſaid, "that He knew "the Lord *Arlington* deſired his Help, and that He ſhould prepare all thoſe "Diſpatches," which He required him to do: And the Earl of *St. Albans* ſeemed very much to deſire, "that not only his Inſtructions might be pre- "pared by him, but that He might always receive his Majeſty's Pleaſure

"ſignified by him, upon any material Point that ſhould ariſe;" which the King promiſed him He ſhould do. Upon which the other, who durſt not decline thoſe Commands He was ſo unwilling to obey, humbly deſired his Majeſty, "that the whole Matter might be firſt communicated to that Com-"mittee of the Council, with which He conſulted his moſt ſecret Affairs; "and that the Earl of *St. Albans* might be preſent at the Debate; and that "whatever He ſhould be appointed to put into Writing might be peruſed "at that Board, and if it required his Majeſty's Signature, it ſhould be "preſented to him by the Secretary:" All which his Majeſty conſented to. And all being done according to what is mentioned before, the Earl de-

He returns into France to negotiate a Peace.

parted for *France*.

IT is very true, there was yet no viſible Alteration in the King's Confidence towards the Chancellor with Reference to his Buſineſs, in which his Majeſty had no Reſerve, and ſpent as much Time with him, and vouchſafed as often to go to his Houſe, as He had ever uſed to do. But when He offered to ſpeak to him of other Matters, as He could not forbear to do, which He thought concerned him more than his moſt publick Tranſactions; He found his Countenance preſently ſhut, no Attention, and no Anſwer, or ſuch a one as ſhewed He was not pleaſed: And He took all Occaſions to make others ſee, that He was adviſed only by him in what immediately related to his Buſineſs, and not more in that than by other Men.

WHEN the Earl came to *Paris*, He found the *French* leſs upon their Guard than He expected: And the King himſelf frankly expreſſed himſelf "to wiſh an End of this War, and that He might be poſſeſſed of the King's "Friendſhip, which He valued exceedingly;" and referred to *Monſieur Lionne*, "who" his Majeſty ſaid "was prepared to ſpeak to him." *Monſieur De Lionne* kept himſelf within Generals, "of the Benefit that *England* "would receive by a Peace, which made his *Chriſtian* Majeſty deſire to "promote it, and never more to depart from his Friendſhip. That He was "obliged in Honour now not to quit the *Dutch*, having entered into a "Treaty with them when He had no Imagination that there would be a "War between them and *England*; that He had been often ſorry for it, "and had given them juſt Occaſion to complain, *that He forbore longer "than He ought to have done to give them Help:* And therefore He could "not now leave them to themſelves, except They were obſtinate, and re-"fuſed to make Peace upon juſt Conditions; and then He would renounce "them." But when He found that the Earl had no Power, and that He talked of Money to be given for the Charge of the War, and expected to have particular Overtures to ſend to the King; He brake off the Diſcourſe till He could confer with his Maſter.

WITHIN two or three Days *Monſieur De Lionne* viſited the Earl, and told him, "that if any Thing were to be done towards a Peace, there muſt "be no Time loſt: It was yet in the Power of the moſt *Chriſtian* King to "bring it to paſs upon juſt and honourable Terms; but He knew not how "long it would continue in his Power; for He confeſſed the *Dutch* took "themſelves to be ſo much behindhand, that They had no Mind to Peace, "believing They had now Advantage. That it was never heard of, that "after a War between two Nations, upon the making Peace, either Side "conſented to pay the Charge of the War: Therefore any Expectation of "that, or but Mention of it, would ſhut the Door againſt any Treaty." He gave two Papers to him to ſend to the King, Both under his own Hand, which his Majeſty had the Choice of, and which the *Dutch* would conſent

to; "but if that ſhould be required, the Treaty was at an End before it was "begun, and the Sword muſt determine it."

ONE of the Papers contained an Equivalent, of which his Majeſty might make his Choice; whether "all Things ſhould continue in the State and Poſ- "ture in which they were at preſent, either Side enjoying what They had got "and ſuſtaining what They had loſt, and ſo all Things to remain as they "were before the War;" or, "that a true and juſt Computation ſhould be "made of the Loſſes on Both Sides, and They who were found to have re- "ceived moſt Damage ſhould be repaired at the Charge of the other." The other Paper was, "that if his Majeſty approved of either of theſe Ex- "pedients, He ſhould himſelf make Choice of the Place where the Treaty "ſhould be, whither all Parties ſhould ſend their Ambaſſadours:" But then the *French* King deſired, "that his Majeſty would not make Choice of any "Place in the King of *Spain's* Dominions;" and the *Dutch* Ambaſſadour there had nominated *Cologne* or *Francfort* or *Hamburgh*. And the Earl of *St. Albans* immediately ſent away an Expreſs with thoſe two Papers to the King, upon Receipt whereof the Council were ſummoned. *Overtura made by France.*

THERE was no Hope of Money, which ſome, not reaſonably, had expected ſhould be paid whenever a Peace ſhould be made; and it had been mentioned in *Holland* as a Thing They expected ſhould be propounded, it may be, that it might be propounded and rejected. Then the Diſpatch of whatſoever ſhould be agreed concerned the King very much, that the *Dutch* might not put to Sea, nor diſcover that the King had no Fleet to ſet out; for the Spring was not yet come, though approaching. There appeared little Difficulty in the Choice of the Equivalent, for the *Engliſh* had taken much more from the *Dutch* than They had taken from *England*; and the other Computation would be endleſs, and liable to very difficult Examinations: So that by an unanimous Advice the King reſolved to chooſe the firſt Equivalent. *Which the King approves.*

BUT then the Place for the Treaty was not ſo eaſy to be choſen. The moſt natural had been *Bruſſels*, *Antwerp*, or ſome other large City in *Flanders*, which were all neutral Places, and to which all Parties might repair with the ſame Eaſe and Security. Whereas all the Places mentioned in *Germany* were at ſo great a Diſtance, that the Summer would be far entered into, and ſo, many Acts of Hoſtility paſs, before the Ambaſſadours could meet; and the *Engliſh* muſt paſs through the Enemy's Country thither: Therefore there could be no Thought of any of thoſe Places. Then the King of *France* had taken upon him to exclude *Flanders*, which He had no Power to do, and it was as deſirable to the *Dutch* as to the King: And therefore it was thought reaſonable, that the King ſhould inſiſt upon ſome good Town there, of which there was Choice enough; and if *Holland* ſhould approve it *France* could not reject it. But on the other Hand it was clearly diſcerned, that *France* would never ſend Ambaſſadours into a Country which He meant at the ſame Time to invade; and that his Majeſty knew very well to be the Intention, and the Ground of that King's deſiring the Peace, which it was plain enough the *Dutch* did not deſire, and were only drawn to conſent to a Treaty by the poſitive Demand of *France*, which They durſt not contradict: And therefore it concerned the King to preſerve that good Diſpoſition, and that the *French* Ambaſſadours might come fully inſtructed to concur with the *Engliſh* in what ſhould be juſt, and prevent any inſolent Carriage of the *Dutch*, or the *Dane*, who was likewiſe to have his Ambaſſadours upon the Place. *Difficulties about ſettling the Place for the Treaty.*

Upon thoſe Reaſons the Expreſs returned with his Majeſty's Conſent and Election of the firſt Equivalent, and "that as ſoon as He ſhould know that "the *Dutch* had conſented to it, his Majeſty would propoſe ſome equal Place "for the Treaty." And as ſoon as the Expreſs was diſpatched, his Majeſty entered upon the Debate of a fit Place for the Treaty; and ſaid, "that He had a Propoſition then made to him by Sir *William Coventry*, "that was of ſuch a Nature as much ſurpriſed him, as He believed it would "the Lords; yet He had not thought enough to diſlike or condemn it:" And ſo bade the other to propoſe it. He, with ſome ſhort Apology which He did not uſe to make, ſaid, "that He perceived there would be little leſs "Difficulty in agreeing upon a Place for the Treaty than upon any Doubts "which might ariſe in it; for if the King of *France* was to be gratified in "the Excluſion of *Flanders*, it would be very inconvenient to oblige the "King to ſend into *Germany*, which by the great Delay would deprive the "King of the greateſt Benefit He expected from the Treaty; the ſpeedy "Diſpatch whereof would be attended with the greateſt Conveniences: "Therefore He had propoſed to the King, *that He would immediately write* "*to the* States General *without acquainting* France *with it, and offer to ſend* "*his Ambaſſadours to treat the Peace at the* Hague, *that it might be ſpeedily* "*concluded, which would otherwiſe take up much Time in ſending for any Re-* "*ſolution to the* States *upon what ſhould ariſe. If They conſented to it, it would* "*probably be attended with Succeſs, the general Affection of the People being* "*well known to deſire Peace: And if They refuſed it, the World would con-* "*clude that They would have no Peace, when They would not treat about it;* "*and that his Majeſty would never have done them the Honour to have ſent* "*his Ambaſſadours Home to them, if He had intended to deny any Thing that* "*was reaſonable to them.*"

It was very new, and thought of by Nobody but the Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry*, who had communicated it together; and the Objection of the Condeſcenſion that it would ſeem to moſt Men, as if the King ſent to beg a Peace at their own Doors, was obvious to all Men: But that would have been an Objection againſt admitting it to have been at *Paris*. But the *States* not being upon any Level that pretended to an Equality, the probable Convenience or Benefit that might attend it was only to be conſidered; and the Affection and Deſire of the People generally to Peace was ſo notorious, that there was Reaſon to believe that They would not be willing that a Treaty begun amongſt them ſhould end but with Effect: And therefore it was unanimouſly agreed, that the Advice ſhould be purſued. But then it was a new Doubt, how the Meſſage or Overture or Letter, for the Form was not yet thought of, ſhould be conveyed; for the ſending a Trumpet or Expreſs had much more of Application than the Thing itſelf: And it was to be wiſhed, that it might be gone out of the King's Hands before the Anſwer could come from *Paris*, leſt new Inſtance ſhould be made for a particular Place.

It was at laſt reſolved, that the *Swedes* Ambaſſadours (both *France* and *Holland* having accepted the Mediation of that Crown) ſhould be conſulted with, to engage their Miniſter at the *Hague* to deliver it to the *States General*; for there was ſome Apprehenſion, that if *De Wit* knew of it, it might be conſidered only by that Committee which was deputed for that Affair, and never be brought to the *States*: And the adjuſting all that was commended to the Chancellor, who preſently ſent for the Ambaſſadours, and found them very ready to perform any Office which might

bring them upon the Stage in the Treaty. And upon Communication together, They were willing to ſend a Servant of their own to the *Hague*, who ſhould deliver to their Ambaſſadour the King's Meſſage to the *States General*, as an Effect of their Mediation and Credit with the King. And ſo it was delivered, not in the Form of a Letter, but of a Meſſage in the third Perſon to the *States General*, ſigned by the King and under the Signet; and the Ambaſſadours ſent a Gentleman in Poſt with it.

The Dutch refuſe to reſtore Poleroone according to the Overtures.

BUT within two Days a new Alarm comes from *France*; and all that was done proved to be to no Purpoſe. When They received the King's Anſwer, They could not but acknowledge that it was as fair as They could expect; and *Monſieur De Lionne* ſhewed it as ſuch to the *Dutch* Ambaſſadour, who finding that He was ſatisfied with it, and by him, that the King was ſo too, fell into much Paſſion, and declared "that it was not "according to the Conſent He had given to the King and to *Monſieur* "*De Lionne*; and that He muſt proteſt againſt any Treaty to be entered "into upon this Declaration." He put him then in Mind, "that He had "informed the King, in his Preſence, *that there was an Article in the late* "*Treaty between* England *and* Holland, *by which They were obliged to deli-* "*ver up the Iſland of* Poleroone *in the* Eaſt-Indies *to the* Eaſt-India *Company* "*of* London, *which They had formerly conſented to with* Cromwell, *but had* "*neither delivered it then nor yet, and were reſolved rather to continue the* "*War than to part with it*; which He had declared, when with Reference "to all other Things He conſented to the Alternative: And if the King "would not releaſe that Article of the former Treaty, his Maſters would "not enter upon any new."

WHETHER this was true or no cannot be known. But *Monſieur De Lionne* came in great Diſorder to the Lord of *St. Albans*, and told him all that the Ambaſſadour had ſaid, and confeſſed it "to be very true, and that "the King remembered it well, and promiſed that Article ſhould be releaſed: But that He, not clearly underſtanding the Delivery of it to be "contained in a former Treaty, and knowing it had been many Years in "the Poſſeſſion of the *Dutch*, and that it ſtill remained ſo, thought it had "been comprehended in the Alternative, and forgat to inſert it in the "Paper that was ſent to the King, for which He aſked a thouſand Pardons; "and made it his Suit to the King that He would yield to it, and that a "Treaty that was ſo neceſſary to the Good of *Chriſtendom* might not be "extinguiſhed upon his Negligence and Want of Memory;" which was a ſtrange Excuſe for a Miniſter of his known Sagacity.

THE Earl of *St. Albans* refuſed to tranſmit any ſuch Tergiverſation to the King, and ſaid, "He knew the King would never conſent to it; and that "this Manner of Proceeding, after that his Majeſty had conſented to what "themſelves propoſed, would ſhut out all future Confidence of their Sincerity." *Monſieur De Lionne* was exceedingly troubled and out of Countenance, as a Man conſcious to himſelf of a great Overſight, and deſired him, "that He would meet the *Dutch* Ambaſſadour at his Lodging, that They "might together endeavour to remove him from the Obſtinacy He pro-"feſſed;" which the Earl was contented to do, and the Ambaſſadour, how unwillingly ſoever, was prevailed with to meet at the Time appointed: But They were no ſooner met, and *Monſieur De Lionne* entered upon the Argument of *Poleroone*, but the Ambaſſadour fell into a rude Paſſion, and ſaid, "the War ſhould determine it." And when the Earl of *St. Albans* began to ſpeak of the Unreaſonableneſs of the Demand, and entered upon the foul Manner in which They had firſt taken that Iſland from the *Engliſh*, who

were in Poſſeſſion of it; He told him, "that He had Nothing to ſay to "him," and uſed much other Language unfit for the other to hear, and which He had returned with Intereſt, if *Monſieur De Lionne* had not interpoſed, and been very deſirous the Conference ſhould end, the Ambaſſadour's Inſolence being not to be endured: And ſo They parted, *Lionne* ſeeming very much offended; and He complained to the King, and the Earl gave the Account of all to his Majeſty.

The *French* King was no leſs ſurpriſed and offended when He heard what Meſſage the King had ſent to the *States* (which He was advertiſed of by an Expreſs from *Holland*), than *De Wit* had been at the Delivery of it, who preſently knew the Driſt of it, and could not forbear to tell the *States*, "that the Deſign was only to ſtir up the People againſt the Magiſtrates, "and indeed to make them the Judges of the Conditions of the Peace:" And He knew well that the People generally were no Friends to the *Eaſt-India* Company (where himſelf had a great Stock), and therefore would never conſent that a Treaty entered into ſhould break only upon their Intereſt; which likewiſe was the Reaſon, why They had provided that that Particular ſhould be firſt conſented to, before any Treaty ſhould be agreed upon. And hereupon He prevailed upon the *States General* forthwith to declare in the Negative, "that the Treaty ſhould not be at the *Hague*." But at the ſame Time, after the naming again of *Cologne* and *Francfort*, They added, "that if the King deſired to do them the Honour to appoint it in any Place "of their Dominions, which They did not preſume to propoſe; They ſhould "conſent that it might be at *Breda*, or *Maeſtricht*," or a Place or two that They named: And this was reſolved before the People heard that the King had named the *Hague*, and wondered and murmured at their Refuſal.

The King of *France* took it ill, that at a Time when He proceeded with ſo much Openneſs, and had given the firſt Riſe to a Treaty, and opened the Door which the *Hollander* peeviſhly ſhut againſt it, by his own offering the Alternative, which the King had ſo far approved as to make his Election; He ſhould at the ſame Time, without communicating it to him, ſend this Overture to the *Hague*: Which troubled him the more, that it gave him Matter of Jealouſy to apprehend, that there was ſome other underhand Treaty that was concealed from him, and contrived by the Baron of *Iſola*, who He knew had been privately at the *Hague* and had Conference with *De Wit*. And the ſame Imagination did more perplex the Queen Mother and the Earl of *St. Albans*, who looked upon this as a Device to exclude them from having any Share in the Peace; the Earl having digeſted the Concluſion in his own Breaſt, that in what Place ſoever the Treaty ſhould be held, He ſhould without Doubt be intruſted in the Managery of it. However the King could not own his Part of the Diſlike, ſince his Majeſty might without any Violation of Friendſhip make the Overture by Meſſage to the *Hague*, as well as to or by him: Therefore He ſeemed to take no Exception to it, and only ſent the King Word, "that He "believed the *Dutch* would quickly diſcern, that this Condeſcenſion in his "Majeſty proceeded from ſome Expectation of a Party amongſt the People "to ſecond it; and therefore He was confident They would never conſent "to treat at the *Hague*." But He propoſed, "as the beſt Way for Expe-"dition, that it might be at *Dover*," which He adviſed his Majeſty not to reject: "For if it were once begun there, it might poſſibly, and He would "further it all He could, quickly be removed to *Canterbury*, and probably "might be concluded in *London*."

BUT before this Meſſage arrived, the other new Demand of *Poleroone*, with *Monſieur De Lionne's* Acknowledgement of the Defect of his Memory, and that He ought to have inſerted it in the Paper that contained the Alternative, with all the Excuſes He made for it, was received; which ſeemed to put an End to all Hopes of Peace. The King was highly incenſed, and looked upon it as an Affront contrived by Both Parties to amuſe him. Every Body concluded, that there could be no Safety in depending upon any Thing that could be offered from *France*, when They could never be without as reaſonable a Pretence as They had at preſent, to diſclaim or avoid any Conceſſion They had made in Writing. That the Particular demanded could never be conſented to by his Majeſty, without ſwerving from the common Rules of Juſtice, and the Violation of his own Honour. That though it did not immediately concern his Majeſty in his own Intereſt and the Intereſt of the Crown, which was an Argument uſed in *France* for his Majeſty's not inſiſting upon it, it was however an unqueſtionable and a very conſiderable Intereſt of his Subjects, which He was in Juſtice bound to maintain, and which in Juſtice He had no Power to releaſe. It was an Intereſt ſo valuable, that *Cromwell* had inſiſted upon it ſo reſolutely, that They had conſented to it as a principal Article of the Peace He made with them; by which He gained great Reputation with the People. And his Majeſty had thought himſelf ſo much concerned in Honour not to ſuffer his Subjects to be deprived of that Right which *Cromwell* had vindicated (though by his Death it came not to be executed), that He would never conſent to the Treaty that had been concluded ſince his happy Return, until They conſented to and renewed the ſame Article, and promiſed the Redelivery of the ſaid Iſland to the *Engliſh* by ſuch a Day: And their having broken their Faith in not delivering it according to the laſt Treaty, and with very offenſive Circumſtances, his Majeſty had declared to be a principal Cauſe of the War, and made them unqueſtionably to appear the firſt Aggreſſor. And in that Reſpect, his Honour could not receive a more mortal Wound than in releaſing that Article, which concerned the Eſtates of other Men, and would in the Opinion of the World draw the Guilt of the War upon himſelf, or, which would be as bad, the Reproach of having purchaſed a Peace upon very diſhonourable Conditions to himſelf, at the Charge and with the Eſtates of his Subjects.

The King highly offended.

UPON the Whole, the King reſolved rather to undergo the Hazard of the War upon what Diſadvantage ſoever, than to conſent to a Propoſition ſo diſhonourable: And a Diſpatch was preſently ſent to the Earl of *St. Albans*, with a very lively Reſentment "of the Indignity offered to the King, in "receding from what was offered by themſelves, and in aſking what He was "reſolved never to grant." And all were enjoined to review all that had been reſolved for the War, and to give the utmoſt Advancement to it that was poſſible: And without Doubt, if *Spain* had yet put itſelf into any Poſture to defend itſelf againſt the Power that was even ready to invade it, and to act any Part towards the Support of a common Intereſt; the King would hardly have been perſuaded to have hearkened more to any Propoſitions from *France*.

And reſolves to continue the War.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, new Overtures and new Importunities were ſent from *France*. "It was true, that the *Dutch* had always proteſted "againſt making a Peace or conſenting to a Treaty without the Releaſe "of *Poleroone*; which his *Chriſtian* Majeſty had conſented to, and could "not recede from it without their Conſent, though the Mention of it had "been unfortunately omitted by *Monſieur De Lionne*: But his Majeſty pro-

New Overtures from France.

" miſed and engaged his Royal Word, that when the Treaty ſhould be en-
" tered into, He would uſe all his Credit and Authority to perſuade the
" *States General* to recede from their Obſtinacy, and to make no Alteration in
" the laſt Treaty; but that all Things ſhould remain as had been ſettled by it.
" And if He could not prevail with them to ſatisfy him therein, as He did
" fear that there was upon their particular Intereſt ſome peremptory Reſolu-
" tion fixed, from whence They would not be removed as to the Main; yet
" in that Caſe He did in no Degree deſpair of obliging them to give a con-
" ſiderable Sum of Money for Recompenſe thereof, which He deſired might
" ſatisfy the King, who would find himſelf at much Eaſe by it. And if
" the Commiſſioners once met and the Treaty was begun, it would not be
" diſſolved before a Peace ſhould be concluded; and that the *French* Am-
" baſſadours, as ſoon as They met, ſhould propoſe a Ceſſation from all Acts
" of Hoſtility, which He expected ſhould be as ſoon yielded to as propoſed;
" and that already They had promiſed *that their Fleet ſhould remain in their*
" *Harbours till the Middle of* May, before which Time the Treaty might
" well begin." And from the preſent Time the *French* King promiſed,
" that no hoſtile Act ſhould be done by him, and that his own Fleet ſhould
" not ſtir out of their Port; and that his Ambaſſadours ſhould in all
" Things behave themſelves as his Majeſty could wiſh, that Particular only
" of *Poleroone* excepted, in which They ſhould do as He had promiſed."

The King had by this Time had Recourſe to all the Inventions and Devices, which might yet enable him to ſet out a Fleet that might be able to fight the Enemy; but in vain. He found all Men of the ſame Opinion They had been, that He muſt be upon the Defenſive in the Manner expreſſed before, and expect the End of the Summer before He could draw his Ships together; and that there was an univerſal Impatience for Peace: So that when the Warmth of his Indignation was a little remitted, He was very willing to hear any Thing that might revive the Hope of a Treaty, when this laſt Overture from *Paris* arrived; upon which He preſently convened the Council, that He might take a ſpeedy Reſolution what He was to do, for He ſaw many Conveniences might be loſt by the not ſpeedily entering upon the Treaty, if it were to be entered upon at all. The Proteſtation and Promiſe of *France* to aſſiſt in all Things, that Particular only excepted, for his Majeſty's Service, and his Promiſe even in that, made him willing to believe that they might be real: The Hope of Recompenſe for it ſeemed little inferiour to the Redelivery of the Iſland, and was an equal Satisfaction to his Majeſty's Honour. And it ſeemed the more probable to be compaſſed, in that *De Wit* in his private Conference with the Baron of *Iſola*, in all his Paſſion in which He would not endure the Mention of the Delivery of *Poleroone*, and ſaid, " that the *States* would periſh before They
" would part with it," concluded, " that He would not ſay that They might
" not be perſuaded to give ſome Recompenſe for it."

And many believed that the *Eaſt-India* Company, which was only concerned in the Intereſt of it, would chooſe rather to receive a good Recompenſe than the Iſland itſelf, which was a barren, ſandy Soil, which yielded no Fruit, but only Nutmegs, which was the ſole Commodity it bore, and is a Commodity of great Value. But when They were bound to give it up to *Cromwell*, there had been immediate Order ſent to cut down all the Trees upon the Iſland; which Order would be now again repeated: And ſo no leſs than ſeven Years muſt expire before any Fruit could be expected from thence. And it was ſo far from any *Engliſh* Factory, and ſo near to the *Dutch*, that They would eaſily poſſeſs themſelves of it again when They

had a Mind to it. And therefore if the Company might have Money, or ſuch a Quantity of Nutmegs delivered to them, as might, beſides being enough for the Expenſe of *England*, bear a Part in the foreign Trade (which had been mentioned by ſome Merchants of that Company), it might be reaſonably preferable to the Iſland.

WHATSOEVER Reſolution ſhould in the End be taken, this Expedient of Recompenſe gave a Hint to a Counſel that had not been yet thought of, which was to leave the Buſineſs of *Poleroone* to the ſole Managery of the *Eaſt-India* Company, who ſhould be adviſed to chooſe ſome Members of their own, who ſhould go over with the Ambaſſadours, and receive all Advice and Aſſiſtance from them in the Conduct of their Pretences: And They would be the Witneſſes of what the King inſiſted upon on their Behalf; and would likewiſe judge, if Nothing prevented the Peace but that Intereſt, how far it ſhould be inſiſted on.

The Eaſt-India *Company conſulted in Relation to* Poleroone.

THE *Eaſt-India* Company was ſent for, and were told "that the King "had Hope of a Treaty for Peace, which He preſumed would be welcome "to them: He heard that the greateſt Difficulty and Obſtruction that was "like to ariſe would be concerning their Intereſt in the Iſland of *Poleroone*, "which He was reſolved never to abandon. But becauſe He heard likewiſe "that the *Dutch* did intend to offer a Recompenſe rather than to reſtore "the Place, and that the Recompenſe might be ſuch as might be as agreeable "to them (of which He would not take upon him to judge, but leave it "entirely to themſelves), He had given them this timely Notice of it, that "They might bethink themſelves what was fit for them to do, upon a Proſpect of all that might probably occur; and that They might make Choice "of ſuch Perſons amongſt themſelves, who beſt underſtood their Affairs, to "the End that when the Treaty ſhould be agreed upon and the Place appointed, and his Majeſty had reſolved what Ambaſſadours He would ſend "(of all which They ſhould have ſeaſonable Notice), thoſe Perſons elected "by them as their Commiſſioners might go over with the Ambaſſadours; "that when that Point came into Debate, and the *Dutch* ſhould call ſome "of their *Eaſt-India* Company to inform them, They likewiſe might be "ready to advertiſe his Ambaſſadours of whatſoever might advance their "Pretences: And if a Recompenſe was to be conſidered, They might enter "into that Conſultation with the other Deputies; and that They ſhould be "ſure to receive all the Advice and Aſſiſtance from his Ambaſſadours, that "They could require or ſtand in Need of." The Company received this Information from his Majeſty with all Demonſtration of Duty and Submiſſion, giving humble Thanks for his Majeſty's Bounty and Care of their Intereſt; and ſaid, "They would not fail to make Choice of a Committee to attend the Ambaſſadours, when They ſhould know it would be "ſeaſonable."

The King conſults the Privy Council upon the Overtures made by France.

THE King thought it now Time to receive the Advice of his whole Council-Board upon this Affair, which had been hitherto only debated before the Committee for foreign Affairs: And ſo They being aſſembled, an Account was given of all that had paſſed, with all its Circumſtances, in *France*, and in *Holland* by the Baron of *Iſola* and by the *Swedes* Ambaſſadours. And his Majeſty ſaid thereupon, "that He had yet taken no Reſolution, and had "been ſo provoked by the Miſcarriage of *France*, that He would have been "glad to have put himſelf into a better Poſture, and not thought farther of "a Treaty, till there ſhould appear a more favourable Conjuncture: But "They now underſtood as much as He did with Reference to the State

"He was in both at Home and abroad, and that He was reſolved to follow "their Advice."

Which adviſes him to enter upon the Treaty.

ALL the Objections which had been foreſeen before, and the Conſiderations thereupon, were renewed and again debated: And in the End there was a general Concurrence, "that his Majeſty ſhould embrace the Oppor- "tunity of a Treaty; and if a reaſonable Peace could be obtained, it would "be very grateful to the whole Kingdom, that was weary of the War; "and that his Majeſty ſhould loſe no Time in returning ſuch a Diſpatch to "*Paris*, as might bring on the Treaty." And ſome of the Lords proceeded ſo far as to declare, "that the Conſideration of *Poleroone* was not of "that Importance, nor could be thought ſo by the *Eaſt-India* Company "themſelves, as that the inſiſting upon it ſhould deprive the Kingdom of "a Peace that was ſo neceſſary for it." But the King thought the entering upon that Argument was not yet ſeaſonable: But He gave Order for the Diſpatch to be prepared for *France*.

THERE were two material Points not yet determined, the firſt of which was fit to be inſerted into the preſent Diſpatch; which was the Nomination of the Place where the Treaty ſhould be. Some were of Opinion, "that "his Majeſty ſhould lay Hold of the Overture that had been made from "*France*, which was ſince likewiſe confirmed by *Holland*, *that the Treaty* "*ſhould be at* Dover:" But They changed their Minds, when They well conſidered that the ſame Objections would be naturally made againſt *Dover* on the King's Behalf, that had been made by the *Dutch* againſt the *Hague*; and that the People there, and leſs at *Canterbury*, were not incapable of any Impreſſions, which the numerous Trains of the *French* and the *Dutch* would be ready to imprint in them. In a Word; there was much more fit to be conſidered upon that Point, than is fit to be remembered. The Concluſion was, "that *Breda*, which had been offered by the *Dutch*, ſhould be the "Place the King would accept;" which was added to the Diſpatch for *Paris*, and preſently ſent away.

Breda agreed to be the Place of treating.

THE other Matter undetermined of was the Choice of Ambaſſadours, which had been never entered upon. The King had ſpoken with the Chancellor, what Perſons would be fit to be employed in that Negotiation, when the Time ſhould be ripe for it; and took Notice, as He did frequently, of the ſmall Choice He had of Men well acquainted with Buſineſs of that Nature: Upon which He had named to the King the Lord *Hollis*, who had been lately Ambaſſadour in *France*, and was in all Reſpects equal to any Buſineſs, and Mr. *Henry Coventry* of his Bedchamber, who had ſhewed ſo great Abilities in his late Negotiation in *Sweden*. Upon the naming of whom his Majeſty ſaid, "They were Both very fit, and that He would think of "no other:" So that when all other Particulars were adjuſted with Reference to the Treaty, the King, without farther conſulting it, declared, "that He intended to ſend thoſe two his Ambaſſadours for the Treaty," before either of them knew or thought of the Employment. And when his Majeſty told them of it, He bade them repair to the Chancellor for their Inſtructions. And this gave new Thoughts of Heart to the Lord *Arlington*, who had deſigned himſelf and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, who was newly made a Privy Counſellor and Controller of the Houſhold upon the Death of Sir *Hugh Pollard*, for the Performance of that Service; and thought himſelf the better qualified for it by his late Alliance in *Holland*, by his Marriage with the Daughter of *Monſieur Beverwaert*, a natural Son of Prince *Maurice*. And this Diſappointment went very near him; though the other had not the leaſt Thought that He had any ſuch Thing in his Heart, but

Lord Hollis and Mr. Henry Coventry appointed Plenipotentiaries.

adviſed it purely as They were the fitteſt Perſons who could be thought of; and their Abilities, which were well thought of before, were very notorious in this Negotiation.

THE *Swediſh* Ambaſſadours, who were the only Mediators, prepared likewiſe to go to the Treaty, having agreed with the King, "that if the "Treaty ſhould not produce a Peace," of which They who hoped moſt were not confident, "that Crown would immediately declare for the King, "and unite itſelf to his Intereſt both againſt the *Dutch* and the *French*;" their Army at that Time, being held the beſt in *Europe*, under the Command of their General *Wrangel*, being near the *States* Dominions. And for the better confirming them in that Diſpoſition, the Chancellor had brought the Baron of *Iſola* to a Conference with the *Swedes* Ambaſſadours, and begun that Treaty between them which was ſhortly after finiſhed, and known by the Style of the *Triple Alliance*, that was the firſt Act that detached the *Swede* from *France*: And for the preſent the King himſelf found Means to ſupply the Crown of *Sweden* with a Sum of Money for the Support of their Army. *The Swediſh Ambaſſadours Mediators.*

ALL Things being thus adjuſted, and the Place of the Treaty being on all Hands agreed to be *Breda*, and Notice being ſent from *Paris*, "that their "Ambaſſadours were departed from thence;" the King thought himſelf as much concerned in the Expedition in Reſpect of the Ceſſation, which the *French* promiſed to obtain in the very Entrance into the Treaty; and it was now the Month of *May*. And ſo his Ambaſſadours were diſpatched, and arrived there before the Middle of that Month, with an Equipage worthy their Maſter who ſent them.

THERE happened at this Time an Accident that made a fatal Breach into the Chancellor's Fortune, with a Gap wide enough to let in all that Ruin which ſoon after was poured upon him. The Earl of *Southampton*, the Treaſurer, with whom He had an entire faſt Friendſhip, and who, when They were together, had Credit enough with the King and at the Board to prevent, at leaſt to defer, any very unreaſonable Reſolution, was now ready to expire with the Stone; a Diſeaſe that had kept him in great Pain many Months, and for which He had ſent to *Paris* for a Surgeon to be cut, but had deferred it too long by the Phyſicians not agreeing what the Diſeaſe was: So that at laſt He grew too weak to apply that Remedy. They who had with ſo much Induſtry, and as They thought Certainty, prevailed with the King at *Oxford* to have removed him from that Office, had never ſince intermitted the purſuing the Deſign, and perſuaded his Majeſty, "that his "Service had ſuffered exceedingly by his receding from his Purpoſe;" and did not think their Triumph notorious enough, if They ſuffered him to die in the Office: Inſomuch as when He grew ſo weak that it is true He could not ſign any Orders with his Hand, which was four or five Days before his Death, They had again perſuaded the King to ſend for the Staff. But the Chancellor again prevailed with him not to do ſo ungracious an Act to a Servant who had ſerved him and his Father ſo long and ſo eminently, to ſo little Purpoſe as the raviſhing an Office unſeaſonably, which muſt within five or ſix Days fall into his Hands; as it did within leſs Time by his Death. *The Death of the Earl of Southampton.*

HE was a Perſon of extraordinary Parts, of Faculties very diſcerning and a Judgment very profound, great Eloquence in his Delivery, without the leaſt Affectation of Words, for He always ſpake beſt on the ſudden. In the Beginning of the Troubles, He was looked upon amongſt thoſe Lords who were leaſt inclined to the Court, and ſo moſt acceptable to the Peo- *His Character.*

ple: He was in Truth not obliged by the Court, and thought himſelf oppreſſed by it, which his great Spirit could not bear; and ſo He had for ſome Years forbore to be much ſeen there, which was imputed to a Habit of Melancholy, to which He was naturally inclined, though it appeared more in his Countenance than in his Converſation, which to thoſe with whom He was acquainted was very cheerful.

THE great Friendſhip that had been between their Fathers made many believe, that there was a Confidence between the Earl of *Eſſex* and him; which was true to that Degree as could be between Men of ſo different Natures and Underſtandings. And when They came to the Parliament in the Year 1640, They appeared Both unſatisfied with the Prudence and Politicks of the Court, and were not reſerved in declaring it, when the great Officers were called in Queſtion for great Tranſgreſſions in their ſeveral Adminiſtrations: But in the Proſecution there was great Difference in their Paſſions and their Ends. The Earl of *Eſſex* was a great Lover of Juſtice, and could not have been tempted to conſent to the Oppreſſion of an innocent Man: But in the diſcerning the ſeveral Species of Guilt, and in the proportioning the Degrees of Puniſhment to the Degree of Guilt, He had no Faculties or Meaſure of judging; nor was above the Temptation of general Prejudice, and it may be of particular Diſobligations and Reſentments, which proceeded from the Weakneſs of his Judgment, not the Malice of his Nature. The Earl of *Southampton* was not only an exact Obſerver of Juſtice, but ſo clearſighted a Diſcerner of all the Circumſtances which might diſguiſe it, that no falſe or fraudulent Colour could impoſe upon him; and of ſo ſincere and impartial a Judgment, that no Prejudice to the Perſon of any Man made him leſs awake to his Cauſe; but believed that there is *aliquid et in Hoſtem Nefas*, and that a very ill Man might be very unjuſtly dealt with.

THIS Difference of Faculties divided them quickly in the Progreſs of thoſe Buſineſſes, in the Beginning whereof They were Both of one Mind. They Both thought the Crown had committed great Exceſſes in the Exerciſe of its Power, which the one thought could not be otherwiſe prevented, than by its being deprived of it: The Conſequence whereof the other too well underſtood, and that the abſolute taking away that Power that might do Hurt, would likewiſe take away ſome of that which was neceſſary for the doing Good; and that a Monarch cannot be deprived of a fundamental Right, without ſuch a laſting Wound to Monarchy itſelf, that They who have moſt Shelter from it and ſtand neareſt to it, the Nobility, could not continue long in their native Strength, if the Crown received a Maim. Which if the Earl of *Eſſex* had comprehended, who ſet as great a Price upon Nobility as any Man living did, He could never have been wrought upon to have contributed to his own Undoing; which the other knew was unavoidable, if the King were undone. So They were Both ſatisfied that the Earl of *Strafford* had countenanced ſome high Proceedings, which could not be ſupported by any Rules of Juſtice, though the Policy of *Ireland*, and the conſtant Courſe obſerved in the Government of that Kingdom, might have excuſed and juſtified many of the high Proceedings with which He was reproached: And They who had now the Advantage-Ground, by being thought to be moſt ſolicitous for the Liberty of the Subject, and moſt vigilant that the ſame Outrages might not be tranſplanted out of the other Kingdom into this, looked upon him as having the ſtrongeſt Influence upon the Counſels of *England* as well as Governour of *Ireland*. Then He had declared himſelf ſo averſe and irreconcilable to the Sedition and Rebellion of the *Scots*, that

the whole Nation had contracted ſo great an Animoſity againſt him, that leſs than his Life could not ſecure them from the Fears They had conceived of him: And this Fury of theirs met with a full Concurrence from thoſe of the *Engliſh*, who could not compaſs their own Ends without their Help. And this Combination too ſoon drew the Earl of *Eſſex*, who had none of their Ends, into their Party, to ſatisfy his Pride and his Paſſion, in removing a Man who ſeemed to have no Regard for him; for the Stories, which were then made of Diſobligations from the Earl of *Strafford* towards the Earl of *Clanrickard*, were without any Foundation of Truth.

THE Earl of *Southampton*, who had Nothing of Obligation, and Somewhat of Prejudice to ſome high Acts of Power which had been exerciſed by the Earl of *Strafford*, was not unwilling that they ſhould be ſo far looked into and examined, as might raiſe more Caution and Apprehenſion in Men of great Authority of the Conſequence of ſuch Exceſſes. But when He diſcerned irregular Ways entered into to puniſh thoſe Irregularities, and which might be attended with as ill Conſequences, and that They intended to compound one great Crime out of ſeveral ſmaller Treſpaſſes, and, to uſe their own Style, *to complicate a Treaſon out of Miſdemeanors*, and ſo to take away his Life for what He might be fined and impriſoned; He firſt diſſuaded and then abhorred that Exorbitance, and more abhorred it, when He found it paſſionately and maliciouſly reſolved by a direct Combination.

FROM this Time He and the Earl of *Eſſex* were perfectly divided and ſeparated, and ſeldom afterwards concurred in the ſame Opinion: But as He worthily and bravely ſtood in the Gap in the Defence of that great Man's Life, ſo He did afterwards oppoſe all thoſe Invaſions, which were every Day made by the Houſe of Commons upon the Rights of the Crown, or the Privileges of the Peers, which the Lords were willing to ſacrifice to the uſeful Humour of the other. And by this Means, whilſt moſt of the King's Servants liſted themſelves with the Conſpirators in promoting all Things which were ingrateful to him, this Lord, who had no Relation to his Service, was looked upon as a Courtier; and by the Strength of his Reaſon gave ſuch a Check to their Proceedings, that He became little leſs odious to them than the Court itſelf; and ſo much the more odious, becauſe as He was ſuperiour to their Temptations, ſo his unqueſtionable Integrity was out of their Reach, and made him contemn their Power as much as their Malice.

HE had all the Deteſtation imaginable of the civil War, and diſcerned the diſmal Effects it would produce, more than moſt other Men, which made him do all He could to prevent it. But when it could not be avoided, He made no Scruple how to diſpoſe of himſelf, but frankly declared for the King, who had a juſt Senſe of the Service He had done him, and made him then both of his Privy Council and Gentleman of his Bedchamber, without the leaſt Application or Deſire of his, and when moſt of thoſe who were under Both thoſe Relations had choſen, as the much ſtronger, the Rebels Side: And his receiving thoſe Obligations at that preſent was known to proceed more from his Duty than his Ambition. He had all the Fidelity that God requires, and all the Affection to the Perſon of the King that his Duty ſuggeſted to him was due, without any Reverence for or Compliance with his Infirmities or Weakneſs; which made him many Times uneaſy to the King, eſpecially in all Conſultations towards Peace, in which He was always deſirous that his Majeſty ſhould yield more than He was inclined to do.

He was in his Nature melancholick, and reſerved in his Converſation, except towards thoſe with whom He was very well acquainted; with whom He was not only cheerful, but upon Occaſion light and pleaſant. He was naturally lazy, and indulged overmuch Eaſe to himſelf: Yet as no Man had a quicker Apprehenſion or ſolider Judgment in Buſineſs of all Kinds, ſo, when it had a hopeful Proſpect, no Man could keep his Mind longer bent, and take more Pains in it. In the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, which was a continued Fatigue of twenty Days, He never ſlept four Hours in a Night, who had never uſed to allow himſelf leſs than ten, and at the End of the Treaty was much more vigorous than in the Beginning; which made the Chancellor to tell the King when They returned to *Oxford*, "that if He would "have the Earl of *Southampton* in good Health and good Humour, He muſt "give him good Store of Buſineſs to do."

His Perſon was of a ſmall Stature; his Courage, as all his other Faculties, very great; having no Sign of Fear or Senſe of Danger, when He was in a Place where He ought to be found. When the King had withdrawn himſelf from *Oxford* in Order to his Eſcape to the *Scotch* Army, and *Fairfax* had brought his Army before the Town; in ſome Debate at the Council-Board, there being ſome Mention of Prince *Rupert* with Reference to his Dignity in a large Degree above all of the Nobility, the Earl of *Southampton*, who never uſed to ſpeak indecently, uſed ſome Expreſſions, which, being unfaithfully reported to the Prince, his Highneſs interpreted to be diſreſpectful towards him: Whereupon He ſent the Lord *Gerard* to expoſtulate with him. To whom the Earl without any Apology related the Words He had uſed; which being reported by him again to the Prince, though they were not the ſame which He had been informed, yet He was not ſo well ſatisfied with them, but that He ſent the ſame Lord to him again to tell him, "that his Highneſs expected other Satisfaction from "him, and expected to meet him with his Sword in his Hand, and deſired "it might be as ſoon as He could, leſt it might be prevented."

The Earl appointed the next Morning, at a Place well known; and being aſked "what Weapon He choſe," He ſaid, "that He had no Horſe "fit for ſuch a Service, nor knew where ſuddenly to get one; and that He "knew himſelf too weak to cloſe with the Prince: And therefore He hoped "his Highneſs would excuſe him, if He made Choice of ſuch Weapons as "He could beſt uſe; and therefore He reſolved to fight on Foot with a "Caſe of Piſtols only;" which the Prince willingly conſented to. And without Doubt They had met the next Morning, the Earl having choſen Sir *George Villiers* for his Second; but that the Lord *Gerard's* coming to the Earl ſo often, with whom He had no Acquaintance, had been ſo much obſerved, that ſome of the Lords who had been preſent at the Debate at the Board, and heard ſome Replies which had been made, and thence concluded that ill Offices had been done, watched them Both ſo narrowly, and cauſed the Town-Gates to be ſhut, that They diſcovered enough, notwithſtanding the Denial of Both Parties, to prevent their Meeting; and afterwards interpoſed till a Reconciliation was made: And the Prince ever afterwards had a good Reſpect for the Earl.

After the Murder of the King, the Earl of *Southampton* remained in his own Houſe, without the leaſt Application to thoſe Powers which had made themſelves ſo terrible, and which ſeemed to reſolve to root out the whole Party as well as the Royal Family; and would not receive a Civility from any of them: And when *Cromwell* was near his Houſe in the Country, upon the Marriage of his Son in thoſe Parts, and had a Purpoſe to have

made a Viſit to him; upon a private Notice thereof, He immediately removed to another Houſe at a greater Diſtance. He ſent frequently ſome truſty Perſon to the King with ſuch Preſents of Money, as He could receive out of the Fortune They had left to him, which was ſcarce enough to ſupport him in that Retirement: And after the Battle of *Worceſter*, when the Rebels had ſet a Price upon the King's Head, and denounced the moſt terrible Judgment upon any Perſon, and his Poſterity, that ſhould preſume to give any Shelter or Aſſiſtance to *Charles Stuart* towards his Eſcape; He ſent a faithful Servant to all thoſe Perſons, who in Reſpect of their Fidelity and Activity were moſt like to be truſted upon ſuch an Occaſion, that They ſhould advertiſe the King, "that He would moſt willingly receive him into "his Houſe, and provide a Ship for his Eſcape." And his Majeſty received this Advertiſement from him the Day before He was ready to embark in a ſmall Veſſel prepared for him in *Suſſex*; which his Majeſty always remembered, as a worthy Teſtimony of his Affection and Courage in ſo general a Conſternation. And the Earl was uſed to ſay, "that after that miraculous "Eſcape, how diſmal ſoever the Proſpect was, He had ſtill a Confidence "of his Majeſty's Reſtoration."

HIS own natural Diſpoſition inclined to melancholick; and his Retirement from all Converſation, in which He might have given ſome Vent to his own Thoughts, with the Diſcontinuance of all thoſe bodily Exerciſes and Recreations to which He had been accuſtomed, brought many Diſeaſes upon him, which made his Life leſs pleaſant to him; ſo that from the Time of the King's Return, between the Gout and the Stone, He underwent great Affliction. Yet upon the happy Return of his Majeſty He ſeemed to recover great Vigour of Mind, and undertook the Charge of High Treaſurer with much Alacrity and Induſtry, as long as He had any Hope to get a Revenue ſettled proportionable to the Expenſe of the Crown (towards which his Intereſt and Authority and Counſel contributed very much), or to reduce the Expenſe of the Court within the Limits of the Revenue. But when He diſcerned that the laſt did and would ſtill make the former impoſſible (upon which He made as frequent and lively Repreſentations as He thought himſelf obliged to do), and when He ſaw Irregularities and Exceſſes to abound, and to overflow all the Banks which ſhould reſtrain them; He grew more diſpirited, and weary of that Province, which expoſed him to the Reproaches which others ought to undergo, and which ſupplied him not with Authority to prevent them. And He had then withdrawn from the Burden, which He infinitely deſired to be eaſed of, but out of Conſcience of his Duty to the King, who He knew would ſuffer in it; and that the People who knew his Affections very well, and already opened their Mouths wide againſt the Licenſe of the Court, would believe it worſe and incurable if He quitted the Station He was in. This, and this only, prevailed with him ſtill to undergo that Burden, even when He knew that They who enjoyed the Benefit of it were as weary that He ſhould be diſquieted with it.

HE was a Man of great and exemplary Virtue and Piety, and very regular in his Devotions; yet was not generally believed by the Biſhops to have an Affection keen enough for the Government of the Church, becauſe He was willing and deſirous, that Somewhat more might have been done to gratify the *Preſbyterians* than They thought juſt. But the Truth is; He had a perfect Deteſtation of all the Preſbyterian Principles, nor had ever had any Converſation with their Perſons, having during all thoſe wicked Times ſtrictly obſerved the Devotions preſcribed by the Church of *England*; in the Performance whereof He had always an orthodox Chaplain, one of thoſe

deprived of their Eſtates by that Government, which diſpoſed of the Church as well as of the State. But it is very true, that upon the Obſervation of the great Power and Authority which the *Preſbyterians* uſurped and were poſſeſſed of, even when *Cromwell* did all He could to diveſt them of it, and applied all his Intereſt to oppreſs or ſuppreſs them, inſomuch as They did often give a Check to and divert many of his Deſigns; He did believe that their Numbers and their Credit had been much greater than in Truth they were. And then ſome Perſons, who had Credit with him by being thought to have an equal Averſion from them, perſuaded him to believe, that They would be ſatisfied with very eaſy Conceſſions, which would bring no Prejudice or Inconvenience to the Church. And this Imagination prevailed with him, and more with others who loved them not, to wiſh that there might be ſome Indulgence towards them. But that which had the ſtrongeſt Influence upon him, and which made him leſs apprehenſive of the Venom of any other Sect, was the extreme Jealouſy He had of the Power and Malignity of the *Roman Catholicks*; whoſe Behaviour from the Time of the Suppreſſion of the Regal Power, and more ſcandalouſly at and from the Time of the Murder of the King, had very much irreconciled him towards them: And He did believe, that the King and the Duke of *York* had a better Opinion of their Fidelity, and leſs Jealouſy of their Affections, than They deſerved; and ſo thought there could not be too great an Union of all other Intereſts to control the Exorbitance of that. And upon this Argument, with his private Friends, He was more paſſionate than in any other.

He had a marvellous Zeal and Affection for the Royal Family; inſomuch as the two Sons of the Duke of *York* falling Both into Diſtempers (of which They Both ſhortly after died) very few Days before his Death, He was ſo marvellouſly affected with it, that many believed the Trouble of it, or a Preſage what might befall the Kingdom by it, haſtened his Death ſome Hours: And in the Agony of Death, the very Morning He died, He ſent to know how They did; and ſeemed to receive ſome Relief, when the Meſſenger returned with the News, that They were Both alive and in ſome Degree mended.

The King reſolves to put the Treaſury into Commiſſion.

The next Day after his Death, which was about the End of *May*, the King called the Chancellor into his Cloſet; and, the Duke of *York* being only preſent, told him, "that He could think of no Man fit to be Treaſurer, and therefore reſolved, as He had long done, to put that Office into "Commiſſion;" and then aſked, "who ſhould be Commiſſioners:" To which He anſwered, "the Buſineſs would be much better done by a ſingle "Officer, if He could think of a fit one; for Commiſſioners never had, never would do, that Buſineſs well." The Duke of *York* ſaid, "that He "believed it would be beſt done by Commiſſion; it had been ſo managed "during all the ill Times" (for from the Beginning of the Troubles there had been no Treaſurer): "And He had obſerved (and the King found the "Benefit of it), that though Sir *William Compton* was an extraordinary "Perſon, and better qualified than moſt Men for that Charge, yet ſince his "Deceaſe, that his Majeſty had put the Office of the Ordnance under the "Government of Commiſſioners, it was in much better Order, and the King "was better ſerved there than He had ever been; and He believed He "would be ſo likewiſe in the Office of the Treaſury, if fit Perſons were "choſen for it, who might have Nothing elſe to do." And the King ſeemed to be of the ſame Mind.

The Chancellor adviſes him againſt it.

The Chancellor replied, "that He was very ſorry, that They were Both "ſo much delighted with the Function of Commiſſioners, which were more "ſuitable

"ſuitable to the modelling a Commonwealth, than for the Support of Mo-
"narchy: That during the late Troubles, whilſt the Parliament exerciſed
"the Government, They reduced it as faſt as They could to the Form of
"a Commonwealth; and then no Queſtion the putting the Treaſury into
"the Hands of Commiſſioners was much more ſuitable to the reſt of the
"Model, than it could be under a ſingle Perſon. Beſides, having no Re-
"venue of their own, but being to raiſe one according to their Inventions
"and proportionable to their own Occaſions, it could never be well col-
"lected or ordered by old Officers, who were obliged to Forms which would
"not be agreeable to their neceſſary Tranſactions: So that new Miniſters
"were to be made for new Employments, who might be obliged punctually
"to obſerve their new Orders, without any Superiority over each other, but
"a joint Obedience to the ſupreme Authority. But when *Cromwell* aſſumed
"the entire Government into his own Hands, He cancelled all thoſe Re-
"publican Rules and Forms, and appointed inferiour Perſons to ſeveral
"Functions, and reſerved the whole Diſpoſition to himſelf, and was his
"own High Treaſurer: And it was well known that He reſolved, as ſoon
"as He ſhould be able to reduce Things to the Forms He intended, to can-
"cel all thoſe Commiſſions, and inveſt ſingle Perſons in the Government of
"thoſe Provinces."

HE ſaid, "He would not take upon him to ſay any Thing of the Office
"of the Ordnance, where the Commiſſioners were his Friends; only He
"might ſay, that that Kind of Adminiſtration had not been yet long enough
"known to have a good Judgment made of it: However, that it was of ſo
"different a Nature from the Office of the Treaſury, that no Obſervation of
"the one could be applied to the other. The Ordnance was converſant
"only with Smiths and Carpenters, and other Artificers and Handicrafts-
"men, with whom all their Tranſactions were: Whereas the Treaſury had
"much to do with the Nobility and chief Gentry of the Kingdom; muſt
"have often Recourſe to the King himſelf for his particular Directions, to
"the Privy Council for their Aſſiſtance and Advice, to the Judges for their
"Reſolutions in Matters of Difficulty; and if the Miniſters of it were not
"of that Quality and Degree, that They might have free Recourſe to all
"thoſe, and find Reſpect from them, his Majeſty's Service would notoriouſly
"ſuffer. And that the White Staff itſelf, in the Hands of a Perſon eſteemed,
"did more to the bringing in ſeveral Branches of the Revenue, by the Obe-
"dience and Reverence all Officers paid to it, than any Orders from Com-
"miſſioners could do: And that how mean an Opinion ſoever ſome Men
"had of the Faculties of the late excellent Officer for that Adminiſtration, his
"Majeſty would find by Experience, that the vaſt Sums of Money, which
"He had borrowed in theſe late Years, had been in a great Meaſure pro-
"cured upon the general Confidence all Men had in the Honour and Juſtice
"of the Treaſurer; and that the Credit of Commiſſioners would never be
"able to ſupply ſuch Neceſſities."

THE King ſaid, "He was not at all of his Opinion, and doubted not his
"Buſineſs would be much better done by Commiſſioners; and therefore He
"ſhould ſpeak to the Nomination of thoſe, ſince He was ſure He could pro-
"poſe no ſingle Perſon fit for it." To which the Chancellor anſwered, "that
"He thought it much harder to find a worthy Man, who would be perſuaded
"to accept it in the Diſorder in which his Affairs were, than a Man who
"might be very fit for it: And that if that Subject who had the greateſt For-
"tune in *England* and the moſt general Reputation would receive it, his Ma-
"jeſty would be no Loſer in conferring it on ſuch a one; and till ſuch a one

"might be found, He might put it into Commiſſion. But," He ſaid, "He perceived well, that He would not approve the old Courſe in the "Choice of Commiſſioners; who had always been the Keeper of the Great "Seal, and the two Secretaries of State, and two other of the principal Per- "ſons of the Council, beſides the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who uſed "to be the ſole Perſon of the *Quorum*."

NEITHER the King nor Duke ſeemed to like any of thoſe; and the Chancellor plainly diſcerned from the Beginning that They were reſolved upon the Perſons, though his Opinion was aſked: And the King ſaid, "He would "chooſe ſuch Perſons, whether Privy Counſellors or not, who might have "Nothing elſe to do, and were rough and illnatured Men, not to be moved "with Civilities or Importunities in the Payment of Money; but would "apply it all to his preſent Neceſſities, till ſome new Supplies might be "gotten for the Payment of thoſe Debts, which were firſt neceſſary to be "paid. That He, the Chancellor, had ſo much Buſineſs already upon "his Hands, that He could not attend this other; and the Secretaries "had enough to do: So He would have none of thoſe." And then He named Sir *Thomas Clifford*, who was newly of the Council and Controller of the Houſe, and Sir *William Coventry*; and ſaid, "He did not think "there ſhould be many:" And the Duke then named Sir *John Duncombe*, as a Man of whom He had heard well, and every Body knew He was intimate with Sir *William Coventry*. The King ſaid, "He thought They three "would be enough, and that a greater Number would but make the Diſ- "patch of all Buſineſs the more ſlow."

THE Chancellor ſaid, "He doubted thoſe Perſons would not have Credit "and Authority enough to go through the neceſſary Affairs of that Pro- "vince; that for his own Part, He was not deſirous to meddle in it; He "had indeed too much Buſineſs to do: That He had no Objection to the "three Perſons named, but that He thought them not known and eſteemed "enough for that Employment; and that it would be very incongruous to "bring Sir *John Duncombe*, who was a private Country Gentleman, and ut- "terly unacquainted with Buſineſs of that Nature, to ſit in equal Authority "with Privy Counſellors, and in Affairs which would be often debated at "the Council-Table, where He could not be preſent." And He put his Majeſty in Mind, "that He muſt put the Lord *Aſhley* out of his Office of "Chancellor of the Exchequer, if He did not make him Commiſſioner of "the Treaſury, and of the *Quorum*:" And concluded, "that if He did "not name the General, and ſome other Perſon that might give ſome Luſtre "to the others, the Work would not be done as it ought to be; for many "Perſons would be ſometimes obliged to attend upon the Treaſury, who "would not think thoſe Gentlemen enough ſuperiour to them, how qua- "lified ſoever."

THE King ſaid, "He could eaſily provide againſt the Exception to "Sir *John Duncombe*, by making him a Privy Counſellor; and He did "not care if He added the General to them." The Lord *Aſhley* gave him ſome Trouble, and He ſaid enough to make it manifeſt that He thought him not fit to be amongſt them: Yet He knew not how to put him out of his Place; but gave Direction for preparing the Commiſſion for the Treaſury to the Perſons named before, and made the Lord *Aſhley* only one of the Commiſſioners, and a major Part to make a *Quorum*; which would quickly bring the Government of the whole Buſineſs into the Hands of thoſe three who were deſigned for it. And *Aſhley* rather choſe to be degraded, than to diſpute it.

Commiſſioners of the Treaſury appointed.

THE King expected, that as ſoon as the Ambaſſadours ſhould meet at the *Hague*, a Ceſſation would be the firſt Thing that would be agreed upon: And the *French* Ambaſſadours did in the firſt Place propoſe it, and in ſuch a Manner, as made it evident that They depended upon it as a Thing reſolved upon; and their Maſter had with their Conſent diſmiſſed his own Fleet, and theirs was yet in their Ports. Nor did the *Dutch* ſeem to refuſe it; but anſwered, "that the adjuſting all Things in Order to a Ceſſation "would require as much Time as would ſerve to finiſh the Treaty, conſi- "dering all material Points were upon the Matter already ſtated and agreed "upon, the King having already choſen the Alternative:" And notwithſtanding all the Earneſtneſs uſed by the *French* Ambaſſadours, no other Anſwer could be obtained as to a Ceſſation; which, together with the ſupercilious Behaviour of the Commiſſioners from *Holland*, made it apparent, that They had no other Mind at that Time to Peace, than as They were compelled to it by *France*, that was impatient to have it concluded. They would not hear any Mention for the Redelivery of *Poleroone*, "which," They ſaid, "the King of *France* had promiſed ſhould not be demanded;" and as little for any Recompenſe in Money; nor would ſuffer the Merchant-Deputies from the *Engliſh* Company to go to *Amſterdam*, to confer with the *Eaſt-India* Company there for any Compoſition. It quickly appeared, that They had Revenge in their Hearts for their laſt Year's Affront and Damage at the *Flie*; and *De Wit* had often ſaid, "that before any Peace They would "leave ſome ſuch Mark of their having been upon the *Engliſh* Coaſt, as "the *Engliſh* had left of their having been upon that of *Holland*."

Negotiations at Breda.

The Dutch *defer agreeing to a Ceſſation.*

AFTER the Treaty was entered into, about the Beginning of *June De Ruyter* came with the Fleet out of the *Wierings*, and joining with the reſt from the *Texel* ſailed for the Coaſt of *England*: And having a fair Wind ſtood for the River of *Thames*; which put the County of *Kent* into ſuch an Alarm, that all near the Sea left their Houſes and fled into the Country. The Earl of *Winchelſea*, who was Lord Lieutenant of that County, was at that Time Ambaſſadour at *Conſtantinople*, and the Deputy-Lieutenants had all equal Authority: So that no Man had Power to command in that large County in ſo general a Diſtraction. Hereupon the King ſent down Lieutenant General *Middleton* with Commiſſion to draw all the Trainbands together, and to command all the Forces that could be raiſed: And He immediately went thither, and was very well obeyed, and quickly drew all the Trainbands of Horſe and Foot to *Rocheſter*; and other Troops reſorted to him from the neighbour Counties, all the People expreſſing a great Alacrity in being commanded by him.

The Attempts of the Dutch *upon* Sheerneſs *and* Chatham.

THERE had been enough Diſcourſe all that Year of erecting a Fort at *Sheerneſs* for the Defence of the River: And the King had made two Journies thither in the Winter, and had given ſuch Orders to the Commiſſioners of the Ordnance for the overſeeing and finiſhing the Fortifications, that every Body believed that Work done; it having been the principal Defence and Proviſion directed and depended upon (as hath been ſaid before), when the Reſolution had been taken for the ſtanding only upon the Defence for this Summer. But whatever had been thought or directed, very little had been done. There were a Company or two of very good Soldiers there under excellent Officers; but the Fortifications were ſo weak and unfiniſhed, and all other Proviſions ſo entirely wanting, that the *Dutch* Fleet no ſooner approached within a Diſtance, but with their Cannon They beat all the Works flat, and drove all the Men from the Ground: Which as ſoon as

They had done, with their Boats They landed Men, and ſeemed reſolved to fortify and keep it.

THIS put the Country into a Flame, and the News of it exceedingly diſturbed the King. He knew the Conſequence of the Place, and how eaſily it might have been ſecured, and was the more troubled that it had been neglected: And with what Loſs ſoever, it muſt be preſently recovered out of thoſe Hands. The General was immediately ordered to march to *Chatham*, for the Security of the Navy, with ſuch Troops of Horſe and Foot as could be preſently drawn together out of the Guards, and from the neighbour Counties; and the City appeared very forward to ſend ſuch Regiments of their Trainbands as ſhould be required. When the General came to *Chatham*, He found *Middleton* in ſo good a Poſture, and ſo good a Body of Men, that He had no Apprehenſion of any Attempt the *Dutch* could make at Land; and He writ very cheerful and confident Letters to the King and the Duke, "that if the Enemy ſhould make any Attempt, which He believed They durſt not do, They would repent it. That He had put a "Chain over the River, which would hinder them from coming up: And if "They ſhould adventure to land any where, He would quickly beat them "to their Ships;" as no Doubt He had been very well able to have done.

THERE was indeed no Danger of their landing, and They were too wiſe to think of it: Their Buſineſs was in an Element They had more Confidence in and more Power upon. They had good Intelligence how looſely all Things were left in the River: And therefore as ſoon as the Tide came to help them, They ſtood full up the River, without any Conſideration of the Chain, which their Ships immediately brake in Pieces, and paſſed without the leaſt Pauſe; there being either no ſuch Device to be made that can obſtruct ſuch an Enterpriſe, or that which was made was ſo weak, that it was of no Signification, but to raiſe an unſeaſonable Confidence in unſkilful Men, that being diſappointed muſt increaſe the Confuſion, as it did. For all Men were ſo confounded to ſee the *Dutch* Fleet advance over the Chain, which They looked upon as a Wall of Braſs, that They knew not what They were to do.

THE General was of a Conſtitution and Temper ſo void of Fear, that there could appear no Signs of Diſtraction in him: Yet it was plain enough that He knew not what Orders to give. There were two or three Ships of the Royal Navy negligently, if not treacherouſly, left in the River, which might have been very eaſily drawn into Safety, and could be of no imaginable Uſe in the Place where they then were: Into one of thoſe the General put himſelf, and invited the young Gentlemen who were Volunteers to accompany him; which They readily did in great Numbers, only with Pikes in their Hands. But ſome of his Friends whiſpered to him, "how unadviſed that Reſolution was, and how deſperate, without Poſſibility of Succeſs, the whole Fleet of the Enemy approaching as faſt as the Tide would "enable them." And ſo He was prevailed with to put himſelf again on Shore: Which except He had done, both himſelf and two or three hundred Gentlemen of the Nobility and prime Gentry of the Kingdom had inevitably periſhed; for all thoſe Ships, and ſome Merchant-Men laden and ready to put to Sea, were preſently in a Flame; the *Dutch*, knowing that They could not carry them off, giving Order to burn them, the General ſtanding upon the Shore, and not knowing what Remedy to apply to all this Miſchief. The People of *Chatham*, which is naturally an Army of Seamen and Officers of the Navy, who might and ought to have ſecured all thoſe Ships, which They had Time enough to have done, were in Diſtraction;

tion; their chief Officers having applied all thoſe Boats and lighter Veſſels which ſhould have towed up the Ships, to carry away their own Goods and Houſholdſtuff, and given what They left behind for loſt. And without Doubt, if the *Dutch* had proſecuted the preſent Advantage They had, with that Circumſpection and Courage that was neceſſary, They might have fired the Royal Navy at *Chatham*, and taken or deſtroyed all the Ships which lay higher in the River, and ſo fully revenged themſelves for what They had ſuffered at the *Flie:* But They thought They had done enough, and ſo made Uſe of the Ebb to carry them back again.

Great Conſternation in the City and Court.

BUT the Noiſe of this, and the Flame of the Ships which were burned, made it eaſily believed in the City of *London*, that the Enemy had done all that They conceived They might have done: They thought that They were landed in many Places, and that their Fleet was come up as far as *Greenwich*. Nor was the Confuſion there greater than it was in the Court itſelf: Where They who had moſt advanced the War, and reproached all them who had been or were thought to be againſt it, "as Men who had no pub-"lick Spirits, and were not ſolicitous for the Honour and Glory of the Na-"tion;" and who had never ſpoken of the *Dutch* but with Scorn and Contempt, as a Nation rather worthy to be cudgelled than fought with; were now the moſt dejected Men that can be imagined, railed very bitterly at thoſe who had adviſed the King to enter into that War, "which had already conſumed "ſo many gallant Men, and would probably ruin the Kingdom," and wiſhed "that a Peace, as the only Hope, were made upon any Terms." In a Word; the Diſtraction and Conſternation was ſo great in Court and City, as if the *Dutch* had not been only Maſters of the River, but had really landed an Army of one hundred thouſand Men.

THEY who remember that Conjuncture, and were then preſent in the Galleries and privy Lodgings at *Whitehall*, whither all the World flocked with equal Liberty, can eaſily call to Mind many Inſtances of ſuch wild Deſpair and even ridiculous Apprehenſions, that I am willing to forget, and would not that the leaſt Mention of them ſhould remain: And if the King's and Duke's perſonal Compoſure had not reſtrained Men from expreſſing their Fears, there wanted not ſome who would have adviſed them to have left the City. And there was a Lord, who would be thought one of the greateſt Soldiers in *Europe*, to whom the Cuſtody of the *Tower* was committed, who lodging there only one Night, declared "that it was not tenable," and deſired not to be charged with it: And thereupon many, who had carried their Money and Goods thither, removed them from thence that they might be farther from the River. Nor did this unreaſonable Diſtemper paſs away, when it was known that the *Dutch* Fleet had not only left the River, but had taken away all their Men from *Sheerneſs*, which was a Manifeſtation very ſufficient that They had no Deſign upon the Land: But there remained ſtill ſuch a Chagrin in the Minds of many, as if They would return again; in which They were confirmed, when They heard that They were ſtill upon the Coaſts, and gave the ſame Alarm now to *Eſſex* and *Suffolk*, as They had done to *Kent*, not without making a Shew as if They meant to attempt *Harwich* and *Landguard Point*; which drew all the Trainbands of thoſe Counties to the Seaſide, and the Duke of *York* went thither to conduct them, if there ſhould be Occaſion.

The King adviſed to convene the Parliament during the Prorogation.

IN this Perplexity the King was not at Eaſe, and the leſs that every Man took upon him to diſcourſe to him of the Diſtemper of the People generally over the Kingdom, and to give him Counſel what was to be done: And ſome Men had adviſed him to call the Parliament, which at the laſt Seſſion

had been prorogued to the twentieth of *October*; and it was now the Middle of *June*. And ſurely moſt diſcerning Men thought ſuch a Conjuncture ſo unſeaſonable for the Council of a Parliament, that if it had been then ſitting, the moſt wholeſome Advice that could be given would be to ſeparate them, till that Occaſion ſhould be over, which could be beſt provided for by a more contracted Council: However not knowing elſe what to do diſpoſed the King to incline to that Remedy. And it being a current Opinion, or rather an unqueſtioned Certainty, that upon a Prorogation a Parliament cannot be convened before the Day, though upon an Adjournment it may; They had brought Mr. *Prynne* privately to the King to ſatisfy him, "that upon an extraordinary Occaſion He might do it:" And his Judgment, which in all other Caſes He did enough undervalue, very much confirmed him in what He had a Mind to.

In the Beginning of the Summer, when He had reſolved to have no Fleet at Sea, there were many Reaſons which induced him to increaſe his Forces at Land. And that He might do it without Jealouſy of the People, He gave Commiſſion to three or four Perſons of the Nobility, of great Fortunes and good Names, to raiſe Regiments of Foot, and to others for Troops of Horſe; which was done at their own Charge, and with wonderful Expedition: And upon their firſt Muſters They all received one Month's Pay. Of theſe Levies ſome were ſent to repoſſeſs *Sheerneſs*, and extraordinary Care was taken for the better Advancement of thoſe Fortifications; and others were diſpoſed to other Poſts upon the Coaſt: But it was in View, that upon the Expiration of that Month, there muſt be new Pay provided for thoſe Regiments and Troops. Then the Trainbands, which had been drawn together, had continued for one Month, which was as long as the Law required: And now They required, or were ſaid to require, to be relieved or diſmiſſed, or that They might receive Pay. There were Diſcontents and Emulations upon Command; and They who had uſually profeſſed, "that They would wil-"lingly ſerve the King in the Offices of Corporals or Serjeants, whatever "Command They formerly had," now diſputed all the Punctilios, and would not receive Orders from any who had been formerly in inferiour Offices. And all theſe Waywardneſſes were brought to the King, as Matters of the higheſt Conſequence, who found Difficulty enough in determining Points of more Importance.

The Privy Council conſulted about the reaſſembling the Parliament.

They who for their own private Deſigns deſired that the Parliament might meet, and cared not in what Humour They met, urged the King very importunately, "that He would iſſue out a Proclamation to ſummon them, "as the only Expedient to give himſelf Eaſe, and to provide for all that was "to be done:" And his Majeſty was moſt inclined to it, and in Truth reſolved it; though knowing that it was contrary to the Senſe of many, He reſolved to debate it at the Council. And there He told them, "that They "all ſaw the Streights that He was in, the Inſolence of the Enemy, and the "general Diſtemper of the Nation, which made it manifeſt that it was ne-"ceſſary for him to have an Army, that might be ready againſt any Thing "that might fall out. That He had no Money, nor knew where to get "any; nor could imagine any other Way to provide againſt the Miſchiefs "which were in View, than by calling the Parliament to come together, of "which or any other Expedient He was willing to receive their Advice;" expreſſing ſo much of his own Senſe, that it was plain enough that He thought that Remedy the beſt that could be applied. Three or four of thoſe who ſate at the lower End of the Board, and who were well enough known to have given the Counſel, and to be induſtrious that it might be followed,

enlarged themſelves in the Debate, "that the Soldiers could not be kept to-"gether without Money; and They could not adviſe any other Way to get "Money but by the convening the Parliament, which They were confident "might juſtly and regularly be done:" And They deſired, "that They "who were of another Opinion would propoſe ſome other Way how the "King might get Money."

THE Chancellor diſcerned that the Matter was already concluded, what Advice ſoever ſhould be given; and that the three new Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, ſince They could find no Way to procure Money, had been very importunate with the King to try that Expedient, and the more, becauſe They well knew that He was againſt it, He having not been at all reſerved upon ſeveral Occaſions in private Diſcourſes, when They were preſent, to give many Reaſons againſt it: And He knew as well, that They would gladly make any Uſe of any Expreſſions which might fall from him, when the Remembrance might be applied to his Prejudice. Yet his natural Unwarineſs in ſuch Caſes with Reference to himſelf, when He thought his Majeſty's Service concerned, to which He did really believe the preſent Advice would produce much Prejudice, prevailed with him to diſſuade it.

The Chancellor oppoſes it.

HE ſaid, "He knew well upon what Diſadvantage He ſpake, and how "unpopular a Thing it was to ſpeak againſt the convening the Parliament "in thoſe Streights, which ſeemed to be capable of no other Remedy: Yet "ſince He thought the Remedy neither proper to the Diſeaſe, nor that it "could be applied in Time, He could not concur with thoſe who adviſed "it. That moſt Men who had any Knowledge in the Law did confeſs, "that when the Parliament ſtood prorogued to a certain Day, the convening "them upon a ſooner Day was very doubtful; and to him, upon all the "Diſquiſition He could make, it was very clear that it could not be done: "And therefore He deſired the Judges might be conſulted in that Point, "before any Reſolution ſhould be taken. That the Temper of Both Houſes "was well known; and that it could not but be preſumed, that when They "came together, the firſt Debate They would fall upon would be of the "Manner of their coming together, and whether They were in a Capacity "to act: And He doubted there would be very few who would be for-"ward to paſs an Act in a Seaſon, when the Validity of it might be queſ-"tioned by thoſe who had no Mind to pay any Obedience to it. And then "if their Meeting were only to confer together upon all Occurrences, and "They might preſume of Liberty to ſay what They had a Mind to ſay, "without Power to conclude any Thing; it was well worth the conſidering, "whether, in ſo general a Diſtemper, ſuch an Aſſembly might not inter-"rupt all other Conſultations and Expedients, and yet propoſe none, and "ſo increaſe the Confuſion. If the Neceſſities were ſo urgent, that it was "abſolutely neceſſary that a Parliament ſhould be convened, and that which "ſtood prorogued could not lawfully reaſſemble till the twentieth of *Oc-*"*tober*, as He was confident it could not; there was no Queſtion to be "made, but that the King might lawfully by his Proclamation preſently "diſſolve the prorogued Parliament, and ſend out his Writs to have a new "Parliament, which might regularly meet a Month before the prorogued "Parliament could come together." And many of the Council were of Opinion, that it would moſt conduce to his Majeſty's Service to diſſolve the one, and to call another Parliament.

THIS was an Advice They believed no Man had the Courage to make, and were ſorry to find ſo many of the Opinion, which They had rather ſhould have appeared to be ſingle. Many very warmly oppoſed this Expe-

dient, magnified the Affections and Inclinations of Both Houſes: "And "though there appeared ſome ill Humour in them at their laſt being toge- "ther, and Averſion to give any Money for the preſent; yet in the Main "their Affections were very right for Church and State. And that the "King was never to hope to ſee a Parliament better conſtituted for his Ser- "vice, or ſo many of the Members at his Diſpoſal: But that He muſt ex- "pect that the *Preſbyterians* would be choſen in all Places, and that They "who were moſt eminent now for oppoſing all that He deſired would be "choſen, and all They who were moſt zealous for his Service would be "carefully excluded;" which was a Fancy that ſunk very deep in the Minds of the Biſhops, though their beſt Friends thought them like to find more Friends and a ſtronger Support in any, than They would have in that Parliament. But the King quickly declared his Confidence in the Parliament that was prorogued, and his Reſolution not to diſſolve it; which put an End to that Debate. And the other was again reſumed, "what the King "was to do towards the raiſing Money; or how He ſhould be able to "maintain his Army, if He ſhould defer calling the Parliament till the Day "upon which They were to aſſemble by the Prorogation:" And all Men were to reſtrain their Diſcourſe to that Point.

THE old Argument, "that there could be no other Way found out," was renewed, and urged with more Earneſtneſs and Confidence; and that They who were againſt it might be obliged to offer their Advice what other Courſe ſhould be taken: And this was often demanded, in a Manner not uſual in that Place, as a Reproach to the Perſons. His Majeſty himſelf with ſome Quickneſs was pleaſed to aſk the Chancellor, "what He did adviſe." To which He replied, "that if in Truth what was propoſed was in the Na- "ture of it not practicable, or being practiſed could not attain the Effect "propoſed, it ought to be laid aſide, that Men might unbiaſſed apply their "Thoughts to find out ſome other Expedient. That He thought it very "clear that the Parliament could not aſſemble, though the Proclamation "ſhould iſſue out that very Hour, within leſs than twenty Days; and that "if They were met, and believed themſelves lawfully qualified to grant a "Supply of Money, all Men knew the Formality of that Tranſaction would "require ſo much Time, that Money could not be raiſed Time enough to "raiſe an Army, or to maintain that Part of it that was raiſed, to prevent "the landing of an Enemy that was already upon the Coaſt, and (as many "thought or ſeemed to think) ready every Day to make their Deſcent: And "yet the ſending out a Proclamation for reaſſembling the Parliament would "inevitably put an End to all other Counſels. That for his Part He did "believe, that the *Dutch* had already ſatisfied themſelves in the Affront "They had given, and could not be in any Condition to purſue it, or have "Men enough on Board to make a Deſcent, without the King's having "Notice of it; and that the *Dutch*, without a Conjunction with the *French*, "had not Strength for ſuch an Undertaking: And that the *French* had no "ſuch Purpoſe his Majeſty had all the Aſſurance poſſible, and that their "Fleet was gone far from the Coaſt of *England*. And his Majeſty had "Reaſon to believe, that the preſent Treaty would put an End to this War "in a ſhort Time, though the Power and Artifice of *De Wit* had prevented "a Ceſſation."

"HOWEVER, for the preſent Support of thoſe Troops which were neceſſary "to guard the Coaſts, ſince Money could not be found for their preſent con- "ſtant Pay, without which free Quarter could not be avoided; the only "Way that appeared to him to be practicable, and to avoid the laſt Evil,

" would be, to write Letters to the Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants of " thoſe Counties where the Troops were obliged to remain, *that They would* " *cauſe Proviſions of all Kinds to be brought into thoſe Quarters*, that ſo the " Soldiers might not be compelled to ſtraggle abroad to provide their own Victual, which would end in the worſt Kind of free Quarter: And that the like " Letters might be written to the neighbour Counties, wherein no Soldiers " were quartered, to raiſe Money by Way of Contribution or Loan, which " ſhould be abated out of the next Impoſitions, that ſo the Troops might be " enabled to ſtay and continue in the Poſts where They were, for Defence " of the Kingdom; in which thoſe other Counties had their Share in the " Benefit, and without which They muſt themſelves be expoſed to the Diſorder of the Soldiers, and poſſibly to the Invaſion of the Enemy."

IT is very probable, that in the Earneſtneſs of this Debate, and the frequent Interruptions which were given, He might uſe that Expreſſion (which was afterwards objected againſt him) " of raiſing Contribution as had been " in the late civil War." Whatever it was He ſaid, it was evident at the Time that ſome Men were well pleaſed with it, as Somewhat They meant to make Uſe of hereafter, in which his Innocence made him little concerned.

THE Concluſion was, though many of the Lords ſpake againſt it, and much the major Part thought it not counſellable; that a Proclamation ſhould forthwith iſſue out, to require all the Members of Parliament to meet upon a Day appointed in the Beginning of *Auguſt*, to conſult upon the great Affairs of the Kingdom: And this Proclamation was preſently iſſued accordingly. *The Parliament ſummoned to meet.*

ALL this Time the Treaty proceeded at *Breda*, as faſt as the inſolent Humour of the *Dutch* would ſuffer it. The *French* King declared himſelf much offended with their Proceedings at Sea: And his Ambaſſadours ſpake ſo loud, that the *States* gave Order to their Deputies to bring the Treaty to a Concluſion; and ſent ſuch Orders to *De Ruyter*, that there was no more Hoſtility of any Moment; only the Fleet remained at Sea, that it might appear They were Maſters of it. It cannot be denied that the *French* Ambaſſadours, except in what referred to *Poleroone*, behaved themſelves as candidly as could be wiſhed: And it is probable, that the ſame Reaſon which moved the *French* to uſe all poſſible Diligence to bring the Treaty to an End, prevailed likewiſe with the *Dutch* to uſe all the Delays They could, that it might be prolonged. *The Treaty advanced.*

THOUGH there was no War declared, it had been long notorious that *Flanders* would be invaded: And it was as notorious, that there was no Proviſion made there towards a Reſiſtance or Defence; the Marquis of *Caſtelle Roderigo*, who came Governour thither with a great Reputation, not making good the Expectation in the Sagacity He was famed for, nor offering at any Levies of Men, or mending Fortifications, until the *French* Army was upon the Borders. Then He ſent into *England* to preſs the King to aſſiſt him with an Army of Horſe and Foot; and it eaſily appeared the Nation would gladly have engaged in that War, not being willing that *Flanders* ſhould be in the Poſſeſſion of *France*: But the King was engaged not to give any Aſſiſtance to the Enemies of *France* until the Treaty ſhould be ended, which yet it was not. However He ſuffered the Earl of *Caſtle-haven*, under Pretence of recruiting a Regiment in *Flanders* which He had formerly, to raiſe a Body of one thouſand Foot, which He quickly tranſported to *Oſtend*.

THE King of *France* was impatient to march, and yet deſired the Treaty might be firſt concluded, that both himſelf and the King of *England* might

be at Liberty to enter into ſuch an Alliance as They ſhould think proper for their Intereſt: And the *Dutch*, who had no Mind that the Expedition ſhould be proſecuted, and as much feared the Conſequence of ſuch an Alliance, though They were not wiſe enough to conſider the right Means to prevent it, deſired that the Treaty might not be concluded till the Winter drew nearer. But the *French* quickly put an End to that their Hope by marching into the Heart of *Flanders*, and ſo giving them new Matter for their preſent Conſultations; not without Intimation, "that if They would not "finiſh the Treaty, that King would conclude for what concerned himſelf:" And this put an End to it. Yet there were ſome Alterations of ſmall Importance in ſome Articles of the former Treaty, beſides that of *Poleroone*, which the Ambaſſadours would not conſent to without farther Knowledge of the King's Pleaſure: And ſo one of them (Mr. *Henry Coventry*) came to attend his Majeſty to give him an Account of all Particulars, and receive his own final Determination.

The French *invade* Flanders.

THE King in the firſt Place ſent for the *Eaſt-India* Company, and let them know, "that the *Dutch* would not conſent to the former Article for "the Redelivery of *Poleroone*, nor give any Recompenſe for it; and that He "was reſolved not to depart from them, and ſo releaſe their Right without "their Conſent: And therefore that They ſhould conſider what would be "for their Good." They anſwered, "that They thought a Peace to be ſo "neceſſary for the Kingdom, that They would not that any particular In-"tereſt of theirs ſhould give any Interruption to it:" And They acknowledged, "that if the War continued, They ſhould in many Reſpects be "greater Loſers, than the Redelivery of *Poleroone* would repair; and that "They would gladly ſacrifice that Pretence to the publick Peace."

The Eaſt-India *Company give up their Claim to* Poleroone.

UPON which Anſwer the Ambaſſadour made his Report of all the Particulars which were conſented to on Both Sides in the Treaty, and what remained yet in Suſpenſe; and made Anſwer to all Queſtions which any of the Council thought fit to aſk. And the King requiring him to deliver his own Opinion upon his Obſervation, and "whether He believed, that if his Ma-"jeſty ſhould poſitively inſiſt upon what They had hitherto refuſed to con-"ſent to, the *Dutch* would chooſe to continue the War; and whether the "*French* would join with them in it:" He anſwered, "that it was very evi-"dent that the *Dutch* did not at preſent deſire the Peace, otherwiſe than to "comply with *France* and for Fear of it; and that *France* was obliged not "to abandon them in the Point of *Poleroone*, which the other would never "part with, nor give any Recompenſe for, though the *French* Ambaſſa-"dours had uſed all the Arguments to perſuade them to it. But if that "were agreed, He was confident They would be compelled to conſent to "whatſoever was elſe of Moment. And that the *French* had uſed ſome "threatening Expreſſions, upon ſome inſolent Propoſitions made by the "*Dane*, which They thought proceeded from the Inſtigation of *Holland*. "And that at his coming away, the *French* Ambaſſadours had uſed great "Freedom with him, and adviſed *in what Particulars which were yet un-*"*agreed They wiſhed his Majeſty would not conſent, and in which They could* "*not ſerve him, but believed a Time would come, in which He would be re-*"*paired for thoſe Condeſcenſions: In other Particulars He ſhould poſitively* "*inſiſt, at leaſt with ſome little Variation of Expreſſion*; in which He ex-"preſſed both his own and the Opinion of the other Ambaſſadour."

AND the Whole being in this Manner clearly ſtated, the King required all the Lords ſeverally to deliver their Judgment what He was to do; and every Man did deliver his Opinion in more or fewer Words. And it may be truly

ſaid, that, though one or two adorned their Paſſion with ſome Expreſſions of Indignation againſt the *Dutch* for their Preſumption, and as if They did believe that the Parliament would concur with the King in all Things which might vindicate his Honour from their inſolent Demands, the Advice was upon the Matter unanimous, "that the Ambaſſadours ſhould immediately "return, and conclude the Peace upon thoſe Conditions which were ſtated "at the Board." And He did preſently return: And all Matters were, within few Days after his Arrival, adjuſted, and put into proper miniſterial Hands for Engroſſment, and all Forms and Circumſtances agreed upon for the Proclamation of the Peace, and the Day appointed for the proclaiming thereof; and ſuch Forms of Paſſes as ſhould be given on all Sides to Merchants Ships (which would be impatient for Trade before the Days could be expired), in which all Ships of War ſhould be obliged to take Notice that the Peace was proclaimed.

The Privy Council adviſes the King to conclude the Treaty.

The Peace made.

ALL this was done before the Day of the Parliament's convening upon the King's Proclamation: So that there being now no Uſe of an Army, and Reaſon enough to diſband thoſe Regiments which had been raiſed towards it, his Majeſty thought it not reaſonable that They ſhould enter upon the Debate of any Buſineſs, but be continued under the former Prorogation to the Day appointed; and in this there appeared not one Perſon of a different Opinion. And ſo, upon the Day, the King went to the Houſe, and told them, "that ſince the Condition of his Affairs was not ſo full of Difficulty "as it had been when He ſent out his Proclamation, and ſince many were "of Opinion, that there might be Doubts ariſe upon the Regularity of their "Meeting; He was content to diſmiſs them till the twentieth of *October:*" And ſo They ſeparated without any Debate.

The Parliament meets, and is immediately prorogued.

THE Publick no ſooner entered into this Repoſe, than the Storm began to ariſe that deſtroyed all the Proſperity, ruined the Fortune, and ſhipwrecked all the Hopes, of the Chancellor, who had been the principal Inſtrument in the providing that Repoſe. The Parliament, that had been ſo unſeaſonably called together from their Buſineſs and Recreations, in a Seaſon of the Year that They moſt deſired to be vacant, were not pleaſed to be ſo ſoon diſmiſſed: And very great Pains were taken by thoſe, who were thought to be able to do him the leaſt Harm, becauſe They were known to be his Enemies, to perſuade the Members of Parliament, "that it was "the Chancellor only who had hindered their continuing together, and "that He had adviſed the King to diſſolve them;" which exceedingly inflamed them.

The Storm begins to ariſe againſt the Chancellor.

AND Sir *William Coventry* was ſo far from being reſerved in his Malice, that the very Day that the Parliament was diſmiſſed, after He had incenſed them againſt the Chancellor, in the Preſence of ſix or ſeven of the Members, who were not all of the ſame Mind, He declared "that if at their next Meet-"ing, which would be within little more than two Months, They had a "Mind to remove the Chancellor from the Court, They ſhould eaſily bring "it to paſs:" Of all which He had quickly Information, and had ſeveral other Advertiſements from Perſons of Honour, "that there was a ſtrong "Combination entered into againſt him;" and They mentioned ſome Particulars to have been told the King concerning him, which had exceedingly offended his Majeſty. All which Particulars, being without any Colour or Ground of Truth, He believed were Inventions (though not from thoſe who informed him) only to amuſe him.

Sir William Coventry *inceſes the Members of the Houſe of Commons againſt him.*

YET He took an Opportunity to acquaint the King with it, who, with the ſame Openneſs He had always uſed, conferred with him about his preſent

ſent Buſineſs, but only of the Buſineſs. He beſought his Majeſty to let him know, "whether He had received any Information that He had done or "ſaid ſuch and ſuch Things," which He made appear to him to be in themſelves ſo incredible and improbable, that it could hardly be in his Majeſty's Power to believe them; to which the King anſwered, "that Nobody "had told him any ſuch Thing." To which the other replied, "that He "did really think They had not, though He knew that They had bragged "They had done ſo, and thereby incenſed his Majeſty againſt him; which "They deſired ſhould be generally believed."

THE Truth is; the Chancellor was guilty of that himſelf which He had uſed to accuſe the Archbiſhop *Laud* of, that He was too proud of a good Conſcience. He knew his own Innocence, and had no Kind of Apprehenſion of being publickly charged with any Crime. He knew well He had many Enemies who had Credit with the King, and that They did him all the ill Offices They could: And He knew that the Lady's Power and Credit increaſed, and that She deſired Nothing more than to remove him from his Majeſty's Confidence; in which He never thought her to blame, ſince She well knew that He employed all the Credit He had to remove her from the Court. But He thought himſelf very ſecure in the King's Juſtice: And though his Kindneſs was much leſſened, He was confident his Majeſty would protect him from being oppreſſed, ſince He knew his Integrity; and never ſuſpected that He would conſent to his Ruin. He was in Truth weary of the Condition He was in, and had in the laſt Year undergone much Mortification; and deſired Nothing more, than to be diveſted of all other Truſts and Employments than what concerned the Chancery only, in which He could have no Rival, and in the Adminiſtration whereof He had not heard of any Complaint: And this He thought might have ſatisfied all Parties; and had ſometimes deſired the King, "that He might retire from all other Bu-"ſineſs than that of the Judicatory," for He plainly diſcerned He was not able to contend with other Struggles.

A Particular relating to the Duke of Buckingham which haſtens the Fall of the Chancellor.

I CANNOT avoid in this Place mentioning an Accident that fell out in this Time, and enlarge upon all the Circumſtances thereof, which might otherwiſe be paſſed over, but that it had an immediate Influence on the Fate of the Perſon who is ſo near his Fall. The King had been very much offended with the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had behaved himſelf much worſe towards him than could be expected from his Obligations and Diſcretion, and had been in Truth the original Cauſe of all the ill Humour which had been in Both Houſes of Parliament in the laſt Seſſion; after the End of which He went into the Country without taking his Leave of the King, and in ſeveral Places ſpake with greater Licenſe of the Court and Government, and of the Perſon of the King, than any other Perſon preſumed to do; of all which his Majeſty had Intelligence and Information, and was at that Time without Doubt more offended with him than with any Man in *England*, and had really great Provocation to Jealouſy of his Fidelity, as well as of his Reſpect and Affection. The Lord *Arlington*, as Secretary of State, had received ſeveral Informations of dangerous Words ſpoken by him againſt the King, and of his Correſpondencies with Perſons the moſt ſuſpected for ſeditious Inclinations, the Duke having made himſelf very popular amongſt the *Levellers*, and amongſt them who clamoured for Liberty of Conſcience, which Pretence He ſeemed very much to cheriſh.

An Account of the Duke's Behaviour.

THE King was very much awakened to be jealous of him, beſides his Behaviour in the Parliament, by ſome Informations He received from his own Servants. There was one *Braythwaite* a Citizen, who had been a great

Confident of *Cromwell* and of the *Council of State*, a Man of Parts, and looked upon as having a greater Intereſt with the diſcontented Party than any Man of the City. Upon the King's Return this Man fled beyond the Seas, and after near a Year's Stay there came again to *London*, but remained there as *incognito*, came not upon the *Exchange*, nor was ſeen in Publick, and returned again into *Holland*; and ſo made frequent Journies backward and forward for ſeveral Months, and then came and reſided publickly in the City. This being taken Notice of by Sir *Richard Browne*, who was Major General of the City, upon whoſe Vigilance the King very much and very juſtly depended, and the Man being well known to him, He had long endeavoured to apprehend him, till He underſtood that He was a Servant to the Duke of *Buckingham*, and in great Truſt with him, as He was; for the Duke had committed the whole Managery of his Eſtate to him, and upon his Recommendation had received many other inferiour Servants to be employed under him, all of the ſame Leven with him, and all notorious for their Diſaffection to the Church and State. The Major General, being one Day to give the King an Account of ſome Buſineſs, told him likewiſe of this Man, "as one as worthy to be ſuſpected for all diſloyal Purpoſes, and as "like to bring them to paſs, as any Man of that Condition in *England*;" and ſeemed to wonder "that the Duke would entertain ſuch a Perſon in "his Service."

AT that Time the Duke had by his Diligence, and thoſe Faculties towards Mirth in which He excelled, made himſelf very acceptable to the King; though many wondered that He could be ſo, conſidering what the King himſelf knew of him: Inſomuch that his Majeſty told him what He had been informed of his Steward, and how much He ſuffered in his Reputation for entertaining ſuch Servants. The Duke received the Animadverſion with all poſſible Submiſſion and Acknowledgment of the Obligation, and then enlarged upon the Commendation of the Man, "of his great "Abilities, and the Benefit He received by his Service;" and beſought his Majeſty "that He would vouchſafe to hear him, for He believed "He would give an Account of the State of the City, and of many Parti-"culars which related to his Majeſty's Service, better than moſt Men could "do." And the King ſhortly after ſupping at the Duke's Houſe, He found an Opportunity to preſent Mr. *Braythwaite* to him, who was a Man of a very good Aſpect, which that People uſed not to have, and of notable Inſinuation. He made the King a Narration of the whole Courſe of his Life, in which He did not endeavour to make himſelf appear a better Man than He had been reported to be; which Kind of Ingenuity, as Men call it, is a wonderful Approach towards being believed. He related "by what "Degrees, and in what Method of Conviction, He had explicated himſelf "from all thoſe ill Principles in which He had been entangled: And that it "had been a principal Motive to him to embrace the Opportunity of ſerving "the Duke, that He might totally retire from that Company and Conver-"ſation to which He had been moſt accuſtomed. And yet He thought He "had ſo much Credit with the chief of them, that They could never enter "into any active Combination, but He ſhould have Notice of it: And aſ-"ſured his Majeſty that Nothing ſhould paſs of Moment amongſt that People, "but his Majeſty ſhould have very ſeaſonable Information of it, and that "He would always ſerve him with great Fidelity." In Fine, the King was well ſatisfied with his Diſcourſe, and often afterwards upon the like Opportunities conferred with him, and believed him to be well diſpoſed to do him any Service.

During the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, in which the Duke carried himſelf ſo diſreſpectfully to the King, this Man found an Opportunity to get Acceſs to his Majeſty, which He was willing to give him; when He ſaid, "that He thought it his Duty, and according to his Obligation, to give his "Majeſty an Account of what He had lately obſerved, and of his own Reſo-"lutions." He told him, "that his Lord was of late very much altered, "and was fallen into the Acquaintance and Converſation of ſome Men of "very mean Condition, but of very deſperate Intentions; with whom He "uſed to meet at unſeaſonable Hours, and in obſcure Places, where Per-"ſons of Quality did not uſe to reſort; and that He frequently received Let-"ters from them: All which made him apprehend that there was a Deſign "on Foot, which, how unreaſonable ſoever, the Duke might be engaged "in. And for theſe and other Reaſons, and the irregular Courſe of his "Life, He was reſolved to withdraw himſelf from his Service: And that He "hoped, into what Extravagancies ſoever the Duke ſhould caſt himſelf, his "Majeſty would retain a good Opinion of him, who would never ſwerve "from his Affection and Duty."

The Information and Teſtimony, which the Lord *Arlington* brought to the King ſhortly after this Advertiſement, made the greater Impreſſion; and there were many Particulars in the Informations that could not be ſuſpected to be forged. And it appeared that there was a poor Fellow, who had a poorer Lodging about *Tower-Hill*, and profeſſed Skill in Horoſcopes, to whom the Duke often repaired in Diſguiſe in the Night: And the Lord *Arlington* had cauſed that Fellow to be apprehended, and his Pockets and his Chamber to be ſearched; where were found ſeveral Letters to the Duke of *Buckingham*, one or two whereof were in his Pocket ſealed and not ſent, and the reſt Copies, and one original Letter from the Duke to him, in all which there were many unuſual Expreſſions, which were capable of a very ill Interpretation, and could not bear a good one. This Man and ſome others were ſent cloſe Priſoners to the *Tower*, where the Lord *Arlington* and two other Privy Counſellors, by the King's Order, took their ſeveral Examinations, and confronted them with thoſe Witneſſes, who accuſed them and juſtified their Accuſations; all which were brought to the King.

And then his Majeſty was pleaſed to acquaint the Chancellor with all that had paſſed, who to that Minute had not the leaſt Imagination of any Particular relating to it: Nor had He any other Prejudice to the Perſon of the Duke (for He behaved himſelf towards him with more than ordinary Civility), than what was neceſſary for any Man to have upon Account of the Extravagancy of his Life; and which He could not be without, upon what He had often received from the Duke himſelf upon his own Knowledge. The King now ſhewed him all thoſe Examinations and Depoſitions which had been taken; and that Letter to the Fellow, "which," his Majeſty ſaid, "He knew to be every Word the Duke's own Hand;" and the Letters to the Duke from the Fellow, which ſtill gave him the Style of Prince, and mentioned what *great Things his Stars promiſed to him*, and *that He was the Darling of the People, who had ſet their Hearts and Affections and all their Hopes upon his Highneſs*, with many other fooliſh and ſome fuſtian Expreſſions. His Majeſty told him in what Places the Duke had been ſince He left *London*; "that He ſtayed few Days in any Place; and that He intended on "ſuch a Day, that was to come, to be in *Staffordſhire* at the Houſe of Sir "*Charles Wolſely*," a Gentleman who had been of great Eminency in *Cromwell's* Council, and one of thoſe who had been ſent by the Houſe of Commons to perſuade him to accept the Crown with the Title of King. Upon

the whole Matter his Majeſty aſked him, "what Way He was to proceed "againſt him:" To which He anſwered, "that He was firſt to be appre- "hended; and when He ſhould be in Cuſtody and examined, his Majeſty "would better judge which Way He was to proceed againſt him."

UPON farther Conſideration with the Chancellor and Lord *Arlington* and others of the Council, the King ſent a Sergeant at Arms, with a Warrant under his Sign Manual, "to apprehend the Duke of *Buckingham*, and to bring "him before one of the Secretaries of State, to anſwer to ſuch Crimes as ſhould "be objected againſt him;" or to that Purpoſe. The Sergeant made a Journey into *Northamptonſhire*, where He was informed the Duke was: But ſtill, when He came to the Houſe where He was ſaid to be, it was pretended that He was gone from thence ſome Hours before; by which He found that He had Notice of his Buſineſs. And therefore He concealed himſelf, and appointed ſome Men to watch and inform themſelves of his Motions, it being generally reported that He would be at the Houſe of the Earl of *Exeter* at ſuch a Time. And Notice was given him, that He was then in a Coach with Ladies going to that Houſe: Upon which He made ſo good Haſte, that He was in View of the Coach, and ſaw the Duke alight out of the Coach, and lead a Lady into the Houſe; upon which the Door of the Court was ſhut before He could get to it. He knocked loudly at that and other Doors that were all ſhut; ſo that He could not get into the Houſe, though it were ſome Hours before Sunſet in the Month of *May*. After ſome Hours Attendance, one Mr. *Fairfax*, who waited upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, came to the Door, and without opening it aſked him, "what He would "have:" And He anſwered, "that He had a Meſſage to the Duke from "the King, and that He muſt ſpeak with him;" to which He replied, "that He was not there, and that He ſhould ſeek for him in ſome other "Place." The Sergeant told him, "that He ſaw him go into the Houſe; "and that if He might not be admitted to ſpeak with him, He would re- "quire the Sheriff of the County to give him his Aſſiſtance:" Upon which the Gentleman went away, and about Half an Hour after returned again, and threatened the Sergeant ſo much, after He had opened the Door, that the poor Man had not the Courage to ſtay longer; but returned to the Court, and gave a full Relation in Writing to the Secretary of the Endeavours He had uſed, and the Affronts He had received.

The King iſſues out his Warrant to apprehend him.

WHY all the particular Circumſtances of this Affair are ſo punctually related, will appear anon. The King was ſo exceedingly offended at this Carriage and Behaviour of the Duke, that He made Relation of it to the Council-Board, and publickly declared, "that He was no longer of that "Number," and cauſed his Name to be left out in the Liſt of the Counſellors, and "that He was no longer a Gentleman of his Bedchamber," and put the Earl of *Rocheſter* to wait in his Place. His Majeſty likewiſe revoked that Commiſſion by which He was conſtituted Lord Lieutenant of the Eaſt Riding in *Yorkſhire*, and granted that Commiſſion to the Earl of *Burlington*: So that it was not poſſible for his Majeſty to give more lively Inſtances of his Diſpleaſure againſt any Man, than He had done againſt the Duke. And at the ſame Time, with the Advice of the Board, a Proclamation iſſued out for his Apprehenſion, and inhibiting all Perſons to entertain, receive or conceal him. Upon which He thought it fit to leave the Country, and that He ſhould be leſs diſcovered in *London*, whither He reſorted, and had many Lodgings in ſeveral Quarters of the City. And though his Majeſty had frequent Intelligence where He was, and continued Advertiſements of the Liberty He took in his Diſcourſes of his own Perſon, and of ſome others, of

He is removed from all his Employments.

A Proclamation for apprehending him.

which He was no leſs ſenſible; yet when the Sergeant at Arms, and others employed for his Apprehenſion, came where He was known to have been but an Hour before, He was gone from thence, or ſo concealed there that He could not be found: And in this Manner He continued ſleeping all the Day, and walking from Place to Place in the Night, for the Space of ſome Months.

The Duke deſires the Chancellor to interpoſe in his Behalf.

At laſt being advertiſed of renewed Inſtances of the King's Diſpleaſure, and that it every Day increaſed upon new Intelligence that He received of his Behaviour, He grew weary of the Poſture He was in, and employed ſeveral Perſons to move the King on his Behalf; for He was informed that the King reſolved to proceed againſt him for his Life, and that his Eſtate was begged and given. Upon this one Night He ſent his Secretary, Mr. *Clifford*, to the Chancellor, with whom He had never entered into any Diſpute, with ſome Compliments and Expreſſions of Confidence in his Friendſhip. He profeſſed "great Innocence and Integrity in all his Actions with "Reference to the King, though He might have been paſſionate and in-"diſcreet in his Words; that there was a Conſpiracy againſt his Life, and "that his Eſtate was granted or promiſed to Perſons who had begged it:" And in Concluſion He deſired "that He would ſend him his Advice what "He ſhould do, but rather, that He would permit him to come to him "in the Evening to his Houſe that He might confer with him."

The Chancellor's Advice to him.

The Chancellor anſwered his Secretary, who was well known to him, "that "He might not confer with him till He rendered himſelf to the King; that "He was confident, having ſeen Teſtimony enough to convince him, that the "Duke was not innocent; and that He had much to anſwer for direſpectful "Mention of the King, which would require much Acknowledgement and "Submiſſion: But that He did not know that his Crimes were of that Mag-"nitude as would put his Life into Danger; and that He was moſt confi-"dent that there was no Conſpiracy to take that from him, except his Faults "were of another Nature than they yet appeared to be; and which no "Conſpiracy, which He need not fear, could deprive him of. And He did "not believe that there had been any Attempt to beg his Eſtate: But He "was ſure there had not been, nor could be, any Grant of it to any Man, "which muſt have paſſed by the Great Seal." He did adviſe him, and deſired him to follow his Advice, "that if He did know himſelf innocent as "to unlawful Actions and Deſigns, and that his Fault conſiſted only in in-"diſcreet Words, as He ſeemed to confeſs; He would no longer aggravate "his Offence by contemning his Warrants, which He would not be long "able to avoid, but deliver himſelf into the Cuſtody of the Lieutenant of "the *Tower*, which He was at Liberty by the Proclamation to do, and ſend "then a Petition to the King, that He might be heard: And that when "He had done this, He would be ready and willing to do him all the Of-"fices which would conſiſt with his Duty."

And the next Day He gave his Majeſty a particular Account of the Meſſage which He had received, and of the Anſwer which He had returned; which his Majeſty approved, and ſhewed him a Letter that He had received from the Duke that Morning, which ſeemed to have been written after his Secretary had returned from the Chancellor. The Letter contained a large Profeſſion of his Innocence, and Complaint of the Power of his Enemies, and a very earneſt Deſire "that his Majeſty would give him Leave to ſpeak "with him, and then diſpoſe of him as He pleaſed;" to which his Majeſty had anſwered to the Perſon who brought the Letter, who, as I remember,

was Sir *Robert Howard*, "that the Duke need not fear the Power of any "Enemies, but would be ſure to have Juſtice if He would ſubmit to it."

BUT his Majeſty in his Diſcourſe ſeemed to be as weary of the Proſecution, as the Duke was of the concealing himſelf to avoid it, and to have much Apprehenſion of his Intereſt and Power in the Parliament; and to be troubled that the principal Witneſs, upon whoſe Teſtimony He relied, was at that Time ſick of the Smallpox, and in Danger of Death, and that another retracted Part of that Evidence that He had given. In a Word; his Majeſty appeared leſs angry than He had been, and willing that an End ſhould be put to the Buſineſs without any publick Proſecution. To which the Chancellor made no other Anſwer, than "that no Advice could be "given with Preſervation of his Majeſty's Dignity, till the Duke rendered "himſelf into the Hand of Juſtice:" Which He was very unwilling to do, and ſent again to the Chancellor by Sir *Robert Howard*, to preſs him, "that "He might be admitted firſt to the King's Preſence, and then ſent to the "*Tower*." The other told him, "that if the King were inclined to admit "him in that Manner, He would diſſuade him from it, as a Thing diſho-"nourable to him after ſo long a Conteſt;" and repeated the ſame to him that He ſaid formerly to Mr. *Clifford*: Nor could He be perſuaded by any others (for others did ſpeak to him to the ſame Purpoſe) to recede a Tittle from what He had inſiſted upon, "that He ſhould put himſelf in the "*Tower*." In all which He ſtill gave the King a faithful Account of every Word that paſſed: For He knew well that the Lord *Arlington* endeavoured to perſuade the King, "that the Chancellor favoured the Duke, and de-"ſired that He ſhould be at Liberty;" when at the ſame Time He uſed all the Ways He could to have it inſinuated to the Duke's Friends, "that He "knew Nothing of the Buſineſs, but that the whole Proſecution was made "by the Information and Advice of the Chancellor."

The King grows weary of the Proſecution.

IN the End, the Duke was perſuaded to render himſelf to the *Tower*: And from thence He ſent a Petition to the King, who preſently appeared very well inclined to give over any farther Proſecution; which Alteration all Men wondered at, nor could any Man imagine the Ground or Reaſon of it. For though the principal Witneſs was dead, as the Lord *Arlington* declared He was, and that ſo much could not be proved as at the firſt Diſcovery was reaſonably ſuſpected; yet the Meanneſs and Vileneſs of the Perſons with whom He kept ſo familiar Correſpondence, the Letters between them which were ready to be produced, the diſreſpectful and ſcandalous Diſcourſes which He often held concerning the King's Perſon, and many other Particulars which had moſt inflamed the King, and which might fully have been proved, would have manifeſted ſo much Vanity and Preſumption in the Duke, as muſt have leſſened his Credit and Reputation with all ſerious Men, and made him worthy of ſevere Cenſure. But whether the King thought not fit to proceed upon the Words and ſcandalous Diſcourſes, which He thought would more diſperſe and publiſh the Scandals; or whether He did really believe that it would diſturb and obſtruct all his Buſineſs in Parliament; or what other Reaſon ſoever prevailed with his Majeſty, as without Doubt ſome other there were: His Majeſty was very impatient to be rid of the Buſineſs, and would have been eaſily perſuaded to have given preſent Order for ſetting the Duke at Liberty, and ſo to ſilence all farther Diſcourſe. But He was perſuaded, "that that would moſt reflect upon his own "Honour, by making it believed, that there had been in Truth a foul Con-"ſpiracy againſt the Perſon of the Duke, which would give him more Credit "in the Parliament and every where elſe;" for the King had not yet, with

The Duke ſurrenders himſelf.

all his Indulgence, a better Opinion of his Affection and Fidelity than He had before.

He is examined at the Council-Board.

In Concluſion; it was reſolved, "that the Lieutenant of the *Tower* ſhould "bring the Duke of *Buckingham* to the Council-Chamber, his Majeſty being "preſent; and there the Attorney and Solicitor General ſhould open the "Charge that was againſt him, and read all the Examinations which had "been taken, and the Letters which had paſſed between them:" All which was done. And the Duke denying "that He had ever written to that "Fellow, though He knew him well, and uſed to make himſelf merry "with him," the Letter was produced (which the King and the Lord *Arlington*, who Both knew his Hand well, made no Doubt to be his Hand) and delivered to the Duke; who, as ſoon as He caſt his Eye upon it, ſaid, "it "was not his Hand, but He well knew whoſe it was." And being aſked whoſe Hand it was, He ſaid, "it was his Siſter's, the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, with "whom," He ſaid, "it was known that He had no Correſpondence." Whereupon the King called for the Letter, and, having looked upon it, He ſaid, "He had been miſtaken," and confeſſed "that it was the Dutcheſs's "Hand;" and ſeemed much out of Countenance upon the Miſtake: Though the Letter gave ſtill as much Cauſe of Suſpicion, for it was as ſtrange that She ſhould write to ſuch a Fellow in a Style very obliging, and in Anſwer to a Letter; ſo that it ſeemed very reaſonable ſtill to believe, that She might have written it upon his Deſire and dictating.

The Duke denied moſt of the Particulars contained in the Examinations: And for the other Letters which had been written to him by the Fellow who was in the *Tower* (whereof one was found in his Pocket ſealed to be ſent to the Duke, and the others were Copies of others which had been ſent; and the Witneſs who was dead had delivered one of them into the Duke's own Hand, and related at large the Kindneſs He expreſſed towards the Man, and the Meſſage He ſent to him by him), He denied that He had ever received thoſe Letters; but acknowledged, "that the Man came often to him, "and pretended Skill in Horoſcopes, but more in Diſtillations, in which the "Duke delighted and exerciſed himſelf, but looked upon the Fellow as "cracked in his Brain and fit only to be laughed at." When the Duke was withdrawn, the King declared, "that He had been deceived in being con- "fident that the Letter had been written by the Duke, which He now diſ- "cerned not to be his Hand, and He knew as well to have been written "by the Dutcheſs;" and thereupon ſeemed to think that there was Nothing elſe worth the examining: And ſo Order was given to ſet the Duke at Liberty, who immediately went to his own Houſe, and went not in ſome Days afterwards to the Court.

The King eaſily ſatisfied with his Defence.

The Chancellor loſes his Wife.

About this Time, or in few Days afterwards, a great Affliction befell the Chancellor in his Domeſticks, which prepared him to bear all the unexpected Accidents that ſuddenly ſucceeded that more inſupportable Misfortune. His Wife, the Mother of all his Children, and his Companion in all his Baniſhment, and who had made all his former Calamities leſs grievous by her Company and Courage, having made a Journey to *Tunbridge* for her Health, returned from thence without the Benefit She expected, yet without being thought by the Phyſicians to be in any Danger; and within leſs than three Days died: Which was ſo ſudden, unexpected and irreparable a Loſs that He had not Courage to ſupport; which Nobody wondered at who knew the mutual Satisfaction and Comfort They had in each other. And He might poſſibly have ſunk under it, if his Enemies had not found out a new Kind of Conſolation to him, which his Friends could never have thought of.

WITHIN few Days after his Wife's Death, the King vouchſafed to come to his Houſe to condole with him, and uſed many gracious Expreſſions to him: Yet within leſs than a Fortnight the Duke (who was ſeldom a Day without doing him the Honour to ſee him) came to him, and with very much Trouble told him, "that ſuch a Day, that was paſt, walking with "the King in the Park, his Majeſty aſked him *how the Chancellor did*: "To which his Highneſs had made Anſwer, *that He was the moſt diſconſolate "Perſon He ever ſaw; and that He had lamented himſelf to him not only "upon the Loſs of his Wife, but out of Apprehenſion that his Majeſty had of "late withdrawn his Countenance from him*; to which his Majeſty replied, "*that He wondered He ſhould think ſo, but that He would ſpeak more to him "of that Subject the next Day.* And that that Morning his Majeſty had held "a long Diſcourſe with him, in which He told him, *that He had received "very particular and certain Intelligence, that when the Parliament ſhould meet "again They were reſolved to impeach the Chancellor, who was grown very "odious to them, not only for his having oppoſed them in all thoſe Things upon "which They had ſet their Hearts, but that They had been informed that He "had propoſed and adviſed their Diſſolution; which had enraged them to that "Degree, that They had taken a Reſolution as ſoon as They came together again "to ſend up an Impeachment againſt him; which would be a great Diſhonour "to his Majeſty and obſtruct all his Affairs, nor ſhould He be able to protect "him or divert them: And therefore that it would be neceſſary for his Ser- "vice, and likewiſe for the Preſervation of the Chancellor, that He ſhould de- "liver up the Seal to him.* All which He deſired the Duke" (who confeſſed that He had likewiſe received the ſame Advertiſement) "to inform him of: "And *that the Chancellor himſelf ſhould chooſe the Way and the Manner of "delivering up the Seal, whether He would wait upon the King and give it "into his own Hand, or whether the King ſhould ſend a Secretary or a Privy "Counſellor for it.*" When the Duke had ſaid all that the King had given him in Charge, He declared himſelf "to be much unſatisfied with the "King's Reſolution; and that though He had received the ſame Adver- "tiſement, and believed that there was a real Combination and Conſpiracy "againſt him, yet He knew the Chancellor's Innocence would not be frighted "with it."

The Duke of York ſent by the King to deſire the Chancellor to reſign.

THE Chancellor was indeed as much ſurpriſed with this Relation, as He could have been at the Sight of a Warrant for his Execution. He told the Duke, "that He did not wonder that the King and his Highneſs had been "informed of ſuch a Reſolution; for that They who had contrived the "Conſpiracy, and done all They could to make it prevalent, could beſt in- "form his Majeſty and his Highneſs of what would probably fall out." And thereupon He informed the Duke "of what had paſſed at the Day of the "laſt Prorogation, and the Diſcourſe and Promiſe Sir *William Coventry* had "made to them, if They had a Mind to be rid of the Chancellor: But," He ſaid, "that which only afflicted him was, that the King ſhould have no "better Opinion of his Innocence and Integrity, than to conclude that ſuch "a Combination muſt ruin him. And He was more troubled to find, that "the King himſelf had ſo terrible an Apprehenſion of their Power and "their Purpoſes, as if They might do any Thing They had a Mind to do. "He did not believe that He was ſo odious to the Parliament as He was "reported to be; if He were, it was only for his Zeal to his Majeſty's Ser- "vice, and his inſiſting upon what his Majeſty had reſolved: But He was "confident that when his Enemies had done all that their Malice could "ſuggeſt againſt him, it would appear that the Parliament was not of their

"Mind. He wiſhed that He might have the Honour to ſpeak with the "King, before He returned any Anſwer to his Commands." The Duke was pleaſed graciouſly to reply, "that it was the Advice He intended to "give him, that He ſhould deſire it; and that He doubted not but that He "ſhould eaſily prevail with the King to come to his Houſe, whither He had "uſed ſo frequently to come, and where He had been ſo few Days before:" And at this Time the Chancellor was not well able to walk; beſides that it was againſt the common Rules of Decency to go ſo ſoon out of his Houſe. When the Duke deſired the King, that He would vouchſafe to go to *Clarendon-Houſe*; his Majeſty very readily conſented to it, and ſaid, "He would "go thither the next Day." But that and more Days paſſed: And then He told the Duke, "that ſince He reſolved to take the Seal, it would not be "ſo fit for him to go thither; but He would ſend for the Chancellor to "come to his own Chamber in *Whitehall*, and He would go thither "to him."

Many Perſons of Eminence interpoſe on his Behalf.

In the mean Time it began to be the Diſcourſe of the Court: And the Dutcheſs, from whom the Duke had yet concealed it, came to be informed of it; who preſently went to the King with ſome Paſſion; and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the General accompanied her, who all beſought the King not to take ſuch a Reſolution. And many other of the Privy Council, with none of whom the Chancellor had ſpoken, taking Notice of the Rumour, attended the King with the ſame Suit and Advice. To all whom his Majeſty anſwered, "that what He intended was for his Good, "and the only Way to preſerve him." He held longer Diſcourſe to the General, "that He did believe by what his Brother had told him, of the ex-"treme Agony the Chancellor was in upon the Death of his Wife, that He "had himſelf deſired to be diſmiſſed from his Office;" and bade the General "go to him, and bid him come the next Morning to his own Cham-"ber at *Whitehall*, and the King would come thither to him." And the General came to him with great Profeſſions of Kindneſs, which He had well deſerved from him, gave him a Relation of all that had paſſed with the King, and concluded, "that what had been done had been upon Miſ-"take; and He doubted not, but that upon Conference with his Majeſty "all Things would be well ſettled again to his Content;" which no Doubt He did at that Time believe as well as wiſh.

The Chancellor attends the King at Whitehall.

Upon *Monday*, the twenty ſixth of *Auguſt*, about Ten of the Clock in the Morning, the Chancellor went to his Chamber in *Whitehall*, where He had not been many Minutes, before the King and Duke by themſelves came into the Room. His Majeſty looked very graciouſly upon him, and made him ſit down; when the other acknowledged "the Honour his Majeſty had "done him, in admitting him into his Preſence before He executed a Re-"ſolution He had taken." He ſaid, "that He had no Suit to make to "him, nor the leaſt Thought to diſpute with him, or to divert him from "the Reſolution He had taken; but only to receive his Determination from "himſelf, and moſt humbly to beſeech him to let him know what Fault He "had committed, that had drawn this Severity upon him from his Majeſty." The King told him, "He had not any Thing to object againſt him; but muſt "always acknowledge, that He had always ſerved him honeſtly and faith-"fully, and that He did believe that never King had a better Servant: And "that He had taken this Reſolution for his Good and Preſervation, as well "as for his own Convenience and Security; and that He had verily believed "that it had been upon his Conſent and Deſire." And thereupon his Majeſty entered upon a Relation of all that had paſſed between him and the

Conference between them.

Duke, and "that He really thought his Brother had concurred with him in "his Opinion, as the only Way to preſerve him." In that Diſcourſe the Duke ſometimes poſitively denied to have ſaid Somewhat, and explained other Things as not ſaid to the Purpoſe his Majeſty underſtood, or that He ever implied that himſelf thought it fit.

THE Sum of what his Majeſty ſaid was, "that He was moſt aſſured by "Information that could not deceive him, that the Parliament was reſolved, "as ſoon as They ſhould come together again, to impeach the Chancellor; "and then that his Innocence would no more defend and ſecure him againſt "their Power, than the Earl of *Strafford* had defended himſelf againſt them: "And," He ſaid, "He was as ſure, that his taking the Seal from him at "this Time would ſo well pleaſe the Parliament, that his Majeſty ſhould "thereby be able to preſerve him, and to provide for the Paſſage of his own "Buſineſs, and the obtaining all that He deſired." He ſaid, "He was ſorry "that the Buſineſs had taken ſo much Air, and was ſo publickly ſpoken of, "that He knew not how to change his Purpoſe;" Which He ſeemed to impute to the Paſſion of the Dutcheſs, that had divulged it.

THE Chancellor told him, "that He had not contributed to the Noiſe, "nor had imparted it to his own Children, till They with great Trouble "informed him, that They heard it from ſuch and ſuch Perſons," whom They named, "with ſome Complaint that it was concealed from them: "Nor did He then come in Hope to divert him from the Reſolution He had "taken in the Matter itſelf." He ſaid, "He had but two Things to trou-"ble him with. The firſt, that He would by no Means ſuffer it to be be-"lieved that He himſelf was willing to deliver up the Seal; and that He "ſhould not think himſelf a Gentleman, if He were willing to depart and "withdraw himſelf from the Office, in a Time when He thought his Ma-"jeſty would have Need of all honeſt Men, and in which He thought He "might be able to do him ſome Service. The ſecond, that He could not "acknowledge this Deprivation to be done in his Favour, or in Order to do "him Good; but on the Contrary, that He looked upon it as the greateſt "Ruin He could undergo, by his Majeſty's own declaring his Judgment "upon him, which would amount to little leſs than a Confirmation of "thoſe many libellous Diſcourſes which had been raiſed, and would upon "the Matter expoſe him to the Rage and Fury of the People, who had been "with great Artifice and Induſtry perſuaded to believe, that He had been "the Cauſe and the Counſellor of all that They liked not. That He was ſo "far from fearing the Juſtice of the Parliament, that He renounced his Ma-"jeſty's Protection or Interpoſition towards his Preſervation: And that though "the Earl of *Strafford* had undergone a Sentence He did not deſerve, "yet He could not acknowledge their Caſes to be parallel. That though "that great Perſon had never committed any Offence that could amount "to Treaſon, yet He had done many Things which He could not juſtify, "and which were Tranſgreſſions againſt the Law: Whereas He was not "guilty of any Action, whereof He did not deſire the Law might be the "Judge. And if his Majeſty himſelf ſhould diſcover all that He had ſaid "to him in Secret, He feared not any Cenſure that ſhould attend it: If any "Body could charge him with any Crime or Offence, He would moſt wil-"lingly undergo the Puniſhment that belonged to it."

"BUT," He ſaid, "He doubted very much, that the throwing off "an old Servant, who had ſerved the Crown in ſome Truſt near thirty "Years (who had the Honour by the Command of his bleſſed Father, who "had left good Evidence of the Eſteem He had of his Fidelity, to wait

"upon his Majeſty when He went out of the Kingdom, and by the great "Bleſſing of God had the Honour to return with him again; which no "other Counſellor alive could ſay), on the Sudden, without any Suggeſtion "of a Crime, nay with a Declaration of Innocence, would call his Ma- "jeſty's Juſtice and good Nature into Queſtion; and Men would not know "how ſecurely to ſerve him, when They ſhould ſee it was in the Power of "three or four Perſons who had never done him any notable Service, nor "were in the Opinion of thoſe who knew them beſt like to do, to diſpoſe "him to ſo ungracious an Act."

THE King ſeemed very much troubled and irreſolute; then repeated "the great Power of the Parliament, and the clear Information He had of "their Purpoſes, which They were reſolved to go through with right or "wrong; and that his own Condition was ſuch, that He could not diſpute "with them, but was upon the Matter at their Mercy."

THE Chancellor told him, "it was not poſſible for his Majeſty to have "any probable Aſſurance what the Parliament would do. And though He "knew He had offended ſome of the Houſe of Commons, in oppoſing their "Deſires in ſuch Particulars as his Majeſty thought were prejudicial to his "Service; yet He did not doubt but his Reputation was much greater in "Both Houſes, than either of theirs who were known to be his Enemies, "and to have this Influence upon his Majeſty, who were all known to be "guilty of ſome Tranſgreſſions, which They would have been called in "Queſtion for in Parliament, if He had not very induſtriouſly, out of the "Tenderneſs He had for his Majeſty's Honour and Service, prevented it; "Somewhat whereof was not unknown to his Majeſty." He concluded "with beſeeching him, whatever Reſolution He took in his Particular, not "to ſuffer his Spirits to fall, nor himſelf to be dejected with the Apprehen- "ſion of the formidable Power of the Parliament, which was more or leſs or "Nothing, as He pleaſed to make it: That it was yet in his own Power to "govern them; but if They found it was in theirs to govern him, Nobody "knew what the End would be." And thereupon He made him a ſhort Relation of the Method that was uſed in the Time of *Richard* the Second, "when They terrified the King with the Power and the Purpoſes of the "Parliament, till They brought him to conſent to that from which He could "not redeem himſelf, and without which They could have done him no "Harm." And in the Warmth of this Relation He found a ſeaſonable Op- portunity to mention the Lady with ſome Reflections and Cautions, which He might more adviſedly have declined.

The King leaves him in Diſpleaſure.

AFTER two Hours Diſcourſe the King roſe without ſaying any Thing, but appeared not well pleaſed with all that had been ſaid; and the Duke of *York* found He was offended with the laſt Part of it. The Garden, that uſed to be private, had now many in it to obſerve the Countenance of the King when He came out of the Room: And when the Chancellor re- turned, the Lady, the Lord *Arlington* and Mr. *May*, looked together out of her open Window with great Gaiety and Triumph, which all People obſerved.

FOUR or five Days paſſed without any farther Proceedings, or the King's declaring his Reſolution: And in that Time the Chancellor's Concern was the only Argument of the Court. Many of the Council, and other Perſons of Honour and Intereſt, preſumed to ſpeak with the King, and to give a very good Teſtimony of him, of his unqueſtionable Integrity, and of his Parts, and Credit with the ſober Part of the Nation: And to thoſe his Majeſty always commended him, with Profeſſion of much Kindneſs; but ſaid, "He

"had made himſelf odious to the Parliament, and ſo was no more capable "to do him Service." On the other Side the Lady and Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry* exceedingly triumphed, the laſt of which openly and without Reſerve declared, "that He had given the King Advice to remove "him as a Man odious to the Parliament, and that the King would be ruined "if He did it not; that He was ſo imperious that He would endure no "Contradiction;" with many other Reproaches to that Purpoſe. But except thoſe three, and Mr. *May* and Mr. *Brounker*, there ſeemed none of Name in the Court who wiſhed that the Reſolution ſhould be purſued.

The Duke of York intereſts himſelf on the Chancellor's Behalf.

THE Duke of *York* concerned himſelf wonderfully on the Chancellor's Behalf, and with as much Warmth as any private Gentleman could expreſs on the Behalf of his Friend. He had great Indignation at the Behaviour of Sir *William Coventry* and Mr. *Brounker*, that being his Servants They ſhould preſume to ſhew ſo much Malice towards a Perſon They knew He had Kindneſs for. And the former had ſo much Senſe of it, that He reſolved to quit the Relation by which He had got vaſt Wealth, and came to him, and told him, "that ſince He was Commiſſioner for the Treaſury, He found "He ſhould not be able to attend his Service ſo diligently as He ought to "do; and therefore deſired his Highneſs's Favour in his Diſmiſſion, and "that He would give him Leave to commend an honeſt Man to ſucceed him "in his Service:" To which his Highneſs ſhortly anſwered, "that He might "diſpoſe himſelf as He would, with which He was well content; and "that He would chooſe another Secretary for himſelf without his Recom-"mendation." And his Highneſs preſently went to the Chancellor, and informed him of it, with Diſpleaſure enough towards the Man, and much Satisfaction that He was rid of him; and aſked him "whom He would re-"commend to him for a Secretary." He told his Highneſs, "that if He "would truſt his Judgment, He would recommend a Perſon to him, who "He believed was not unknown to him, and for whoſe Parts and Fidelity "He would paſs his Word, having had good Experience of Both in his "having ſerved him as a Secretary for the Space of above ſeven Years;" and named Mr. *Wren*. The Duke ſaid, "He knew him well, being a Member "of the Royal Company, where He often heard him ſpeak very intelligently, "and diſcerned him to be a Man of very good Parts, and therefore He would "very willingly receive him; and the rather, that He knew it would be "looked upon as an Evidence of his Kindneſs to him, which He would "always own and teſtify to all the World:" And within two Days after, He received him into his Service with the King's Approbation, the Gentleman's Abilities being very well known, and his Perſon much loved.

IN this Suſpenſion, the common Argument was, "that it was not now "the Queſtion whether the Chancellor was innocent; but whether, when "the King had ſo long reſolved to remove him, and had now proceeded ſo "far towards it, He ſhould retract his Reſolution, and be governed by his "Brother: It was enough that He was not beloved, and that the Court "wiſhed him removed." And Mr. *Brounker* openly declared, "that the "Reſolution had been taken above two Months before; and that it would "not conſiſt with his Majeſty's Honour to be hectored out of it by his Bro-"ther, who was wrought upon by his Wife's Crying." And this Kind of Argumentation was every Moment inculcated by the Lady and her Party: Inſomuch as when the Duke made his Inſtances with all the Importunity He could uſe, and put his Majeſty in Mind "of many Diſcourſes his Ma-"jeſty had formerly held with him, of the Chancellor's Honeſty and Diſ-"cretion, conjuring him to love and eſteem him accordingly, when his

"Highneſs had not ſo good an Opinion of him;" and complained, "that "now He had found by good Experience that He deſerved that Character, "his Majeſty would withdraw his Kindneſs from him, and rather believe others, "who He knew were his Enemies, than his own Judgment:" The King gave no other Anſwer, than "that He had proceeded too far to retire; and that "He ſhould be looked upon as a Child if He receded from his Purpoſe."

The Great Seal taken from the Chancellor.

And ſo being reconfirmed, upon the thirtieth of *Auguſt* in the Year 1667 He ſent Secretary *Morrice*, who had no Mind to the Employment, with a Warrant under the Sign Manual, to require and receive the Great Seal; which the Chancellor immediately delivered to him with all the Expreſſions of Duty to the King. And as ſoon as the Secretary had delivered it to the King in his Cloſet, Mr. *May* went into the Cloſet, and fell upon his Knees, and kiſſed his Majeſty's Hand, telling him "that He was now King, which "He had never been before."

The Chancellor believed that the Storm had been now over; for He had not the leaſt Apprehenſion of the Diſpleaſure of the Parliament, or of any Thing They could ſay or do againſt him: Yet He reſolved to ſtay at his Houſe till it ſhould meet (without going thither, which He was informed would be ill taken), that He might not be thought to be afraid of being queſtioned; and then to retire into the Country, and to live there very privately. And there was a Report raiſed without any Ground, that He intended to go to the Houſe of Peers, and take his Precedence as Chancellor, with which the King was much offended: But as ſoon as He heard of it, He deſired the Lord Chamberlain to aſſure his Majeſty, "that He never in-"tended any ſuch Thing, nor would ever do any Thing that He believed "would diſpleaſe him;" with which He ſeemed well ſatisfied.

However a new Tempeſt was quickly raiſed againſt him. Many Perſons of Honour and Quality came every Day to viſit him with many Expreſſions of Affection and Eſteem; and moſt of the King's Servants, except only thoſe few who had declared themſelves his Enemies, ſtill frequented his Houſe with the ſame Kindneſs They had always profeſſed: But They were looked upon quickly with a very ill Countenance by the other Party, and were plainly told, "that the King would take it ill from all his Servants who "viſited the Chancellor;" though when ſome of them aſked his Majeſty, "whether their viſiting him, to whom They had been formerly much be-"holden, would offend his Majeſty;" He anſwered, "No, He had not "forbid any Man to viſit him." Yet it appeared more every Day, that They were beſt looked on who forbore going to him, and the other found themſelves upon much Diſadvantage; by which however many were not diſcouraged.

The chief Proſecutors behaved themſelves with more Inſolence than was agreeable to their Diſcretion: And the Lord *Arlington*, who had long before behaved himſelf with very little Courteſy towards all Perſons whom He believed to be well affected to the Chancellor, even towards Ambaſſadours and other foreign Miniſters, now when any of his Friends came to him for the Diſpatch of Buſineſs in his Office, aſked them "when They ſaw the "Chancellor," and bade them "go to him to put their Buſineſs into a Me-"thod." The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had after his Enlargement viſited the Chancellor, and acknowledged the Civilities He had received from him, came now again to the Court, and was received with extraordinary Grace by the King, and reſtored to all the Honours and Offices of which He was deprived; and was informed and aſſured, "that all the Proceedings "which had been againſt him were upon the Information and Advice of the "Chancellor:"

The Duke of Buckingham reſtored to all his Employments.

"Chancellor:" And whatever He had ſpoken in Council was told him in that Manner (and without the true Circumſtances) that might make moſt Impreſſion on him.

ONE Day whilſt that Matter was depending (which is not mentioned before) the Lord *Arlington*, after He found the King had acquainted the Chancellor with the Buſineſs, and ſhewed him the Information and Examinations which had been taken, propoſed, there being more or the ſame Witneſſes to be farther examined, "that the Chancellor might be preſent with "the reſt who had been formerly employed at their examining:" Which the King ſeeming to conſent to, the other deſired to be excuſed, "for that the "Office He held never uſed to be ſubject to thoſe Employments;" and in the Debate added, "that if the Teſtimony of Witneſſes made good all that "was ſuggeſted, and the Duke ſhould be brought to a Trial, it might pro-"bably fall out, that the King might command him to execute the Office "of High Steward, as He had lately done in the Trial of the Lord *Morley*; "and in that Reſpect it would be very incongruous for him to be preſent "at the Examinations." The Duke was now informed, without any of the Circumſtances, that the Chancellor had ſaid that He was to be High Steward at the Trial of the Duke. *He is inflamed againſt the Chancellor.*

THE Duke, who always believed, and could not but upon the Matter know, that the Lord *Arlington* (with whom He had Enmity) had been very ſolicitous in his Proſecution, had, after his having viſited the Chancellor, ſent a Friend, whom He thought He would truſt, to him "to deſire him to "deal freely with him concerning the Lord *Arlington*, whom He knew to "be an Enemy to Both of them; and that He muſt have him examined "upon that Conſpiracy, which He hoped He would not take ill:" To which He anſwered, "that He neither would nor could be examined con-"cerning any Thing that had been ſaid or done in Council; but that He "would as his Friend, and to prevent his expoſing himſelf to any new In-"convenience, very freely and faithfully aſſure him, that He did not be-"lieve that there had been any Conſpiracy againſt him, nor did know that "the Lord *Arlington* had done any Thing in the Proſecution, but what was "according to the Obligation and Duty of his Office; which Teſtimony," He ſaid, "could proceed only from Juſtice, ſince He well knew that Lord "did not wiſh him well." This Anſwer, it ſeems, or the Deſpair of drawing any other from him to his Purpoſe, diſpoſed him to give entire Credit to the other Information; and the King took great Pains to reconcile him to the Lord *Arlington*, who made many Vows to him of his future Service, and deſired his Protection: And hereupon the Duke openly profeſſed his Reſolution of Revenge, and frankly entered into the Combination with the Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry* againſt the Chancellor. *And induced to concur in the Proſecution.*

BUT the Knowledge of all this did not give him much Trouble (ſo much Confidence He had in his own Innocence, and ſo little Eſteem of the Credit and Intereſt of his Enemies), until He heard that the King himſelf expreſſed great Diſpleaſure towards him, and declared "that He had miſbe-"haved himſelf towards his Majeſty, and that He was ſo imperious that He "would endure no Contradiction; that He had a Faction in the Houſe of "Commons, that oppoſed every Thing that concerned his Majeſty's Service, "if it were not recommended to them by him; and that He had given him "very ill Advice concerning the Parliament, which offended him moſt:" All which They to whom his Majeſty ſaid it divulged to others, that They might thereby leſſen the Chancellor's Credit and Intereſt. It is very true, They who had taken all Advantages to alienate the King's Affections from *The King expreſſes great Diſpleaſure againſt the Chancellor.*

him, had at firſt only propoſed his Removal "as a Perſon odious to the "Parliament, and whom They were reſolved to impeach, which would put "his Majeſty into a Streight, either to renounce and deſert an old Servant, "which would not be for his Honour, or, by protecting him, to deprive "himſelf of all thoſe Benefits which He expected from the Parliament; "whereas the removing him would ſo gratify the Houſes, that They would "deny Nothing that his Majeſty ſhould demand of them;" and his Majeſty did believe it the only Way to preſerve him. But when They had prevailed ſo far, and rendered themſelves more neceſſary to him, They proſecuted what They had begun with more viſible Animoſity, and told him, "that "if the Parliament ſuſpected that his Majeſty retained ſtill any Kindneſs to- "wards him, They would not be ſatisfied with his Removal, but appre- "hend that He would be again received into his Favour; and He would in "the mean Time have ſo much Credit in Both Houſes, eſpecially if He "ſate in the Houſe of Peers," which They undertook to know He intended to do, "that He would be able to obſtruct whatſoever his Majeſty deſired: "And therefore it was neceſſary that his Majeſty ſhould upon all Occaſions "declare, and that it ſhould be believed, that He had ſo full a Prejudice "againſt him, that Nobody ſhould have Cauſe to fear, that He would ever "again be received into any Truſt." And this diſpoſed his Majeſty to diſ- courſe to many in that Manner that is before ſet down.

And when the Duke of *York* lamented to his Majeſty the Reports which were generally ſpread abroad, of the Diſcourſes which He made to many Perſons of the Chancellor's Miſbehaviour towards himſelf, and his own Diſ- pleaſure againſt him; the King denied many of the Particulars, as that concerning his ill Counſel againſt the Parliament, which He denied to have ſpoken: But ſaid withal, "that if the Chancellor had done as He adviſed "him, and delivered up the Seal to him as of his own Inclination, all "would have been quiet. But ſince He inſiſted ſo much upon it, and "compelled him to ſend for it in that Manner, He was obliged in the "Vindication of his Honour to give ſome Reaſons for what He had done, "when other Men took upon them ſo loudly to commend the Chancellor, "and to juſtify his Innocence, not without ſome Reflection upon his own "Honour and Juſtice, which He could not but take very ill: But He ſhould "not ſuffer" (He ſaid) "for what other Men did, and that He would uſe "his two Sons as kindly as ever He had done." And it muſt be always acknowledged, that though great Importunity was uſed to his Majeſty to diſcharge his two Sons from his Service, as a Thing neceſſary by all the Rules of Policy, not to ſuffer the Sons to remain ſo near his Perſon, when their Father lay under ſo notorious a Brand of his Diſpleaſure (in which They be- lieved They had ſo far prevailed, that They took upon them to promiſe their Places to other Men); yet the King poſitively refuſed to yield to them, and continued his Favour ſtill to them Both in the ſame Manner He had done. And though He was long after perſuaded to ſuſpend his eldeſt Son from waiting, under which Cloud He continued for many Months, yet at laſt He was reſtored to his Place with Circumſtances of extraordinary Favour and Grace: Nor did his Majeſty afterwards recede from his Goodneſs towards either of them, notwithſtanding all the Attempts which were made.

The Parliament meets: The King reflects on the Chancellor.

The Parliament met upon the tenth of *October*, when the King in a ſhort Speech told them, "that there had been ſome former Miſcarriages, which had "occaſioned ſome Differences between him and them: But that He had now "altered his Counſels, and made no Queſtion but that They ſhould hence- "forward agree, for He was reſolved to give them all Satisfaction; and did

"not doubt but that They would ſupply his Neceſſities, and provide for "the Payment of his Debts;" with an Inſinuation, "that what had been "formerly done amiſs had been by the Advice of the Perſon whom He "had removed from his Counſels, and with whom He ſhould not hereafter "adviſe."

Unfair Methods uſed to induce Both Houſes to thank the King for removing him.

WHEN the Houſe of Commons came together, one *Tomkins*, a Man of very contemptible Parts and of worſe Manners (who uſed to be encouraged by Men of Deſign to ſet ſome Motion on Foot, which They thought not fit to appear in themſelves till They diſcerned how it would take), moved the Houſe, "that They might ſend a Meſſage of Thanks to the King for his "gracious Expreſſions, and for the many good Things which He had done, "and particularly for his removing the Chancellor;" which was ſeconded by two or three, but rejected by the Houſe as a Thing unreaſonable for them who knew not the Motives which had diſpoſed his Majeſty: And ſo a Committee was appointed to prepare ſuch a Meſſage as might be fit for them to ſend. And the Houſe of Lords the ſame Day ſent to the King, without conſulting with the Houſe of Commons, to give his Majeſty Thanks for the Speech He had made to them in the Morning, which commonly uſed to be done. The King declared himſelf very much offended that the Propoſition in the Houſe of Commons for returning Thanks to him had not ſucceeded, and more that it had been oppoſed by many of his own Servants; and commanded them "to preſs and renew the Motion: That his Honour "was concerned in it; and therefore He would expect Thanks, and would "take it very ill of any of his own Servants who refuſed to concur in it." Hereupon it was again moved: But notwithſtanding all the Labour that had been uſed contrary to all Cuſtom and Privilege of Parliament, the Queſtion held ſix Hours Debate, very many ſpeaking againſt the Injuſtice and Irregularity of it; They on the other Side urging the King's Expectation of it. In the End the Queſtion being put, it was believed the *Noes* were the greater Number: But the Diviſion of the Houſe was not urged for many Reaſons; and ſo the Vote was ſent to the Houſe of Lords, who were deſired to concur with them.

BUT it had there a greater Contradiction. They had already returned their Thanks to the King; and now to ſend again, and to add any Particular to it, would be very incongruous and without any Precedent: And therefore They would not concur in it. This Obſtinacy very much diſpleaſed the King: And He was perſuaded by thoſe who had hitherto prevailed with him, to believe that this Contradiction, if He did not maſter it, would run through all his Buſineſs that ſhould be brought into that Houſe. Whereupon his Majeſty reproached many of the Lords for preſuming to oppoſe and croſs what was ſo abſolutely neceſſary for his Service: And ſent to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, "that He ſhould in his Majeſty's Name "command all the Biſhops Bench to concur in it; and if They ſhould refuſe "it, He would make them repent it;" with many other very ſevere Reprehenſions and Animadverſions. This being done in ſo extraordinary a Manner, the Duke of *York* told his Majeſty, "how much it was ſpoken of and "wondered at:" To which his Majeſty replied, "that his Honour was en-"gaged, and that He would not be ſatisfied if Thanks were not returned to "him by Both Houſes; and that it ſhould go the worſe for the Chancellor "if his Friends oppoſed it." And He commanded his Royal Highneſs that He ſhould not croſs it, but was contented to diſpenſe with his Attendance, and gave him Leave to be abſent from the Debate; which Liberty many

others likewiſe took: And ſo when it was again moved, though it ſtill was confidently oppoſed, it was carried by a major Part, many being abſent.

And ſo Both Houſes attended the King and gave him Thanks, which his Majeſty graciouſly received as a Boon He looked for, and ſaid Somewhat that implied that He was much diſpleaſed with the Chancellor; of which ſome Men thought They were to make the beſt Uſe They could. And therefore, after the King's Anſwer was reported to the Houſe of Peers, as of Courſe whatſoever the King ſays upon any Meſſage is always reported, it was propoſed, "that the King's Anſwer might be entered into the Jour-"nal-Book;" which was rejected, as not uſual, even when the King him-ſelf ſpoke to Both Houſes: Nor was what He now ſaid entered in the Houſe of Commons. However when They had conſulted together, finding that They had not yet ſo particular a Record of the Diſpleaſure againſt the Chancellor, as what He had ſaid upon this Meſſage did amount unto, They moved the Houſe again, "that it might be entered in the Book:" And it was again rejected. All which would not ſerve the Turn; but the Duke of *Buckingham* a third Time moved it, as a Thing the King expected: And thereupon it was entered.

And his Majeſty now declared to his Brother and to many of the Lords, "that He had now all He deſired, and that there ſhould be no more done "to the Chancellor." And without Doubt the King had not at this Time a Purpoſe to give any farther Countenance to the Animoſity of his Enemies, who thought that what was already done was too eaſy a Compoſition, and told his Majeſty, "that, if He were not proſecuted farther, He would gain "Reputation by it: For that the Manner in which all Votes had been yet "carried was rather a Vindication than Cenſure of him; and He would "ſhortly come to the Houſe with more Credit to do Miſchief, and to ob-"ſtruct whatſoever related to his Service. But that ſuch Things would "be found againſt him, as ſoon as Men were ſatisfied that his Majeſty had "totally deſerted him (which yet They were not), that He would have no "more Credit to do Good or Harm." Hereupon there were ſeveral Cabals entered into, who invited and ſent for Perſons of all Conditions, who had had any Buſineſs depending before the Chancellor, or Charters paſſed the Seal; and examined them whether He had not received Money from them, or They were otherwiſe grieved by him, promiſing that They ſhould receive ample Reparation.

Perſons ſought after to furniſh Matter of Impeachment againſt him.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, and ſome others with him, ſent for Sir *Robert Harlow*, who had the Year before gone to the *Barbadoes* with the Lord *Willoughby*, who had much Friendſhip for him; yet after They came thither, They grew unſatisfied with each other to that Degree, that the Lord *Willoughby*, who was Governour of thoſe Iſlands, removed him from the Office He had conferred on him, and ſent him by the next Shipping into *England*; where He arrived full of Vexation for the Treatment He had received, and willing to embrace any Opportunity to be revenged on the Governour. Him the Duke of *Buckingham* ſent for, who He knew was privy to all the Lord *Willoughby's* Counſels, and aſked him, "what Money the "Lord *Willoughby* had given the Chancellor for that Government" (for it was well known that the Chancellor had been his chief Friend in procuring that Government for him, and in diſcountenancing and ſuppreſſing thoſe who in *England* or in the Iſlands had complained of him), "and what "Money He had received from thoſe Iſlands; and that it was probable that "He had ſome Influence upon the Lord *Willoughby* towards the Diſgrace "himſelf had undergone:" And added, "that He would do the King a

"very

"very acceptable Service, in discovering any Thing of the Chancellor's Mis-"carriages, of which his Majesty himself knew so much." To which the Gentleman answered, "that He had no Obligation to the Chancellor that "would restrain him from declaring any Thing that might be to his Preju-"dice; but that He was not able to do it: Nor did He believe that He "had ever received any Money from the Lord *Willoughby* or from the "Islands." And this Kind of Artifice and Inquisition was used to examine all his Actions; and They who were known to be any Way offended with him, or disobliged by him, were most welcome to them.

Mr. Seymour accuses him of High Treason in the House of Commons.

AFTER many Days spent in such close Contrivances and Combinations, Mr. *Seymour*, a young Man of great Confidence and Boldness, stood up in the House of Commons, and spake long and with great Bitterness against the Chancellor, and "of his great Corruption in many Particulars, by which," He said, "He had gotten a vast Estate. That He had received great Sums "of Money from *Ireland*, for making a Settlement that every Body com-"plained of, and that left that Kingdom in as great Distraction as ever it "had been. That He had gotten great Sums of Money indirectly and cor-"ruptly from the Plantations, the Governments whereof He had disposed; "by Preferments in the Law and in the Church; and for the passing of "Charters: And that He had received four thousand Pounds from the *Ca-"nary* Company for the establishing that Company, which was so great and "general a Grievance to the Kingdom. And, which was above all this, "that He had traiterously persuaded, or endeavoured to persuade, the King "to dissolve the Parliament, and to govern by a standing Army; and "that He had said, *that four hundred Country Gentlemen were only fit to "give Money, and did not understand how an Invasion was to be resisted.*" He mentioned many other odious Particulars "which" He said "He would prove," and therefore proposed, "that They would presently send up to the Lords "to accuse him of High Treason, and require that his Person might be se-"cured." Some others seconded him with very bitter Invectives: And as many gave another Kind of Testimony, and many Reasons which made it improbable that He could be guilty of so many heinous Crimes; and "that "it would be unreasonable that He should be accused of High Treason by "the House, before such Proofs should be presented to them of Crimes, "that They had Reason to believe him guilty." And so after many Hours Debate, what They proposed for the present accusing him was rejected, and a Committee appointed to consider of all Particulars which should be pre-sented against him; "upon reporting whereof to the House, it would give "such farther Order as should be just."

Many advise him to make his Escape.

THE confident Averment of so many Particulars, and the so positively naming the particular Sums of Money which He had received, with Cir-cumstances not likely to be feigned; and especially the mentioning of many Things spoken in Council, "which," They said, "would be proved by "privy Counsellors;" and other particular Advices given in private to the King himself, "which," They implied, and confidently affirmed in private, "the King himself would acknowledge;" made that Impression upon many who had no ill Opinion of the Chancellor, and upon others who had always thought well of him, and had in Truth Kindness for him, that of Both Sorts several Messages of Advice were secretly sent to him, "that He would pre-"serve his Life by making an Escape, and transporting himself into foreign "Parts; for that it was not probable there could be so extreme and violent "a Prosecution, if They had not such Evidence against him as would com-"pass their Ends." To all which He answered, "that He would not give "his

Which He refuses to do.

" his Enemies that Advantage as to fly from them: And in the mean Time " desired his Friends to retain the good Opinion They had always had of " him, until They heard Somewhat proved that would make him unworthy " of it; and then He would be well contented They should withdraw it." And it appeared afterwards, that though some of his good Friends had advised that He should secure himself by Flight, it proceeded from the Advertisements that They had received through other Hands, which came originally from his chiefest Enemies, who desired that He might appear to be guilty by avoiding a Trial; and who confidently informed many Men, " that the Impeachment was ready, and had been perused by the King, " and that his Majesty had with his Hand struck out an Article which re- " lated to the Queen's Marriage, and another that concerned the Marriage " of the Duke; but that there was enough left to do the Business; and " that the Duke of *Buckingham* should be made High Steward for the " Trial."

The King's Declaration of the Chancellor's Innocence.

THESE Reports, being spread abroad, wrought upon the Duke to desire the King, " that He would let him know what He did intend; and whe- " ther He desired to have the Chancellor's Life, or that He should be con- " demned to perpetual Imprisonment:" To which his Majesty protested, " that " He would have neither, but was well satisfied; and that He was resolved " to stop all farther Prosecution against him," which his Majesty likewise said to many others. The Duke then asked the King, " whether the Chancellor " had ever given him Counsel to govern by an Army, or any Thing like it; " which," He said, " was so contrary to his Humour, and to the Profes- " sions which He had always made, and the Advices He had given him, " that if He were guilty of it, He should doubt his Sincerity in all other " Things:" To which his Majesty answered, " that He had never given " him such Counsel in his Life; but, on the Contrary, his Fault was that " He always insisted too much upon the Law." Whereupon his Royal Highness asked him, " whether He would give him Leave to say so to " others;" and his Majesty replied, " with all his Heart."

THE Duke then told it to his Secretary Mr. *Wren*, and to many other Persons, and wished them to publish it upon any Occasion: Upon which it was spread abroad, and Mr. *Wren* informed many of the Members of the House of Commons of all that had passed between the King and the Duke in that Discourse; which so much disheartened the violent Prosecutors, that when the Committee met that was to present the Heads of a Charge against him to the House, Nobody appeared to give any Evidence, so that They adjourned without doing any Thing. Hereupon Sir *Thomas Osborne*, a Dependant and Creature of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and who had told many Persons in the Country before the Parliament met, " that the Chancellor " would be accused of High Treason; and if He were not hanged, He " would be hanged himself;" this Gentleman went to the King, and informed him what Mr. *Wren* confidently reported in all Places, " which very " much dissatisfied that Party that desired to do him Service; so that They " knew not how to behave themselves:" To which his Majesty answered,

Which He afterwards discours.

" that *Wren* was a lying Fellow, and that He had never held any such Dis- " course with his Brother." This gave them new Courage, and They resolved to call Mr. *Wren* to an Account for traducing the King. And his Majesty expostulated with the Duke for what Mr. *Wren* had so publickly discoursed: And his Highness declared, " that Mr. *Wren* had pursued his " Order, his Majesty having not only said all that was reported, but having " given him Leave to divulge it;" to which the King made no other An-

ſwer, "but that He ſhould be hereafter more careful of what He ſaid to "him."

ALL this begat new Pauſes, and no Advance was made in many Days; ſo that it was generally believed that there would be no farther Proſecution: But the old Argument, that They were gone too far to retire, had now more Force, becauſe many Members of Both Houſes were now joined to the Party in declaring againſt the Chancellor, who would think themſelves to be betrayed and deſerted if no more ſhould be done againſt him. And hereupon the Committee was again revived, that was appointed to prepare Heads for a Charge, which ſate many Days, there being little Debate upon the Matter; for ſuch of the Committee, who knew him well, were ſo well pleaſed to find him accuſed of Nothing but what all the World did believe him not guilty of, that They thought They could not do him more Right, than to ſuffer all that was offered to paſs, ſince there appeared no Perſon that offered to make Proof of any Particular that was ſuggeſted. But three or four Members of the Houſe brought ſeveral Papers, containing Particulars "which," They ſaid, "would be proved:" All which They reported to the Houſe.

THE Heads were;

Articles of the Charge againſt him.

I. "THAT the Chancellor had traiterouſly, about the Month of *June* laſt, "adviſed the King to diſſolve the Parliament, and ſaid *there could be no far-* "*ther Uſe of Parliaments; that it was a fooliſh Conſtitution and not fit to* "*govern by; and that it could not be imagined, that three or four hundred* "*Country Gentlemen could be either prudent Men or Stateſmen:* And *that it* "*would be beſt for the King to raiſe a ſtanding Army and to govern by that;* "whereupon it being demanded how that Army ſhould be maintained, He "anſwered, *by Contribution and free Quarter, as the laſt King maintained* "*his Army in the War.*"

II. "THAT He had, in the Hearing of ſeveral Perſons, reported *that the* "*King was a Papiſt in his Heart, or popiſhly affected,* or had uſed Words "to that Effect."

III. "THAT He had adviſed the King to grant a Charter to the *Canary* "Company, for which He had received great Sums of Money."

IV. "THAT He had raiſed great Sums of Money by the Sale of Offices "which ought not to be ſold, and granted Injunctions to ſtop Proceedings "at Law, and diſſolved them afterwards for Money."

V. "THAT He had introduced an arbitrary Government into his Ma"jeſty's ſeveral Plantations, and had cauſed ſuch as had complained to his "Majeſty and Privy Council of it to be impriſoned long for their Preſump"tion; and that He had fruſtrated and rejected a Propoſition that had "been made for the Preſervation of *Nevis* and *St. Chriſtophers*, and for "the reducing the *French* Plantations to his Majeſty's Obedience."

VI. "THAT He had cauſed *Quo Warrantos* to be iſſued out againſt moſt "Corporations in *England*, although the Charters were newly confirmed by "Act of Parliament, till They paid him good Sums of Money, and then "the *Quo Warrantos* were diſcharged."

VII. "THAT He had received great Sums of Money for the Settlement "of *Ireland*."

VIII. "THAT He had deluded the King and betrayed the Nation in all "foreign Treaties and Negotiations, eſpecially concerning the late War."

IX. "THAT He had procured his Majeſty's Cuſtoms to be farmed at "Underrates, knowing them to be ſo; and cauſed many pretended Debts

"to be paid by his Majeſty, to the Payment whereof his Majeſty was not "in Strictneſs bound; for all which He had received great Sums of Money."

X. "THAT He had received Bribes from the Company of Vintners, that "They might continue the Prices of their Wines, and might be freed from "the Penalties which They were liable to."

XI. "THAT He had raiſed in a ſhort Time a greater Eſtate than could "be lawfully got; and that He had gotten the Grant of ſeveral of the "Crown Lands contrary to his Duty."

XII. "THAT He had adviſed and effected the Sale of *Dunkirk* to the "*French* King, for leſs Money than the Ammunition, Artillery and Stores "were worth."

XIII. "THAT He had cauſed the King's Letters under the Great Seal to "one Dr. *Crowther* to be altered, and the Enrolment thereof to be raſed."

XIV. "THAT He had in an arbitrary Way examined and drawn into "Queſtion divers of his Majeſty's Subjects concerning their Lands and Pro- "perties, and determined thereof at the Council-Table, and ſtopped the "Proceedings at Law, and threatened ſome that pleaded the Statute of "17 *Car.*"

XV. "THAT He was a principal Author of that fatal Counſel of dividing "the Fleet in *June* 1666."

THE Committee reported another Article for his Charge, which was, "that "He had kept Correſpondence with *Cromwell* during the Time of the King's "being beyond the Seas, and had ſent over his Secretary to him, who was ſhut "up with him for many Hours:" But there were many Members of the Houſe, who wiſhed it had been true, knew well enough that fooliſh Calumny had been examined at *Paris* during the Time that his Majeſty reſided there, when Perſons of the higheſt Degree were very deſirous to have kindled a Jealouſy in the King of the Chancellor's Fidelity; and that the Scandal appeared ſo groſs and impoſſible, that his Majeſty had then publiſhed a full Vindication of his Innocence; with a farther Declaration, "that when "it ſhould pleaſe God to reſtore him to his own Dominions, He ſhould re- "ceive ſuch farther Juſtice and Reparation, as the Laws would enable him "to procure." And it was well known to divers of the Members preſent, that the Perſons who were ſuborned in that Conſpiracy had acknowledged it ſince the King's Return; and the Perſons themſelves who had ſuborned them had confeſſed it, and begged the Chancellor's Pardon: Of all which his Majeſty had been particularly and fully informed. And that it might be no more ripped up or looked into, They ſeemed to reject it as being included under the *Act of Indemnity*, which They would have left him to have pleaded for the Infamy of it, if They had not very well known the Groſſneſs of the Scandal.

THOUGH the Fierceneſs of the Malice that was contracted againſt him was enough known and taken Notice of, yet the Heads for the Charge, which upon ſo much Deliberation were prepared and offered to the Houſe againſt him, were of ſuch a Nature, that all Men preſent did in their own Conſcience acquit him: And therefore it was generally believed the Proſecutors would rather have acquieſced with what They had done to blaſt his Reputation, than have proceeded farther to bring him to anſwer for himſelf. But They had gone too far to retire. And They who had firſt wrought upon the King, only by perſuading him, "that there was ſo univerſal a "Hatred againſt the Chancellor, that the Parliament would the firſt Day "accuſe him of High Treaſon; and that the removing him from his "Office was the only Way to preſerve him, except He would in ſuch a

"Conjuncture, and when He had ſo much Need of the Parliament, ſacri-
"fice all his Intereſt for the Protection of the Chancellor" (and this was the ſole Motive that had prevailed with him, as his Majeſty not only aſſured him the laſt Time He ſpake with him, with many gracious Expreſſions, but at large expreſſed it to very many Perſons of Honour, who endeavoured to diſſuade him from purſuing that Counſel, "that it was "the only Expedient for the Chancellor's Preſervation," with as great a Teſtimony of his Integrity and the Services He had done him as could be given): The ſame Men now importuned him "to proſecute with all his "Power, and to let thoſe of his Servants, and others who regarded his "Commands, know that They could not ſerve him and the Chancellor "together; and that He ſhould look upon their adhering to him as the "abandoning his Majeſty's Service. That the Chancellor had ſo great a "Faction in Both Houſes, that no Propoſition on his Majeſty's Behalf would "have Effect; and that He would ſhortly come to the Houſe of Peers, and "obſtruct all Proceedings there."

The King perſuaded to encourage the Proſecution.

THIS prevailed ſo far that They reſumed their former Courage, and preſſed "that He might be accuſed by the Houſe of Commons of High Treaſon: "Upon which the Lords would preſently commit him to the *Tower*; and then "Nobody would have any longer Apprehenſion of his Power to do Hurt." Hereupon They reſolved again to conſider the ſeveral Heads of the Charge They had provided, to ſee if They could find any one upon which They could ground an Accuſation of High Treaſon. They ſpent a whole Day upon the firſt Head, which They thought contained enough to do their Work, it containing the moſt unpopular and ungracious Reproach that any Man could lie under; "that He had deſigned a ſtanding Army to be raiſed, and to go-"vern the Kingdom thereby; He adviſed the King to diſſolve the preſent "Parliament, to lay aſide all Thoughts of Parliaments for the future, to go-"vern by military Power, and to maintain the ſame by free Quarter and "Contribution."

Proceedings againſt him in the Houſe of Commons.

THE Chancellor had been bred of the Gown; and in the firſt War, in which the laſt King had been involved by a powerful Rebellion, was known always to have advanced and embraced all Overtures towards Peace. Since the King's Return He laboured Nothing more, than that his Majeſty might enter into a firm Peace with all his Neighbours, as moſt neceſſary for the reducing his own Dominions into that Temper of Subjection and Obedience, as they ought to be in. It was notorious to all Men, that He had moſt paſſionately diſſuaded the War with *Holland*, with much Diſadvantage to himſelf; and that no Man had taken ſo much Pains as He to bring the preſent Peace to paſs, which at that Time was grateful to all Degrees of Men: And, in a Word, that He had no Manner of Intereſt or Credit with the Soldiers; but was looked upon by them all, as an Enemy to the Privileges which They required, of being exempted from the ordinary Rules of Juſtice, in which He always oppoſed them.

BUT let the Improbability of this Charge be what it would, there were Perſons of the Houſe who pretended that it ſhould be fully proved; and ſo the Queſtion was only, "whether upon it They ſhould charge him with "an Accuſation of Treaſon:" And after a Debate of eight Hours, it was declared by all the Lawyers of the Houſe, "that how foul ſoever the Charge "ſeemed to be, yet it contained no High Treaſon;" and in that Concluſion They at laſt concurred who were moſt relied upon to ſupport the Accuſation. But when the Speaker directed the Order to be drawn, "that "the Earl of *Clarendon* ſhould not be accuſed of High Treaſon," it was al-

leged that the Order was only to relate to that firſt Head; ſome Men declaring, "that though that Article had miſſed him, yet there were others "which would hit him:" And ſo the Night being come, the farther Debate was adjourned to another Day.

When the Day appointed came (in which Interval all imaginable Pains and Arts were uſed, by Threats and Promiſes, to allure and terrify as many as could be wrought upon, either to be againſt the Chancellor, or to be abſent at the next Debate that concerned him), upon reading the ſeveral other Heads as they had been preſented from the Committee, it appeared to all Men, that though all that was alleged were proved, the Whole would not amount to make him guilty of High Treaſon. And They got no Ground by throwing Aſperſions upon him upon the ſeveral Arguments, which They did with extraordinary Licenſe who were known to be his Enemies; for thereby other Men of much better Reputations, and who had no Relation to the Chancellor, took Occaſion to anſwer and contradict their Calumnies, and to give him ſuch a Teſtimony, as made him another Man than They would have him underſtood to be; and their Teſtimony had more Credit: So that They declined the Purſuit of that Licenſe, and intended wholly the Diſcovery of the Treaſon, ſince no other Accuſation would ſerve their Turn.

When They had examined all their Store, They pitched at laſt upon that Head, "that He had deluded and betrayed his Majeſty and the Nation "in all foreign Treaties and Negotiations relating to the late War:" Which when read and conſidered, it was ſaid, "that in thoſe general Expreſſions "there was not enough contained upon which They could accuſe him of "High Treaſon, except it were added, that being a Privy Counſellor He "had diſcovered the King's ſecret Counſels to the Enemy." Which was no ſooner ſaid, than a young confident Man, the Lord *Vaughan*, Son to the Earl of *Carbery*, a Perſon of as ill a Face as Fame, his Looks and his Manners Both extreme bad, aſked for the Paper that had been preſented from the Committee, and with his own Hand entered into that Place thoſe Words, "that being a Privy Counſellor He had diſcovered the King's Secrets to the "Enemy," which He ſaid He would prove; whilſt many others whiſpered into the Ears of thoſe who ſate next to them, "that He had diſcovered all "the ſecret Reſolutions to the King of *France*, which," They ſaid, "was "the Ground of the King's Diſpleaſure towards him." Upon this confident Inſinuation from Perſons who were near the Perſon of his Majeſty, and known to have much Credit with him; and the poſitive Averment by a Member, "that the diſcloſing the King's Secrets to the Enemy," which Nobody could deny to be Treaſon, "would be poſitively and fully proved "againſt him," and the rather becauſe no Man believed it to be true; it was voted, "that They ſhould impeach him of High Treaſon in the uſual "Manner to the Houſe of Peers." Whereupon Mr. *Seymour*, who had appeared very violent againſt him, was ſent up to the Lords; and at the Bar He accuſed *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon* of High Treaſon and other Crimes and Miſdemeanors, and deſired "that He might be ſequeſtered from that "Houſe, and his Perſon ſecured."

Mr. Seymour accuſes him of High Treaſon at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords.

And as ſoon as He was withdrawn, ſome of the Lords moved, "that "He might be ſent for:" And now the Warmth that had been ſo long within the Walls of the Houſe of Commons appeared in the Houſe of Peers. Many of the Lords, who were not thought much inclined to the Perſon of the Chancellor, repreſented, "that the Conſequence of ſuch a Pro-"ceeding would reflect to the Prejudice of every one of the Peers. If

Debates in that Houſe concerning his Commitment.

"upon a general Accuſation from the Houſe of Commons of High Treaſon, "without mentioning any Particular, They ſhould be obliged to commit "any Peer; any Member that Houſe ſhould be offended with, how unjuſtly "ſoever, might be removed from the Body: Which would be a greater "Diſadvantage than the Members of the Houſe of Commons were liable to." And therefore They adviſed, "that They ſhould for Anſwer let the Houſe "of Commons know, that They would not commit the Earl of *Clarendon* "until ſome particular Charge was exhibited againſt him."

ON the other Side, it was urged with much Paſſion, "that They ought "to comply with the Houſe of Commons in ſatisfying their Requeſts, ac- "cording to former Precedents:" And the Caſe of the Earl of *Strafford*, and ſome other Caſes in that Parliament, were cited; which gave thoſe who were of another Mind Opportunity to inveigh againſt that Time, and the accurſed Precedents thereof, which had produced ſo many and great Miſchiefs to the Kingdom. They put them in Mind, "that They had com- "mitted eleven Biſhops at one Time for High Treaſon, only that They might "be removed from the Houſe, whilſt a Bill paſſed againſt their having Votes "any more in that Houſe, which was no ſooner paſſed than They were ſet at "Liberty; which had brought great Scandal and great Reproach upon the "Honour and Juſtice of the Parliament: And that Both thoſe Bills, for the "Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford* and for the excluding the Biſhops out "of the Houſe of Peers, ſtand at preſent repealed by the Wiſdom and Au- "thority of this Parliament." In a Word, after many Hours Debate with much Paſſion, either Side adhering obſtinately to their Opinion, no Reſolution was taken; but the Houſe adjourned, without ſo much as putting the Queſtion, to the next Day.

FROM the Time of the Parliament's coming together, and after the King's Diſpleaſure was generally taken Notice of, many of the Chancellor's Friends adviſed him to withdraw, and tranſport himſelf into foreign Parts; and ſome very near the King, and who were Witneſſes of the very great Diſpleaſure his Majeſty every Day expreſſed towards him, were of the ſame Opinion: But He poſitively refuſed ſo to do, and reſolved to truſt to his Innocence, which He was ſure muſt appear.

THE Debate continued ſtill between the two Houſes, which would entertain no other Buſineſs: The Houſe of Commons in frequent Conferences demanding the Commitment of the Chancellor; and the major Part of the Houſe of Peers, notwithſtanding all the indirect Proſecution and Interpoſition from the Court, remaining as reſolved not to commit him. In this unhappy Conjuncture, the Duke of *York*, who expreſſed great Affection and Concernment for the Chancellor, fell ſick of the Smallpox; which proved of great Diſadvantage to him. For not only many of the Peers who were before reſtrained by their Reſpect to him, and ſupported by his Countenance in the Debates, either changed their Minds, or abſented themſelves from the Houſe; but the General, who had always profeſſed great Friendſhip to the Chancellor, who had deſerved very well from him, and had endeavoured to diſſuade the King from withdrawing his Favour from him with all poſſible Importunity, was now changed by the unruly Humour of his Wife, and the frequent Inſtances of the King; and made it his Buſineſs to ſolicit and diſpoſe the Members of Both Houſes, with many of whom He had great Credit, "no longer to adhere to the Chancellor, ſince the King reſolved to "ruin him, and would look upon all who were his Friends as Enemies to "his Majeſty." Notwithſtanding all which, the major Part by much of the Houſe of Peers continued ſtill firm againſt his Commitment: With which

Differences between the Houſes.

the King was ſo offended, that there were ſecret Conſultations of ſending a Guard of Soldiers, by the General's Authority, to take the Chancellor out of his Houſe, and to ſend him to the *Tower*; whither Directions were already ſent what Lodging He ſhould have, and Caution given to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who was thought to have too much Reſpect for the Chancellor, "that He ſhould not treat him with more Civility than He did "other Priſoners."

The Chancellor is again adviſed to withdraw.

HE had many Friends of the Council and near the King, who adviſed him of thoſe and all other Intrigues, and thereupon renewed their Importunity that He would make his Eſcape; and ſome of them undertook to know, and without Queſtion did believe, "that his withdrawing would be "grateful to the King," who every Day grew more incenſed againſt him, for the Obſtinacy his Friends in Both Houſes expreſſed on his Behalf. They urged "the ill Condition He muſt in a ſhort Time be reduced to, wherein "his Innocence would not ſecure him; for it was evident that his Enemies "had no Purpoſe or Thought of bringing him to a Trial, but to keep him "always in Priſon, which They would in the End one Way or other bring "to paſs: Whereas He might now eaſily tranſport himſelf, and avoid all "the other Inconveniences." And They undertook to know, "that if He "were gone, there would be no farther Proceeding againſt him."

THERE could not be a more terrifying or prevalent Argument uſed towards his withdrawing, than that of a Priſon; the Thought and Apprehenſion whereof was more grievous to him than of Death itſelf, which He was confident would quickly be the Effect of the other. However He very reſolutely refuſed to follow their Advice; and urged to them "the Advantage "He ſhould give his Enemies, and the Diſhonour He ſhould bring upon "himſelf, by flying, in having his Integrity condemned, if He had not the "Confidence to defend it." He ſaid, "He could now appear, wherever "He ſhould be required, with an honeſt Countenance, and the Courage of "an innocent Man: But if He ſhould be apprehended in a Diſguiſe running "away, which He could not but expect by the Vigilance of his Enemies "(ſince He could not make any Journey by Land, being at that Time very "weak and infirm), He ſhould be very much out of Countenance, and "ſhould be expoſed to publick Scorn and Contempt. And if He ſhould "make his Eſcape into foreign Parts, it would not be reaſonable to expect "or imagine that his Enemies, who had ſo far aliened the King's Affection from him, and in Spite of his Innocence prevailed thus far, would "want Power to proſecute the Advantage They ſhould get by his Flight, "which would be interpreted as a Confeſſion of his Guilt; and thereupon "They would procure ſuch Proceedings in the Parliament, as might ruin "both his Fortune and his Fame."

But refuſes.

HIS Friends, how unſatisfied ſoever with his Reſolution, acquieſced for the preſent, after having firſt prevailed with him to write himſelf to the King; which He did, though without any Hope that it would make any Impreſſion upon him. He could not comprehend or imagine from what Fountain, except the Power of the great Lady with the Conjunction of his known Enemies, which had been long without that Effect, that Fierceneſs of his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure could proceed. He had, before this Storm fell upon him, been informed by a Perſon of Honour who knew the Truth of it, "that ſome Perſons had perſuaded the King, *that the Chancellor had a* "*principal Hand in the Marriage of the Duke of* Richmond, with which his "Majeſty was offended in the higheſt Degree: And the Lord *Berkley* had "reported it with all Confidence." Whereupon the Chancellor had expoſ-

The King offended with him about the Duke of Richmond's *Marriage.*

tulated with the Lord *Berkley*, whom He knew to be his ſecret Enemy, though no Man made more outward Profeſſions to him: But He denied He had reported any ſuch Thing. And then He took Notice to the King himſelf of the Diſcourſe, and deſired to know, "whether any ſuch Story had "been repreſented to his Majeſty, ſince there was not the leaſt Shadow of "Truth in it:" To which the King anſwered with ſome Dryneſs, "that no "ſuch Thing had been told to him." Yet now He was aſſured, "that "that Buſineſs ſtuck moſt with his Majeſty, and that from that Suggeſtion "his Enemies had gotten Credit to do him the worſt Offices; and his Ma- "jeſty complained much of the Inſolence with which He uſed to treat him "in the Agitation and Debate of Buſineſs, if He differed from him in Opi- "nion." Upon theſe Reaſons He writ this Letter in his own Hand to the King, which was delivered to him by the Lord Keeper, who was willing to perform that Office. The Letter was in theſe Words.

"MAY it pleaſe your Majeſty,"

His Letter to the King upon that Subject.

"I AM ſo broken under the daily inſupportable Inſtances of your Majeſty's "terrible Diſpleaſure, that I know not what to do, hardly what to wiſh. "The Crimes which are objected againſt me, how paſſionately ſoever pur- "ſued, and with Circumſtances very unuſual, do not in the leaſt Degree "fright me. God knows I am innocent in every Particular as I ought to "be; and I hope your Majeſty knows enough of me to believe that I had "never a violent Appetite for Money, that could corrupt me. But alas! "your Majeſty's declared Anger and Indignation deprives me of the Comfort "and Support even of my own Innocence, and expoſes me to the Rage and "Fury of thoſe who have ſome Excuſe for being my Enemies; whom I "have ſometimes diſpleaſed, when (and only then) your Majeſty believed "them not to be your Friends. I hope They may be changed; I am ſure "I am not, but have the ſame Duty, Paſſion and Affection for you, that I "had when You thought it moſt unqueſtionable, and which was and is as "great as ever Man had for any mortal Creature. I ſhould die in Peace "(and truly I do heartily wiſh that God Almighty would free you from fur- "ther Trouble, by taking me to himſelf), if I could know or gueſs at the "Ground of your Diſpleaſure, which I am ſure muſt proceed from your "believing, that I have ſaid or done Somewhat I have neither ſaid nor done. "If it be for any Thing my Lord *Berkley* hath reported, which I know He "hath ſaid to many, though being charged with it by me He did as poſitively "diſclaim it; I am as innocent in that whole Affair, and gave no more Advice "or Counſel or Countenance in it, than the Child that is not born: Which "your Majeſty ſeemed once to believe, when I took Notice to you of the "Report, and when You conſidered how totally I was a Stranger to the "Perſons mentioned, to either of whom I never ſpake Word, or received "Meſſage from either in my Life. And this I proteſt to your Majeſty is "true, as I have Hope in Heaven: And that I have never wilfully offended "your Majeſty in my Life, and do upon my Knees beg your Pardon for any "over-bold or ſaucy Expreſſions I have ever uſed to you; which, being a "natural Diſeaſe in old Servants who have received too much Countenance, "I am ſure hath always proceeded from the Zeal and Warmth of the moſt "ſincere Affection and Duty."

"I HOPE your Majeſty believes, that the ſharp Chaſtiſement I have re- "ceived from the beſt-natured and moſt bountiful Maſter in the World, and "whoſe Kindneſs alone made my Condition theſe many Years ſupportable, "hath enough mortified me as to this World; and that I have not the

" Preſumption or the Madneſs to imagine or deſire ever to be admitted to " any Employment or Truſt again. But I do moſt humbly beſeech your " Majeſty by the Memory of your Father, who recommended me to you " with ſome Teſtimony, and by your own gracious Reflection upon ſome " one Service I may have performed in my Life, that hath been acceptable " to you; that You will by your Royal Power and Interpoſition put a Stop " to this ſevere Proſecution againſt me, and that my Concernment may give " no longer Interruption to the great Affairs of the Kingdom; but that I " may ſpend the ſmall Remainder of my Life, which cannot hold long, in " ſome Parts beyond the Seas, never to return; where I will pray for your " Majeſty, and never ſuffer the leaſt Diminution in the Duty and Obedience of,

" May it pleaſe your Majeſty,
" Your Majeſty's
" From my Houſe " Moſt humble and moſt
" this 16th of *November*." " Obedient Subject and Servant,
" CLARENDON."

THE King was in his Cabinet when the Letter was delivered to him; which as ſoon as He had read, He burned in a Candle that was on the Table, and only ſaid, " that there was Somewhat in it that He did not un- " derſtand, but that He wondered that the Chancellor did not withdraw " himſelf:" Of which the Keeper preſently advertiſed him, with his earneſt Advice that He would be gone.

The King expreſſes a Deſire of his withdrawing.

THE King's Diſcourſe was according to the Perſons with whom He conferred. To thoſe who were engaged in the violent Proſecution He ſpake with great Bitterneſs of him, repeating many particular Paſſages, in which He had ſhewed much Paſſion becauſe his Majeſty did not concur with him in what He adviſed. To thoſe who He knew were his Friends He mentioned him without any Bitterneſs, and with ſome Teſtimony of his having ſerved him long and uſefully, and as if He had Pity and Compaſſion for him: Yet " that He wondered that He did not abſent himſelf, ſince it could not but " be very manifeſt to him and to all his Friends, that it was not in his " Majeſty's Power to protect him againſt the Prejudice that was againſt him " in Both Houſes; which," He ſaid, " could not but be increaſed by the " Obſtruction his particular Concernment gave to all publick Affairs in this " Conjuncture; in which," He ſaid, " He was ſure He would prevail at " laſt." All theſe Advertiſements could not prevail over the Chancellor for the Reaſons mentioned before; though He was very much afflicted at the Diviſion between the two Houſes, the evil Conſequence whereof He well underſtood, and could have been well content that the Lords would have conſented to his Impriſonment.

The Biſhop of Hereford ſent to adviſe him to leave the Kingdom.

THE Biſhop of *Hereford*, who had been very much obliged to the Chancellor, and throughout this whole Affair had behaved himſelf with very ſignal Ingratitude to him, and thereby got much Credit in the Court, went to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who was known to be a faſt and unſhaken Friend to the Chancellor; and made him a long Diſcourſe of what the King had ſaid to him, and deſired him " that He would go with him to his Houſe;" which He preſently did, and, leaving him in a Room, went himſelf to the Chancellor, and told him what had paſſed from the Biſhop of *Hereford*, " who was in the next Room to ſpeak with him, but would not in direct " Words to him acknowledge that He ſpake by the King's Order or Appro- " bation; but that He had confeſſed ſo much to him with many Circum-

"ſtances, and that the Lord *Arlington* and Mr. *Coventry* had been preſent." The Chancellor had no Mind to ſee or ſpeak with the Biſhop, who had carried himſelf ſo unworthily towards him, and might probably miſreport any Thing He ſhould ſay: But He was overruled by the other Biſhop; and ſo They went Both into the next Room to him.

THE Biſhop of *Hereford* in ſome Diſorder, as a Man conſcious to himſelf of ſome Want of Sincerity towards him, deſired "that He would believe that "He would not at that Time have come to him, with whom He knew He was "in ſome Umbrage, if it were not with a Deſire to do him Service, and if He "had not a full Authority for whatſoever He ſaid to him." Then He enlarged himſelf in Diſcourſe more involved and perplexed, without any Mention of the King, or the Authority He had for what He ſhould ſay; the Care to avoid which was evidently the Cauſe of the Want of Clearneſs in all He ſaid. But the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſupplied it by relating all that He had ſaid to him: With which though He was not pleaſed, becauſe the King and others were named, yet He did not contradict it; but ſaid, "He did not "ſay that He was ſent by the King or ſpake by his Direction, only *that He "could not be ſo mad as to interpoſe in ſuch an Affair without full Authority "to make good all that He ſhould promiſe.*" The Sum of all was, "that "if the Chancellor would withdraw himſelf into any Parts beyond the Seas, "to prevent the Miſchiefs that muſt befall the Kingdom by the Diviſion and "Difference between the two Houſes; He would undertake upon his Sal-"vation," which was the Expreſſion He uſed more than once, "that He "ſhould not be interrupted in his Journey; and that after He ſhould be "gone, He ſhould not be in any Degree proſecuted, or ſuffer in his Ho-"nour or Fortune by his Abſence."

THE Chancellor told him, "that He well underſtood what He muſt "ſuffer by withdrawing himſelf, and ſo declining the Trial, in which his "Innocence would ſecure him, and in the mean Time preſerve him from "being terrified with the Threats and Malice of his Enemies: However He "would expoſe himſelf to that Diſadvantage, if He received his Majeſty's "Commands to that Purpoſe, or if He had but a clear Evidence that his "Majeſty did wiſh it, as a Thing that He thought might advance his Ser-"vice. But without that Aſſurance, which He might receive many Ways "which could not be taken Notice of, He could not with his Honour "or Diſcretion give his implacable Enemies that Advantage againſt him, "when his Friends ſhould be able to allege Nothing in his Defence." *Which He refuſes to do without receiving a Command from his Majeſty.*

THE Biſhop replied, "that He was not allowed to ſay that his Majeſty "required or wiſhed it, but that He could not be ſo mad as to undertake "what He had promiſed, without ſufficient Warrant;" and repeated again what He had formerly ſaid. To which the other anſwered, "that the Vi-"gilance and Power of his Enemies was well known: And that though the "King might in Truth wiſh that He were ſafe on the other Side of the Sea, "and give no Direction to interrupt or trouble him in his Journey; yet that "it was liable to many Accidents in Reſpect of his Weakneſs and Infirmity," which was ſo great at that Time, that He could not walk without being ſupported by one or two; ſo that He could not be diſguiſed to any Body that had ever known him. Beſides that the Pain He was already in, and the Seaſon of the Year, made him apprehend, that the Gout might ſo ſeize upon him within two or three Days, that He might not be able to move: And ſo the Malice of thoſe who wiſhed his Deſtruction might very probably find an Opportunity, without or againſt the King's Conſent, to apprehend and caſt him into Priſon, as a Fugitive from the Hand of Juſtice.

For the Prevention of all which, which no Man could blame him for apprehending, He propoſed, "that He might have a Paſs from the King, which "He would not produce but in ſuch an Exigent: And would uſe all the "Providence He could, to proceed with that Secrecy that his Departure "ſhould not be taken Notice of; but if it were, He muſt not be without "ſuch a Protection, to preſerve him from the preſent Indignities to which "He muſt be liable, though poſſibly it would not protect him from the "Diſpleaſure of the Parliament." The Biſhop thought this Propoſition to be reaſonable, and ſeemed confident that He ſhould procure the Paſs: And ſo that Conference ended.

THE next Day the Biſhop ſent Word, "that the King could not grant "the Paſs, becauſe if it ſhould be known, by what Accident ſoever, it "would much incenſe the Parliament: But that He might as ſecurely go "as if He had a Paſs;" which moved no farther with him, than his former Undertaking had done. Nor could the Importunity of his Children, or the Advice of his Friends, perſuade him to depart from his Reſolution.

The French *Ambaſſadour urges him to retire to* France.

ABOUT the Time of the Chancellor's Diſgrace, *Monſieur Ruvigny* arrived at *London* as Envoy Extraordinary from the *French* King, and came the next Day after the Seal was taken from him. He was a Perſon well known in the Court, and particularly to the Chancellor, with whom He had been formerly aſſigned to treat upon Affairs of Moment, being of the Religion and very nearly allied to the late Earl of *Southampton*. And as theſe Conſiderations were the chief Motives that He was made Choice of for the preſent Employment, ſo the chief Part of his Inſtructions was to apply himſelf to the Chancellor, through whoſe Hands it was known that the whole Treaty that was now happily concluded, and all the Preliminaries with *France*, had entirely paſſed. When He found that the Conduct of Affairs was quite changed, and that the Chancellor came not to the Court, He knew not what to do, but immediately diſpatched an Expreſs to *France* for farther Inſtructions. He deſired to ſpeak with the Chancellor; which He refuſed, and likewiſe to receive the Letters which He had brought for him and offered to ſend to him, all which He deſired might be delivered to the King. When the Proceedings in Parliament went ſo high, *Ruvigny*, who had at all Hours Admiſſion to the King, and intimate Converſation with the Lord *Arlington*, and ſo eaſily diſcovered the extreme Prejudice and Malice that was contracted againſt the Chancellor, ſent him frequent Advertiſements of what was neceſſary for him to know, and with all poſſible Earneſtneſs adviſed him, when the Diviſions grew ſo high in the Houſes, "that He would "withdraw and retire into *France*, where" He aſſured him "He would find "himſelf very welcome:" All which prevailed no more with him than the reſt. And ſo another Week paſſed after the Biſhop's Propoſition, with the ſame Paſſion in the Houſes: And Endeavours were uſed to incenſe the People, as if the Lords obſtructed the Proceeding of Juſtice againſt the Chancellor by refuſing to commit him; and Mr. *Seymour* told the Lord *Aſhley*, "that the People would pull down the Chancellor's Houſe firſt, and then "thoſe of all the Lords who adhered to him."

Which He declines.

At length the King ſends to him to withdraw.

BY this Time the Duke of *York* recovered ſo faſt, that the King, being aſſured by the Phyſicians that there would be no Danger of Infection, went on Saturday Morning, the twenty ninth of *November*, to viſit him: And being alone together, his Majeſty bade him "adviſe the Chancellor to be "gone," and blamed him that He had not given Credit to what the Biſhop of *Hereford* had ſaid to him. The King had no ſooner left the Duke, but his Highneſs ſent for the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and bade him tell the Chan-

cellor from him, "that it was abſolutely neceſſary for him ſpeedily to be "gone, and that He had the King's Word for all that had been undertaken "by the Biſhop of *Hereford*."

As ſoon as the Chancellor received this Advice and Command, He reſolved with great Reluctancy to obey, and to be gone that very Night: And having, by the Friendſhip of Sir *John Wolſtenholme*, cauſed the Farmers Boat to wait for him at *Erith*, as ſoon as it was dark He took Coach at his Houſe *Saturday* Night, the twenty ninth of *November* 1667, with two Servants only. And being accompanied with his two Sons and two or three other Friends on Horſeback as far as *Erith*, He found the Boat ready; and ſo embarked about Eleven of the Clock that Night, the Wind indifferently good: But before Midnight it changed, and carried him back almoſt as far as He had advanced. And in this Perplexity He remained three Days and Nights before He arrived at *Calais*, which was not a Port choſen by him, all Places out of *England* being indifferent, and *France* not being in his Inclination, becauſe of the Reproach and Calumny that was caſt upon him: But ſince it was the firſt that offered itſelf, and it was not ſeaſonable to affect another, He was very glad to diſembark there, and to find himſelf ſafe on Shore.

He unwillingly obeys, and leaves the Kingdom.

He lands at Calais.

ALL theſe Particulars, of which many may ſeem too trivial to be remembered, have been thought neceſſary to be related, it being a principal Part of his Vindication for going away, and not inſiſting upon his Innocence; which at that Time made a greater Impreſſion upon many worthy Perſons to his Diſadvantage, than any Particular that was contained in the Charge that had been offered to the Houſe. And therefore though He forbore, when all the Promiſes were broken which had been made to him, and his Enemies Malice and Inſolence increaſed by his Abſence, to publiſh or in the leaſt Degree to communicate the true Ground and Reaſons of abſenting himſelf, to avoid any Inconvenience that in ſo captious a Seaſon might thereby have befallen the King's Service; yet it cannot be thought unreaſonable to preſerve this Memorial of all the Circumſtances, as well as the ſubſtantial Reaſons, which diſpoſed him to make that Flight, for the clear Information of thoſe, who in a fit Seaſon may underſtand his Innocence without any Inconvenience to his Majeſty, of whoſe Goodneſs and Honour and Juſtice it may be hoped, that his Majeſty himſelf will give his own Teſtimony, both of this Particular of his withdrawing, and a Vindication of his Innocence from all the other Reproaches with which it was aſperſed.

I WILL not omit one other Particular, for the Manifeſtation of the Inequality that was between the Nature of the Chancellor and of his Enemies, and upon what Diſadvantage He was to contend with them. Before the Meeting of the Parliament, when it was well known that the Combination was entered into by the Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry* againſt the Chancellor, ſeveral Members of the Houſe informed him of what They did and what They ſaid, and told him, "that there was but one Way "to prevent the Prejudice intended towards him, which was by falling "firſt upon them; which They would cauſe to be done, if He would "aſſiſt them with ſuch Information as it could not but be in his Power "to do. That They were Both very odious generally: The one for his "inſolent Carriage towards all Men, and for the Manner of his getting into "that Office by diſpoſſeſſing an old faithful Servant, who was forced to part "with it for a very good Recompenſe of ten thouſand Pounds in Money and "other Releaſes and Grants, which was paid and made by the King to in-"troduce a Secretary of very mean Parts, and without Induſtry to improve

An Inſtance of his generous Behaviour to his Enemies.

"them, and one who was generally ſuſpected to be a Papiſt, or without any "Religion at all; it being generally taken Notice of, that He was rarely "ſeen in a Church, and never known to receive the Communion. The "other was known by his corrupt Behaviour, and ſelling all the Offices in "the Fleet and Navy for incredible Sums of Money, and thereby introduc- "ing Men, who had been moſt employed and truſted by *Cromwell*, into "the ſeveral Offices; whilſt loyal and faithful Seamen who had always ad- "hered to the King, and many of them continued in his Service abroad and "till his Return into *England*, could not be admitted into any Employ- "ment: The ill Conſequence of which to the King's Service was very no- "torious, by the daily manifeſt ſtealing and embezzling the Stores of "Ammunition, Cordage, Sails, and other Tackling, which were com- "monly ſold again to the King at great Prices. And when the Perſons "guilty of this were taken Notice of and apprehended, They talked loudly "of the Sums They had paid for their Offices, which obliged them to thoſe "Frauds: And that it might not be more notorious, They were, by Sir "*William Coventry's* great Power and Intereſt, never proceeded againſt, or "removed from their Offices and Employments."

THEY told him, "that He never ſaid or did any Thing in the moſt ſecret "Council, where They two were always preſent, and where there were fre- "quent Occaſions of mentioning the Proceedings of Both Houſes, and the "Behaviour of ſeveral Members in Both, but thoſe Gentlemen declared the "ſame, and all that He ſaid or did, to thoſe who would be moſt offended and "incenſed by it, and who were like in ſome Conjuncture to be able to do "him moſt Miſchief: And by thoſe ill Arts They had irreconciled many "Perſons to him. And that if He would now, without its being poſſible "to be taken Notice of, give them ſuch Information and Light into the "Proceedings of thoſe Gentlemen, They would undertake to divert the "Storm that threatened him, and cauſe it to fall upon the others." And this was with much Earneſtneſs preſſed to him, not only before the Meeting of the Parliament, and when He was fully informed of the ill Arts and ungentlemanly Practice thoſe two Perſons were engaged in to do him Hurt, but after the Houſe of Commons was incenſed againſt him; with a full Aſſurance, "that They were much inclined to have accuſed the other two, if the leaſt "Occaſion was given for it."

BUT the Chancellor would not be prevailed with, ſaying, "that no Pro- "vocation or Example ſhould diſpoſe him to do any Thing that would not "become him: That They were Both Privy Counſellors, and truſted by the "King in his moſt weighty Affairs; and if He diſcerned any Thing amiſs in "them, He could inform the King of it. But the aſperſing or accuſing "them any where elſe was not his Part to do, nor could it be done by any "without ſome Reflection upon the King and Duke, who would be much "offended at it: And therefore He adviſed them in no Degree to make any "ſuch Attempt on his Behalf; but to leave him to the Protection of his own "Innocence and of God's good Pleaſure, and thoſe Gentlemen to their own "Fate, which at ſome Time would humble them." And it is known to many Perſons, and poſſibly to the King himſelf, for whoſe Service only that Office was performed, that one or Both thoſe Perſons had before that Time been impeached, if the Chancellor's ſole Induſtry and Intereſt had not diverted and prevented it.

WHEN the Chancellor found it neceſſary, for the Reaſons aforeſaid, to withdraw himſelf, He thought it as neceſſary to leave ſome Addreſs to the Houſe of Peers, and to make as good an Excuſe as He could for his Abſence

without aſking their Leave; which ſhould be delivered to them by ſome Member of their Body (there being many of them ready to perform that civil Office for him), when his Abſence ſhould be known, or ſome Evidence that He was ſafely arrived on the other Side of the Sea. And that Time being come (for the Packet Boat was ready to depart when the Chancellor landed at *Calais*), the Earl of *Denbigh* ſaid, "He had an Addreſs to the Houſe from "the Earl of *Clarendon*, which He deſired might be read;" which contained theſe Words.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled; the humble Petition and Addreſs of Edward *Earl of* Clarendon. *The Chancellor's Apology to the Houſe of Lords for withdrawing.*

"MAY it pleaſe your Lordſhips,"

"I CANNOT expreſs the inſupportable Trouble and Grief of Mind I ſuſtain, "under the Apprehenſion of being miſrepreſented to your Lordſhips; and "when I hear how much of your Lordſhips Time hath been ſpent upon my "poor Concern (though it be of no leſs than of my Life and Fortune), and "of the Differences in Opinion which have already or may probably ariſe be-"tween your Lordſhips and the honourable Houſe of Commons; whereby "the great and weighty Affairs of the Kingdom may be obſtructed in a "Time of ſo general a Diſſatisfaction."

"I AM very unfortunate to find myſelf to ſuffer ſo much under two very "diſadvantageous Reflections, which are in no Degree applicable to me: "The firſt, from the Greatneſs of my Eſtate and Fortune, collected and "made in ſo few Years; which, if it be proportionable to what is reported, "may very reaſonably cauſe my Integrity to be ſuſpected. The ſecond, "that I have been the ſole Manager and chief Miniſter in all the Tranſac-"tions of State, ſince the King's Return into *England* to *Auguſt* laſt; and "therefore that all Miſcarriages and Misfortunes ought to be imputed to me, "and to my Counſels."

"CONCERNING my Eſtate, your Lordſhips will not believe, that after "Malice and Envy hath been ſo inquiſitive, and is ſo ſharpſighted, I will "offer any Thing to your Lordſhips but what is exactly true: And I do aſ-"ſure your Lordſhips in the firſt Place, that, excepting from the King's "Bounty, I have never received or taken one Penny, but what was gene-"rally underſtood to be the juſt and lawful Perquiſites of my Office by the "conſtant Practice of the beſt Times, which I did in my own Judgment con-"ceive to be that of my Lord *Coventry* and my Lord *Elleſmere*, the Practice "of which I conſtantly obſerved; although the Office in Both their Times "was lawfully worth double to what it was to me, and I believe now is."

"THAT all the Courteſies and Favours, which I have been able to ob-"tain from the King for other Perſons in Church or State or in *Weſtminſter-"Hall*, have never been worth me five Pound: So that your Lordſhips "may be confident I am as innocent from Corruption, as from any diſloyal "Thought; which, after near thirty Years Service of the Crown in ſome "Difficulties and Diſtreſſes, I did never ſuſpect would have been objected "to me in my Age."

"THAT I am at preſent indebted about three or four and twenty "thouſand Pounds, for which I pay Intereſt; the Particulars whereof "I ſhall be ready to offer to your Lordſhips, and for which I have aſſigned "Lands and Leaſes to be ſold, though at preſent Nobody will buy or ſell "with me. That I am ſo far from having Money, that from the Time the "Seal was taken from me I have lived upon the coining ſome ſmall Parcels

" of Plate, which have ſuſtained me and my Family, all my Rents being " withheld from me."

" That my Eſtate, my Debts being paid, will not yield me two thou- " ſand Pounds *per Annum*, for the Support of myſelf, and providing for two " young Children, who have Nothing: And that all I have is not worth " what the King in his Bounty hath beſtowed upon me, his Majeſty having " out of his Royal Bounty, within few Months after his coming into *Eng-* " *land*, at one Time beſtowed upon me twenty thouſand Pounds in ready " Money, without the leaſt Motion or Imagination of mine; and, ſhortly " after, another Sum of Money, amounting to ſix thouſand Pounds or there- " abouts, out of *Ireland*, which ought to have amounted to a much greater " Proportion, and of which I never heard Word, till Notice was given me " by the Earl of *Orrery* that there was ſuch a Sum of Money for me. His " Majeſty likewiſe aſſigned me after the firſt Year of his Return an annual " Supply towards my Support, which did but defray my Expenſes, the cer- " tain Profits of my Office not amounting to above two thouſand Pounds a " Year or thereabouts, and the Perquiſites not very conſiderable and very " uncertain: So that the ſaid ſeveral Sums of Money, and ſome Parcels of " Land his Majeſty beſtowed upon me, are worth more than all I have " amounts to. So far I am from advancing my Eſtate by any indirect " Means. And though this Bounty of his Majeſty hath very far exceeded " my Merit or my Expectation; yet ſome others have been as fortunate " at leaſt in the ſame Bounty, who had as ſmall Pretences to it, and have " no great Reaſon to envy my good Fortune."

" Concerning the other Imputation, of the Credit and Power of being " chief Miniſter, and ſo cauſing all to be done that I had a Mind to; I " have no more to ſay, than that I had the good Fortune to ſerve a Maſter " of a very great Judgment and Underſtanding, and to be always joined " with Perſons of great Ability and Experience, without whoſe Advice and " Concurrence never any Thing hath been done. Before his Majeſty's com- " ing into *England*, He was conſtantly attended by the then Marquis of *Or-* " *mond*, the late Lord *Colepepper*, and Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*; who were " equally truſted with myſelf, and without whoſe joint Advice and Con- " currence, when They were all preſent (as ſome of them always were), I " never gave any Counſel."

" As ſoon as it pleaſed God to bring his Majeſty into *England*, He eſta- " bliſhed his Privy Council, and ſhortly out of them a Number of honour- " able Perſons of great Reputation, who for the moſt Part are ſtill alive, as " a Committee for foreign Affairs, and Conſideration of ſuch Things as in " the Nature of them required much Secrecy; and with theſe Perſons He " vouchſafed to join me. And I am confident this Committee never tranſ- " acted any Thing of Moment, his Majeſty being always preſent, without " preſenting the ſame firſt to the Council-Board: And I muſt appeal to " them concerning my Carriage, and whether We were not all of one " Mind in all Matters of Importance. For more than two Years I never " knew any Difference in the Councils, or that there were any Complaints " in the Kingdom; which I wholly impute to his Majeſty's great Wiſdom, " and the entire Concurrence of his Council, without the Vanity of aſſuming " any Thing to myſelf: And therefore I hope I ſhall not be ſingly charged " with any Thing that hath ſince fallen out amiſs. But from the Time that " Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* was removed from his Place, there were great Altera- " tions; and whoſoever knows any Thing of the Court or Councils, knows " well how much my Credit ſince that Time hath been diminiſhed, though

" his Majeſty graciouſly vouchſafed ſtill to hear my Advice in moſt of his " Affairs. Nor hath there been, from that Time to this, above one or two " Perſons brought to the Council, or preferred to any conſiderable Office in " the Court, who have been of my intimate Acquaintance, or ſuſpected to " have any Kindneſs for me; and many of them notoriouſly known to " have been very long my Enemies, and of different Judgment and Principles " from me both in Church and State, and who have taken all Opportuni- " ties to leſſen my Credit to the King, and with all other Perſons, by miſ- " repreſenting and miſreporting all that I ſaid or did, and perſuading Men " that I had done them ſome Prejudice with his Majeſty, or croſſed them " in ſome of their Pretences; though his Majeſty's Goodneſs and Juſtice was " ſuch, that it made little Impreſſion upon him."

" IN my humble Opinion, the great Misfortunes of the Kingdom have " proceeded from the War, to which it is notoriouſly known that I was " always averſe; and may without Vanity ſay, I did not only foreſee but did " declare the Miſchiefs We ſhould run into, by entering into a War before " any Alliance made with the neighbour Princes. And that it may not be " imputed to his Majeſty's Want of Care, or the Negligence of his Coun- " ſellors, that no ſuch Alliances were entered into; I muſt take the Bold- " neſs to ſay, that his Majeſty left Nothing unattempted in Order thereunto: " And knowing very well, that *France* reſolved to begin a War upon *Spain*, " as ſoon as his *Catholick* Majeſty ſhould depart this World (which being " much ſooner expected by them, They had two Winters before been at " great Charge in providing plentiful Magazines of all Proviſions upon the " Frontiers, that They might be ready for the War), his Majeſty uſed all " poſſible Means to prepare and diſpoſe the *Spaniard* to that Apprehenſion, " offering his Friendſhip to that Degree, as might be for the Security and " Benefit of Both Crowns. But *Spain* flattering itſelf with an Opinion that " *France* would not break with them, at leaſt, that They would not give " them any Cauſe by adminiſtering Matter of Jealouſy to them, never made " any real Approach towards a Friendſhip with his Majeſty; but both by " their Ambaſſadour here, and to his Majeſty's Ambaſſadour at *Madrid*, " always inſiſted, as Preliminaries, upon the giving up of *Dunkirk*, *Tangier*, " and *Jamaica*."

" THOUGH *France* had an Ambaſſadour here, to whom a Project for a " Treaty was offered, and the Lord *Holles*, his Majeſty's Ambaſſadour at " *Paris*, uſed all Endeavours to promote and proſecute the ſaid Treaty; yet " it was quickly diſcerned, that the principal Deſign of *France* was to draw " his Majeſty into ſuch a nearer Alliance as might advance their Deſigns; " without which They had no Mind to enter into the Treaty propoſed. And " this was the State of Affairs when the War was entered into with the " *Dutch*, from which Time neither Crown much conſidered their making " an Alliance with *England*."

" AS I did from my Soul abhor the entering into this War, ſo I never " preſumed to give any Advice or Counſel for the Way of managing it, but " by oppoſing many Propoſitions which ſeemed to the late Lord Treaſurer " and myſelf to be unreaſonable, as the Payment of the Seamen by Tickets, " and many other Particulars which added to the Expenſe. My Enemies took " all Occaſions to inveigh againſt me: And making Friendſhip with others " out of the Council of more licentious Principles, and who knew well " enough how much I diſliked and complained of the Liberty They took to " themſelves of reviling all Councils and Counſellors, and turning all Things " ſerious and ſacred into Ridicule; They took all Ways imaginable to render

" me ingrateful to all Sorts of Men (whom I ſhall be compelled to name in " my own Defence), perſuading thoſe who miſcarried in any of their Deſigns, " that it was the Chancellor's doing; whereof I never knew any Thing. " However They could not withdraw the King's Favour from me, who was " ſtill pleaſed to uſe my Service with others; nor was there ever any Thing " done but upon the joint Advice of at leaſt the major Part of thoſe who " were conſulted with. And as his Majeſty commanded my Service in the " late Treaties, ſo I never gave the leaſt Advice in private, nor writ one " Letter to any Perſon in either of thoſe Negotiations, but upon the Advice " of the Council, and after it was read in Council, or at leaſt by the King " himſelf and ſome others: And if I prepared any Inſtructions or Memo- " rials, it was by the King's Command, and the Requeſt of the Secretaries, " who deſired my Aſſiſtance. Nor was it any Wiſh of my own, that any " Ambaſſadours ſhould give me an Account of the Tranſactions, but to the " Secretaries, with whom I was always ready to adviſe; nor am I conſcious " to myſelf of having ever given Advice that hath proved miſchievous or in- " convenient to his Majeſty. And I have been ſo far from being the ſole " Manager of Affairs, that I have not in the whole laſt Year been above twice " with his Majeſty in any Room alone, and very ſeldom in the two or three " Years preceding. And ſince the Parliament at *Oxford*, it hath been very " viſible that my Credit hath been very little, and that very few Things have " been hearkened to which have been propoſed by me, but contradicted *eo* " *Nomine*, becauſe propoſed by me."

" I MOST humbly beſeech your Lordſhips to remember the Office and " Truſt I had for ſeven Years; in which, in Diſcharge of my Duty, I was " obliged to ſtop and obſtruct many Mens Pretences, and to refuſe to ſet " the Seal to many Pardons and other Grants, which would have been pro- " fitable to thoſe who procured them, and many whereof, upon my Repre- " ſentation to his Majeſty, were for ever ſtopped; which naturally have " raiſed many Enemies to me. And my frequent concurring with the late " Lord Treaſurer, with whom I had the Honour to have a long and a faſt " Friendſhip to his Death, in repreſenting ſeveral Exceſſes and Exorbitances " (the yearly Iſſues ſo far exceeding the Revenue), provoked many Perſons " concerned, of great Power and Credit, to do me all the ill Offices They " could. And yet I may faithfully ſay, that I never meddled with any Part " of the Revenue or the Adminiſtration of it, but when I was deſired by " the late Lord Treaſurer to give him my Aſſiſtance and Advice (having " had the Honour formerly to ſerve the Crown as Chancellor of the Exche- " quer), which was for the moſt Part in his Majeſty's Preſence: Nor have " I ever been in the leaſt Degree concerned in Point of Profit in the let- " ting any Part of his Majeſty's Revenue, nor have ever treated or debated " it but in his Majeſty's Preſence; in which, my Opinion concurred al- " ways with the major Part of the Counſellors who were preſent. All " which, upon Examination, will be made manifeſt to your Lordſhips, " how much ſoever my Integrity is blaſted by the Malice of thoſe, who I " am confident do not believe themſelves. Nor have I in my Life, upon " all the Treaties or otherwiſe, received the Value of one Shilling from all " the Kings and Princes in the World (except the Books of the *Louvre* " Print ſent me by the Chancellor of *France* by that King's Direction), but " from my own Maſter; to whoſe entire Service, and to the Good and " Welfare of my Country, no Man's Heart was ever more devoted."

" THIS being my preſent Condition, I do moſt humbly beſeech your " Lordſhips to retain a favourable Opinion of me, and to believe me to be

" innocent from thoſe foul Aſperſions, until the Contrary ſhall be proved; " which I am ſure can never be by any Man worthy to be believed. And " ſince the Diſtemper of the Time, and the Difference between the two " Houſes in the preſent Debate, with the Power and Malice of my Enemies, " who give out, that I ſhall prevail with his Majeſty to prorogue or diſ- " ſolve this Parliament in Diſpleaſure, and threaten to expoſe me to the " Rage and Fury of the People, may make me looked upon as the " Cauſe which obſtructs the King's Service, and the Unity and Peace of the " Kingdom; I muſt humbly beſeech your Lordſhips, that I may not for- " feit your Lordſhips Favour and Protection, by withdrawing myſelf from " ſo powerful a Perſecution; in Hopes I may be able, by ſuch withdrawing, " hereafter to appear, and make my Defence; when his Majeſty's Juſtice, " to which I ſhall always ſubmit, may not be obſtructed nor controlled by " the Power and Malice of thoſe who have ſworn my Deſtruction."

THE Chancellor knew very well, that there were Members enough in Both Houſes who would be very glad to take any Advantage of his Words and Expreſſions: And therefore as He weighed them the beſt He could himſelf in the ſhort Time from which He took his Reſolution to be gone; ſo He conſulted with as many Friends as that Time would allow, to the End that their Jealouſy and Warineſs might better watch, that no Expreſſion might be liable to a ſiniſter Interpretation, than his own Paſſion and Indiſpoſition could provide. And as They all thought it neceſſary that He ſhould leave Somewhat behind him, that might offer an Excuſe for his Abſence; ſo They did not conceive, that the Words before mentioned could give any Offence to equal Judges. But the leaſt Variety or Change of Wind moved thoſe Waters to wonderful Diſtempers and Tempeſts.

THIS Addreſs was no ſooner read, by which They perceived He was gone, but They who had contributed moſt to the abſenting himſelf, and were privy to all the Promiſes which had invited him to it, ſeemed much troubled that He had eſcaped their Juſtice; and moved, " that Orders might be forth- " with ſent to ſtop the Ports, that ſo He might be apprehended;" when They well knew that He was landed at *Calais*. Others took Exceptions at ſome Expreſſions, " which," They ſaid, " reflected upon the King's Honour and " Juſtice:" Others moved, " that it might be entered in their Journal- " Book, to the End that They might farther conſider of it when They ſhould " think fit;" and this was ordered.

THE Houſes till this Time had continued obſtinate in their ſeveral Reſolutions; the Commons every Day preſſing, " that He might be committed " upon their general Accuſation of Treaſon" (for though They had amongſt themſelves and from their Committee offered thoſe Particulars which are mentioned before, yet They preſented none to the Houſe of Peers); and the Lords as poſitively refuſing to commit him, till ſome Charge ſhould be preſented againſt him that amounted to Treaſon. But now all that Debate was at an End by his being out of their Reach, ſo that They purſued that Point no farther; which, being Matter of Privilege, ſhould have been determined as neceſſarily as before, for the Prevention of the like Diſputes hereafter. But the Commons wiſely declined that Contention, well knowing that their Party in the Houſe, that was very paſſionate for the Commitment of the Chancellor, would be as much againſt the general Order as any of the reſt had been: And the Lords ſatisfied themſelves with ſending a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, " that They found by the Addreſs which They had " received that Morning, and which They likewiſe imparted to them, that

"the Earl of *Clarendon* had withdrawn himſelf; and ſo there was no far-
"ther Occaſion of Debate upon that Point."

The Apology burned by Order of Both Houſes.

THE Addreſs was no ſooner read in that Houſe, but They who had induſtriouſly promoted the former Reſolution were inflamed, as if this very Inſtrument would contribute enough to any Thing that was wanting; and They ſeverally arraigned it, and inveighed againſt the Perſon who had ſent it with all imaginable Bitterneſs and Inſolence: Whilſt others, who could not in the hearing it read obſerve that Malignity that it was accuſed of, ſate ſtill and ſilent, as if They ſuſpected that Somewhat had eſcaped their Obſervations and Diſcovery, that ſo much tranſported other Men; or because They were well pleaſed that a Perſon, againſt whom there was ſo much Malice and Fury profeſſed, was got out of their Reach. In Concluſion, after long Debate it was concluded, "that the Paper contained "much Untruth and Scandal and Sedition in it, and that it ſhould "be publickly burned by the Hand of the Hangman;" which Vote They preſently ſent to the Lords for their Concurrence, who, though They had not obſerved any ſuch Guilt in it before, would maintain no further Conteſts with them, and ſo concurred in the Sentence: And the poor Paper was accordingly with Solemnity executed by the appointed Officer, which made the more People inquiſitive into the Contents of it; and having gotten Copies of it, They took upon them to cenſure the Thing and the Perſon with much more Clemency and Compaſſion, and thought He had done well to decline ſuch angry Judges.

WHEN the Chancellor found himſelf at *Calais*, He was unreſolved how to diſpoſe of himſelf, only that He would not go to *Paris*, againſt which He was able to make many Objections: And in this Irreſolution He knew not how to ſend any Directions to his Children in *England*, to what Place They ſhould ſend his Servants and ſuch other Accommodations as He ſhould want; and therefore ſtayed there till He might be better informed, and know Somewhat of the Temper of the Parliament. In the mean Time He writ Letters to the Earl of *St. Albans* at *Paris*, from whoſe very late Profeſſions He had Reaſon to expect Civility, and that was all He did expect; never imagining that He ſhould receive any Grace from the Queen, or that it was fit for him to caſt himſelf at her Feet, whilſt He was in his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure. Only He deſired to know, "whether there would "be any Objection againſt his coming to *Roan*," and deſiring, "if there "were no Objection againſt it, that a Coach might be hired to meet him "on ſuch a Day at *Abbeville*." The Lieutenant Governour of *Calais* had, upon his firſt Arrival there, given Advertiſement to the Court of it: And by the ſame Poſt that He received a very dry Letter from the Earl of *St. Albans*, in which He ſaid, "He thought that Court would approve of his "coming to *Roan*;" He received likewiſe a Letter of great Civility from the Count *De Louvois*, Secretary of State, in which He congratulated his ſafe Arrival in *France*, and told him, "that his Majeſty was well pleaſed "with it, and with his Purpoſe of coming to *Roan*, where He ſhould find "himſelf very welcome." At the ſame Time Letters were ſent to the Lieutenant Governour of *Calais*, *Boulogne*, and *Montrevil*, "to treat him "as a Perſon of whom the King had Eſteem, and to give him ſuch an "Eſcorte as might make his Journey ſecure;" of all which He received Advertiſement, and, "that a Coach would be ready at *Abbeville* to wait "for him at the Day He had appointed."

The Chancellor writes to the French Court for Leave to remove to Roan.

Which is granted.

He begins his Journey.

AND now He thought He might well take his Reſolution; and thereupon gave Direction, "that ſuch of his Family, whoſe Attendance He

"could not be well without, might with all Expedition be with him at "*Roan*; and ſuch Monies might be likewiſe returned thither for him, as "were neceſſary," for He had not brought with him Supply enough for long Time. And ſo He provided to leave *Calais*, that He might be warm in his Winter-Quarters as ſoon as might be, which both the Seaſon of the Year, it being now within few Days of *Chriſtmas*, and his Expectation of a ſpeedy Defluxion of the Gout, made very requiſite. When He came to *Boulogne*, He found Orders from the Marſhal *D' Aumont* to his Lieutenant for a Guard to *Montrevil*, the *Spaniſh* Garriſons making frequent Incurſions into thoſe Quarters: And at *Montrevil* the Duke *D' Elboeuf* viſited him, and invited him to Supper, which the Chancellor was ſo much tired with his Journey that He accepted not; but was not ſuffered to refuſe his Coach the next Day to *Abbeville*, where He found a Coach from *Paris* ready to carry him to *Roan*.

IT was *Chriſtmas* Eve when He came to *Dieppe*, and it was a long Journey the next Day to *Roan*; which made him ſend to the Governour, to deſire that the Ports might be open much ſooner than their Hour, which was granted: So that He came to a very ill Inn well known at *Toſtes*, near the middle Way to *Roan*, about Noon. And when He was within View of that Place, a Gentleman, paſſing by in a good Gallop with a Couple of Servants, aſked, "whether the Chancellor of *England* was "in that Coach;" and being anſwered "that He was," He alighted at the Coach-Side, and gave him a Letter from the King, which contained only Credit to what that Gentleman, *Monſieur Le Fonde*, his Servant in Ordinary, ſhould ſay to him from his Majeſty. The Gentleman, after ſome Expreſſions of his Majeſty's Grace and good Opinion, told him, "that the King "had lately received Advertiſement from his Envoy in *England*, *that the* "*Parliament there was ſo much incenſed againſt him, the Chancellor, that if* "*He ſhould be ſuffered to ſtay in* France, *it would be ſo prejudicial to the* "*Affairs of his* Chriſtian *Majeſty* (to whom He was confident the Chancellor "wiſhed well), *that it might make a Breach between the two Crowns:* And "therefore He deſired him to make what Speed He could out of his Do-"minions; and that He might want no Accommodation for his Journey, "that Gentleman was to accompany him till He ſaw him out of *France*."

But receives on the Way Orders to leave France *inſtantly.*

HE was marvellouſly ſtruck with this Encounter, which He looked not for, nor could reſolve what to do, being at Liberty to make his Journey which Way He would ſo He reſted not, which was the only Thing He deſired: So He deſired the Gentleman (for all this Converſation was in the Highway) "to come into the Coach, and to accompany him to *Roan*, "where They would confer farther." The Gentleman, though He was a very civil Perſon, ſeemed to think that it would be better to return to *Dieppe*, and ſo to *Calais*, as the ſhorteſt Way out of *France:* But He had no Commiſſion to urge that, and ſo condeſcended to go that Night to *Roan*; with a Declaration, "that it was neceſſary for him to be "the next Day very early in the Coach, which Way ſoever He in-"tended to make his Journey."

IT was late in the Night before They reached *Roan:* And the Coach was overthrown three Times in the Gentleman's Sight, who choſe to ride his Horſe; ſo that the Chancellor was really hurt and bruiſed, and ſcarce able to ſet his Foot to the Ground. And therefore He told the Gentleman plainly, "that He could not make any Journey the next Day: But that "He would preſently write to *Paris* to a Friend, who ſhould inform the "King of the ill Condition He was in, and deſire ſome Time of Reſt; "and

He repreſents his ill State of Health to the Court.

"and that as ſoon as He had finiſhed his Letter, He would ſend an Ex-
"preſs with it, who ſhould make all poſſible Haſte in going and coming." *Monſieur Le Fonde* aſſured him, "the Matter was ſo fully reſolved, that no "Writing would procure any Time to ſtay in *France*; and therefore deſired "him to haſten his Journey, which Way ſoever He intended it." But when He ſaw there was no Remedy, He likewiſe writ to the Court, and the Chancellor to the Earl of *St. Albans*, from whom He thought He ſhould receive Offices of Humanity, and to another Friend, upon whoſe Affection He more depended: And with thoſe Letters the Expreſs was diſpatched.

The Occaſion of his ill Treatment in France.

THEY who had prevailed ſo far againſt him in *England* were not yet ſatisfied, but contrived thoſe Ways to diſquiet him as much in *France*, by telling *Monſieur Ruvigny* (who was too eaſily diſpoſed to believe them), "that the Parliament was ſo much offended with the Chancellor, that it "would never conſent that the King ſhould enter into a cloſe and firm Al-"liance with *France*," which it was his Buſineſs to ſolicit, "whilſt He "ſhould be permitted to ſtay within that Kingdom:" When in Truth all the Malice againſt him was contained within the Breaſts of few Men, who by incenſing the King, and infuſing many falſe and groundleſs Relations into him, drew ſuch a numerous Party to contribute to their Ends.

Proceedings againſt him in England.

WHEN He was now gone, They obſerved to the King, "what a great "Faction there was in Both Houſes that adhered to the Chancellor," who were called *Clarendonians*; and when any Oppoſition was made to any Thing that was propoſed, as frequently there was, "it was always done by "the *Clarendonians:*" Whoſe Condition They thought was not deſperate enough, except They proceeded farther than was yet done. They laboured with all their Power, that He might be attainted of High Treaſon by Act of Parliament, and that Both his Sons might be removed from the Court: Both which, notwithſtanding all their Importunity, his Majeſty poſitively refuſed to conſent to. Then They told him, "that the Chancellor only waited "the Seaſon that the Parliament ſhould be confirmed in ill Humour, to "which They were inclined; and then He would return and ſit in the "Houſe to diſturb all their Counſels, and obſtruct all his Service: And "therefore They propoſed, ſince He had fled from the Hand of Juſtice, "that there could be no more Proſecution for his Guilt" (which was untrue, for They might as well have proceeded and proved the Crimes objected againſt him if They could), "a Bill of Baniſhment," which They had prepared, "might be brought in againſt him;" which his Majeſty conſented to, notwithſtanding all that the Duke of *York* urged to the Contrary upon the King's Promiſe to him, and which had only betrayed the Chancellor to making his Eſcape. But the King alleged, "that the Condeſcenſion "was neceſſary for his Good, and to compound with thoſe who would elſe "preſs that which would be more miſchievous to him."

A Bill of Baniſhment paſſed againſt him.

WHEREUPON a Bill for his Baniſhment was preferred, only upon his having declined the Proceeding of Juſtice by his Flight, without ſo much as endeavouring to prove one of the Crimes They had charged upon him: And this Bill was paſſed by the two Houſes, and confirmed by the King; of whom They had yet ſo much Jealouſy, that They left it not in his Power to pardon him without the Conſent of the two Houſes of Parliament. And this Act was to be abſolute, "except by a Day appointed" (which was ſo ſhort, that it was hardly poſſible for him to comply with it, except He could have rode Poſt) "He ſhould appear before one of the Secretaries of State, or deliver "himſelf to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who was detain him in Cuſtody "till He had acquainted the Parliament with it: In the mean Time no

"Perſon was to preſume to hold any Correſpondence with him or to write "to him, except his own Children or his menial Servants, who were obliged "to ſhew the Letters which They ſent or received to one of the Secretaries "of State."

THE Expreſs that had been ſent to *Paris* returned with reiterated Orders to *Monſieur Le Fonde* to haſten the Chancellor's Journey, and not to ſuffer him to remain there; who executed the Commands He had received with great Punctuality and Importunity. The Earl of *St. Albans* did not vouchſafe to return any Anſwer to his Letter, or to interpoſe on his Behalf, that He might reſt till He might ſecurely enter upon his Journey: Only Abbot *Mountague* writ very obligingly to him, and offered all the Offices could be in his Power to perform, and excuſed the Rigour of the Court's Proceedings, as the Effect of ſuch Reaſon of State, as would not permit any Alteration whilſt They had that Apprehenſion of the Parliament; and therefore adviſed him "to comply with their Wiſhes, and make no longer "Stay in *Roan*, which would not be permitted." But the general Indiſpoſition of his Body, the Fatigue of his Journey, and the Bruiſes He had received by the Falls and Overturnings of the Coach, made him not able to riſe out of his Bed; and the Phyſicians, who had taken much Blood from him, exceedingly diſſuaded it. All which, how viſible ſoever, prevailed not with his *French* Conductor to leſſen his Importunity that He would go, though it was evident He could not eaſily ſtand; of which no Doubt He gave true and faithful Advertiſement to the Court, though the Jealouſy of being not thought active enough in his Truſt made his Behaviour much leſs civil, than is agreeable to the Cuſtom of that Nation.

He receives Orders a ſecond Time to quit France.

HOWEVER the Chancellor, hardened by the Inhumanity of his Treatment, writ ſuch a Letter in *Latin* to *Monſieur De Lionne*, by whoſe Hand all the ungentle Orders to *Monſieur Le Fonde* had been tranſmitted, as expreſſed the Condition He was in, and his Diſability to comply with his Majeſty's Commands until He could recover more Strength; not without Complaint of the little Civility He had received in *France*. And He writ likewiſe to the Abbot *Mountague*, "to uſe his Credit with *Monſieur De Tellier*," upon whoſe Humanity He more depended, "to interpoſe with his *Chriſtian* Majeſty, that He might not be preſſed beyond what his Health would "bear." And ſince at that Time He reſolved to make his Journey to *Avignon*, that He might be out of the Dominions of *France*, He deſired, "that He might have Liberty to reſt ſome Days at *Orleans*, until his Servants who were upon the Sea, and brought with them many Things "which He wanted, might come to him; and that He might afterwards, "in ſo long a Journey in the worſt Seaſon of the Year, have Liberty to "take ſuch Repoſe as his Health would require; in which He could not "affect unneceſſary Delay, for the great Charge and Expenſe it muſt be "accompanied with."

He again repreſents his ill State of Health to the French *Court.*

THE Anſwer He received from *Monſieur De Lionne* was the renewing the King's Commands for his ſpeedy Departure, "as a Thing abſolutely "neceſſary to his Affairs, and which muſt not be diſputed." But that which affected him the more tenderly, was the Sight of a Billet which Abbot *Mountague* ſent to him, that He had received from *Monſieur De Tellier*, in which He ſaid, "that He had, according to his Deſire, moved "his *Chriſtian* Majeſty concerning the Chancellor of *England*; and that his "Majeſty was much diſpleaſed that He made not more Haſte to comply "with what was moſt neceſſary for his Affairs, and that it muſt be no longer

But receives freſh Orders to remove immediately.

" delayed; and that if He choſe to paſs to *Avignon*, He might reſt one Day " in ten, which was all his Majeſty would allow."

THIS unexpected Determination, without the leaſt Ceremony or Circumſtance of Remorſe, ſignified by a Perſon who He was well aſſured was well inclined to have returned a more grateful Anſwer, in the Inſtant ſuppreſſed all Hopes of finding any Humanity in *France*, and raiſed a Reſolution in him to get out of thoſe Dominions with all the Expedition that was poſſible: Which his *French* Conductor urged with new and importunate Inſtance; inſomuch as though there was ſure Information, that the Ship, in which the Chancellor's Servants and Goods were embarked, was arrived at the Mouth of the River, and only kept by the croſs Wind from coming up to the Town; He would by no Means conſent to the Delay of one Day in Expectation of it, or that his Servants might come to him by Land, as He had ſent to them to do.

AT this very Time arrived an Expreſs, a Servant of his, ſent by his Children, with a particular Account of all the Tranſactions in Parliament, and of the Bill of Baniſhment; of Nothing of which He had before heard, and upon which the Duke of *York*, who looked upon himſelf as ill uſed by that Proſecution, was of Opinion, " that the Chancellor ſhould make all poſſible " Haſte, and appear by the Day appointed, and undergo the Trial, in which " He knew his Innocence would juſtify him." This Advice, with a little Indignation at the Diſcourteſy of the Court of *France*, diverted him from any farther Thought of *Avignon*. And though He did not imagine that his Strength would be ſufficient to perform the Journey by the Day aſſigned (for the Gout had already ſeized upon Both his Feet), nor did the Arguments for his Return ſatisfy him; and the Breach of all the Promiſes which had been made was no Sign that They meant ſpeedily to bring him to Trial, towards which They had not yet made any Preparation: Yet He reſolved to make all poſſible Haſte to *Calais*, that it might be in his Power to proceed according to ſuch Directions as He might reaſonably expect to receive there from his Friends from *England*, and from whence He might quickly remove into the *Spaniſh* Dominions; though the Climate of *Flanders*, well known to him, terrified him in Reſpect of the Seaſon and his approaching Gout. And with this Reſolution He diſpatched the Expreſs again for *England*; and left Order with a Merchant at *Roan*, " to receive his Goods when " the Ship ſhould arrive, and detain both them and his Servants till He ſhould " ſend farther Orders from *Calais*:" And at the ſame Time He writ to a Friend in *Flanders*, to ſpeak to the Marquis of *Carracena*, with whom He had formerly held a fair Correſpondence, " to ſend him a Paſs to go through " that Country to what Place He ſhould think fit." And having thus provided for his Journey, He departed from *Roan*, after He had remained there about twenty Days.

He returns to Calais.

IN how ill a Condition of Health ſoever He was to travel, when the Days were at ſhorteſt, He reſolved to make no Stay till He ſhould reach *Calais*, to the End, that if He met with no Advice there to the Contrary, He might be at *London* by the Day limited by the Proclamation, which was the firſt of *February* that Style: And it was the laſt of *January* the *French* Style when He arrived at *Calais*, ſo broken with the Fatigue of the Journey and the Defluxion of the Gout, that He could not move but as He was carried, and was ſo put into a Bed; and the next Morning the Phyſicians found him in a Fever, and thought it neceſſary to open a Vein, which They preſently did. But the Pains in all his Limbs ſo increaſed, that He was not able to turn in his Bed; nor for many Nights cloſed his Eyes. Many Letters He found

Where He is confined to his Bed by a dangerous Illneſs.

found there from *England*, but was not in a Condition to read them, nor in Truth could ſpeak and diſcourſe with any Body. *Monſieur Le Fonde*, out of pure Compaſſion, ſuffered him to remain ſome Days without his Vexation, until He received freſh Orders from *Paris*, "that the Chancellor "might not, in what Caſe ſoever, be ſuffered to remain in *Calais*:" And then He renewed his Importunity, "that He would the next Day leave the "Town, and either by Sea or Land, if He thought it not fit to paſs for "*England*, put himſelf into the *Spaniſh* Dominions, which He might do in "few Hours." *Yet He is required to retire out of the French Territories.*

He was ſo confounded with the Barbarity, that He had no Mind to give him any Anſwer; nor could He ſuddenly find Words, their Converſation being in *Latin*, to expreſs the Paſſion He was in. At laſt He told him, "that He muſt bring Orders from God Almighty as well as from the King, "before He could obey: That He ſaw the Condition He was in, and con- "ferred every Day with his Phyſicians, by which He could not but know, "that He could neither help himſelf, nor endure the being carried out of "that Chamber, if the Houſe were in a Flame; and therefore that He did "not uſe him like a Gentleman, in adding his unreaſonable Importunities "to the Vexation He ſuffered by Pain and Sickneſs. That He might be "very confident, his Treatment had not been ſo obliging to make him ſtay "one Hour in *France*, after He ſhould be able to go out of it: But He "would not willingly endanger himſelf by Sea to fall into the Hands of his "Enemies. That He knew" (for He had ſhewed him his Letter) "that "He had written into *Flanders* for a Paſs, which was not yet come: As "ſoon as it did, if He could procure a Litter and endure the Motion of it, "He would remove to *St. Omers* or *Newport*, which were the neareſt Places "under the *Spaniſh* Government."

To all which He replied with no Exceſs of Courteſy, "that He muſt "and would obey his Orders as He had done; and that He had no Power "to judge of his Diſability to remove, or of the Pain He underwent." And there is no Doubt the Gentleman, who was well bred and in his Nature very civil, was not pleaſed with his Province, and much troubled that He could not avoid the Delivery of the Orders He received: And the Conjuncture of their Affairs was ſuch with Reference to the Deſigns then on Foot, that every Poſt brought reiterated Commands for the Chancellor's Remove; which grew every Day more impoſſible, by the Acceſs of new Pain to the Weakneſs He was in for Want of Sleep without any Kind of Suſtenance.

Notwithstanding which, within few Days after the laſt Encounter, upon freſh Letters from *Monſieur De Lionne*, the Gentleman came again to him, told him what Orders He had received, and again propoſed, "that He "would either make Uſe of a Boat to *Newport* or *Oſtend*, or a *Brancard* to "*St. Omers*; either of which He would cauſe to be provided againſt the "next Morning, for the King's Service was exceedingly concerned in the "Expedition." And when He ſaw the other was not moved with what He ſaid, nor gave him any Anſwer, He told him plainly, "that the King would "be obeyed in his own Dominions; and if He would not chooſe to do that "which the King had required, He muſt go to the Governour, who had "Authority and Power to compel him, which He durſt not but do." Upon which, with the Supply of Spirit that Choler adminiſtered to him, He told him, "that though the King was a very great and powerful Prince, He was "not yet ſo omnipotent, as to make a dying Man ſtrong enough to under- "take a Journey. That He was at the King's Mercy, and would endure

" what He ſhould exact from him as well as He was able: It was in his " Majeſty's Power to ſend him a Priſoner into *England*, or to cauſe him to " be carried dead or alive into the *Spaniſh* Territories; but He would not " be *Felo de ſe*, by willingly attempting to do what He and all who ſaw " him knew was not poſſible for him to perform." And in this Paſſion He added ſome Words of Reproach to *Le Fonde*, which were more due to *Monſieur De Lionne*, who in Truth had not behaved himſelf with any Civility: Whereupon He withdrew in the like Diſorder, and for ſome Days forbore ſo much as to ſee him, in which He had never before failed a Day.

AND the Chancellor, who really did believe that ſome Force and Violence would be uſed towards him, preſently ſent to deſire the chief Magiſtrates of the Town and the Lieutenant Governour to come to him; and then told them all the Treatment He had received from *Monſieur Le Fonde*, and appealed to them, " whether They thought him in a Condition to perform any " Journey." And the Phyſicians being likewiſe preſent, He required them to ſign ſuch a Certificate and Teſtimony of his Sickneſs as They thought their Duty, which They readily performed; very fully declaring under their Hands, " that He could not be removed out of the Chamber in which He " lay, without manifeſt Danger of his Life." And the Lieutenant Governour and the Preſident of Juſtice ſeemed much ſcandalized at what had been ſo much preſſed, of which They had taken Notice many Days: And the one of them wrote to the Count of *Charrou*, Governour of the Town and then at Court, and the other to *Monſieur De Lionne*, what They thought fit; and the Certificate of the Phyſicians was encloſed to the Abbot *Mountague*, with a full Relation of what had paſſed. And it was never doubted, but that *Monſieur Le Fonde* himſelf made a very faithful Relation of the Impoſſibility that the Chancellor could comply with what was required, in the State of Sickneſs and Pain that He was in at preſent.

The French *Court ſuddenly alters its Behaviour.*

BY this Time the *French* Court diſcovered, that They were prevented of entering into that ſtrait Alliance They hoped with *England* (and for obtaining whereof They had gratified the proud and malicious Humours of the Duke of *Buckingham* and Lord *Arlington* in the Treatment of the Chancellor), by the *Triple League*, which They had uſed all thoſe Compliances to prevent: So that by the next Poſt after the Receipt of the Certificate from the Phyſicians, *Monſieur De Lionne* writ a very civil Letter to the Chancellor, in which He proteſted, " that He had the ſame Reſpect " for him which He had always profeſſed to have in his greateſt Fortune, " and that it was never in the Purpoſe of his *Chriſtian* Majeſty to endanger " his Health by making any Journey that He could not well endure; and " therefore that it was left entirely to himſelf to remove from *Calais* when " He thought fit, and to go to what Place He would." And *Monſieur Le Fonde* came now again to viſit him with another Countenance, by which a Man could not but diſcern, that He was much better pleaſed with the Commiſſion He had received laſt than with the former; and told him, " that " He was now to receive no Orders but from himſelf, which He would " gladly obey."

He has Leave to reſide in France.

THIS gave him ſome little Eaſe in the Agony He was in, for his Pains increaſed to an intolerable Degree, inſomuch that He could not riſe out of his Bed in ſix Weeks. And it was the more welcome to him, becauſe at the ſame Time He received an Account from his Friend in *Flanders*, " that " the Marquis of *Caſtelle Roderigo*, with as much Regret as a civil Man " could expreſs, proteſted, *that the Fear He had of offending the Parliament* " *at that Time would not permit him to grant a Paſs: But if He would come*

"*to* Newport, *He ſhould find the Governour there well prepared and diſpoſed* "*to ſhew him all poſſible Reſpect, and to accommodate him in his Paſſage* "*throughout the Country, where it would not be convenient for him to make* "*any Stay; and that He looked upon it as a great Misfortune to himſelf,* "*that He might not wait upon him in his Paſſage.*" This made it eaſy for him to diſcern, that his Enemies would not give him any Reſt in any Place where their Malice could reach him: And ſince They were ſo terrible that the Marquis of *Caſtelle Roderigo* durſt not grant him a Paſs, He thought it would be no hard Matter for them to cauſe ſome Affront to be put on him when He ſhould be without any Paſs; though He had not the leaſt Suſpicion of the Marquis his failing in Point of Honour or Courteſy.

AT the ſame Time He received Advice from his Friends in *England*, "that the Storm from *France* was over, and that He might be permitted to "ſtay in any Part thereof; and for the preſent They wiſhed that He would "repair to the Waters of *Bourbon* for his Health, and then chooſe ſuch "a Place to reſide in, as upon Inquiry He ſhould judge moſt proper." But He was not yet ſo far reconciled to that Court, though He liked the Climate well, as to depend upon its Protection: And therefore He reſumed his former Purpoſe of going to *Avignon*, and, if He could recover Strength for the Journey before the Seaſon ſhould be expired for drinking the Waters of *Bourbon*, to paſs that Way. And to that Purpoſe He ſent to the Court "for a Paſs to *Avignon*, with Liberty to ſtay ſome Days at *Roan*," where his Goods and his Monies were (for his Servants had come from thence to him to *Calais*), "and to uſe the Waters of *Bourbon* in his Way:" All which was readily granted.

IT was the third of *April*, before He recovered Strength enough to endure a Coach: And then, having bought a large and eaſy Coach of the Preſident of *Calais*, He hired Horſes there. And ſo He begun his Journey for *Roan*, being ſtill ſo lame and weak that He could not go without being ſupported: And the firſt Day had a very ill Omen by the Negligence of the Coachman, who paſſing upon the Sands between *Calais* and *Boulogne*, when the Sea was flowing, drove ſo unadviſedly (which He might have avoided, as the Horſemen and another Coach did), that the Sea came over the Boot of the Coach, to the Middle of all thoſe who ſate in it; and a Minute's Pauſe more had inevitably overthrown the Coach (the Weight whereof only then prevented it), and They had been all covered with the Sea. And two Days after, by the Change of the Coachman for a worſe, He was overthrown in a Place almoſt as bad, into a deep and dirty Water, from whence He was with Difficulty and ſome Hurt drawn out. Both which wonderful Deliverances were comfortable Inſtances that God would protect him, of which He had within few Days a freſh and extraordinary Evidence. *He returns to Roan.*

WHEN He came to *Roan*, He received all thoſe Orders He had deſired from the Court. And a Letter from Abbot *Mountague* aſſured him, "that "He need no more apprehend any Diſcommodity from Orders of the Court, "but might be confident of the Contrary, and of all Reſpect that could be "ſhewed him from thence: That He might ſtay at *Roan* as long as his In-"diſpoſition required; and when He had made Uſe of the Waters of *Bourbon*, "He might retire to any Place He would chooſe to reſide in." *Monſieur Le Fonde* had Orders, "after He had accompanied the Chancellor two "or three Days Journey towards *Bourbon*, except He deſired his Company "longer, to return to the Court." Only *Monſieur De Lionne* deſired, "that "He would not in his Journey come nearer *Paris* than the direct Way re-"quired him to do, becauſe the Emperour's Agent at *London*, the Baron of

"*Iſola*, had confidently averred, *that the King had one Day gone* incognito "*from the* Bois de Vincennes *to meet the Chancellor, and had a long private* "*Conference with him.*"

From whence He begins his Journey to Avignon.

When He had ſtayed as long at *Roan* as was neceſſary for the taking a little Phyſick and recovering a little Strength, the Seaſon required his making Haſte to *Bourbon:* And ſo on the twenty third of *April* He began his Journey from thence; and that He might comply with the Directions of *Monſieur De Lionne*, He choſe to go by the Way of *Eureux*, and to lodge there that Night. And becauſe He was unable to go up a Pair of Stairs, He ſent a Servant before, as He had always done, to chooſe an Inn where there was ſome Ground-Lodging, which often was attended with Diſcommodity enough, and now (beſides being forced to go through the City into the Suburbs) was like to coſt him very dear.

He is greatly abuſed by ſome Engliſh *at* Eureux.

There happened to be at that Time quartered there a Foot-Company of *Engliſh* Seamen, who had been raiſed and were entertained to ſerve the *French* in attending upon their Artillery, ſome of them being Gunners; and none of them had the Language, but were attended by a *Dutch* Conductor, who ſpake ill *Engliſh*, for their Interpreter. Their Behaviour there was ſo rude and barbarous, in being always drunk, and quarrelling and fighting with the Townſmen who would not give them any Thing They demanded, that the City had ſent to the Court their Complaints, and expected Orders that Night for their Remove. They quickly heard of the Chancellor's being come to the Town; and calling their Company together declared, "that there were many Months Pay due to them in *Eng-* "*land*, and that They would make him pay it before He got out of the "Town."

He was ſcarce gotten into his ill Ground-Lodging, when many of them flocked about the Houſe: Upon which the Gates of the Inn were ſhut, They making a great Noiſe, and ſwearing They would ſpeak with the Chancellor; and, being about the Number of fifty, They threatened to break open the Gate or pull down the Houſe. The Mutiny was notorious to all the Street; but They had not Courage to appear againſt them: The Magiſtrates were ſent to; but there was a Difference between them upon the Point of Juriſdiction, this Uproar being in the Suburbs. In ſhort, They broke open the Door of the Inn: And when They were entered into the Court, They quickly found which was the Chancellor's Chamber. And the Door being barricadoed with ſuch Things as were in the Room, They firſt diſcharged their Piſtols into the Window, with which They hurt ſome of the Servants, and *Monſieur Le Fonde*, who with his Sword kept them from entering in at the Window with great Courage, until He was ſhot with a Brace of Bullets in the Head, with which He fell: And then another of the Servants being hurt, They entered in at the Window, and opened the Door for the reſt of their Company, which quickly filled the Chamber.

The Chancellor was in his Gown, ſitting upon the Bed, being not able to ſtand; upon whom They all came with their Swords drawn: And one of them gave him a Blow with a great Broadſword upon the Head, which if it had fallen upon the Edge muſt have cleft his Head; but it turned in his Hand, and ſo ſtruck him with the Flat, with which He fell backward on the Bed. They gave him many ill Words, called him "Traitor," and ſwore, "before He ſhould get out of their Hands He ſhould lay down all "their Arrears of Pay." They differed amongſt themſelves what They ſhould do with him, ſome crying, "that They would kill him," others, "that "They would carry him into *England:*" Some had their Hands in his

Pockets, and pillaged him of his Money and ſome other Things of Value; others broke up his Trunks and plundered his Goods. When himſelf recovered out of the Trance in which He was ſtunned by the Blow, They took him by the Hand who ſpake of carrying him into *England*, and told him, "it was the wiſeſt Thing They could do to carry him thither, where "They would be well rewarded:" Another ſwore, "that They ſhould be "better rewarded for killing him there." And in this Confuſion, the Room being full and all ſpeaking together, the Fellow who had given him the Blow, whoſe Name was *Howard*, a very luſty ſtrong Man, took him by the Hand, and ſwore, "They ſhould hurt one another if They killed "him there; and therefore They would take him into the Court, and diſ-"patch him where there was more Room." And thereupon others laid their Hands upon him and pulled him to the Ground, and then dragged him into the Court, being in the ſame Inſtant ready to run their Swords into him together: When in the Moment their Enſign, and ſome of the Magiſtrates with a Guard, came into the Court, the Gate being broken; and ſo He was reſcued out of their bloody Hands, and carried back into his Chamber.

HOWARD and many of the other, ſome whereof had been hurt with Swords as They entered at the Window, were taken and carried to Priſon, and the reſt diſperſed, vowing Revenge when They ſhould get the reſt of their Company together: And it cannot be expreſſed with how much Fear the Magiſtrates, and the poor Guard that attended them, apprehended their coming upon them together again.

THE Chancellor himſelf had the Hurt before mentioned in his Head, which was a Contuſion, and already ſwollen to a great Bigneſs; *Monſieur Le Fonde* was ſhot into the Head with a Brace of Bullets, and bled much, but ſeemed not to think himſelf in Danger; two of the Chancellor's Servants were hurt with Swords, and loſt much Blood: So that They all deſired to be in ſome ſecure Place, that Phyſicians and Surgeons might viſit them. And by this Time many Perſons of Quality of the Town, both Men and Women, filled the little Chamber; bitterly inveighing againſt the Villany of the Attempt, but renewing the Diſpute of their Juriſdiction. And the Provoſt, who out of the City was the greater Officer, would provide an Accommodation for them in his own Houſe in the City, and appoint a Guard for them; which the Magiſtrates of the City would not conſent to, nor He to the Expedient propoſed by them. And this Diſpute with Animoſity and very ill Words continued in the Chamber till Twelve of the Clock at Night, the hurt Perſons being in the mean Time without any Remedy or Eaſe: So that the Magiſtrates, though They were not ſo dangerous, were as troubleſome as the Seamen, againſt whom They were not yet ſecure upon a ſecond Attempt.

IN the End; *Monſieur Le Fonde* was forced to raiſe his Voice louder than was agreeable to the State He was in, to threaten to complain of them to the King, for their Neglect before and after the Miſchief was done: By which They were much moved, and preſently ſent to the Governour of the Duke of *Bouillon's* Caſtle (which is a good and noble Houſe in the Town), "that He would receive the Chancellor and *Monſieur Le Fonde*, with ſuch "Servants as were neceſſary for their Attendance;" which He did with great Courteſy, and gave them ſuch Accommodation as in an unfurniſhed Houſe could on the Sudden be expected. And ſo Phyſicians and Surgeons viſited their Wounds, and applied ſuch preſent Remedies as were neceſſary, till upon ſome Repoſe They might make a better Judgment.

THE ſame Night there were Expreſſes diſpatched to the Court to give Advertiſement of the Outrage, and to *Roan* to inform the Intendant in whoſe Province it was committed: And He the next Day with a good Guard of Horſe arrived at *Eureux*. After He had viſited the Chancellor, with the juſt Senſe of the Inſolence He had undergone, and of the Indignity that the King and his Government had ſuſtained; He proceeded in the Court of Juſtice to examine the whole Proceedings, and much blamed the Magiſtrates on all Sides for their Negligence and Remiſſneſs. Upon the whole Examination there appeared no Cauſe to believe, that there was any formed Deſign in which any others had concurred than They who appeared in the Execution, who defended themſelves by being drunk, which did not appear in any other Thing than in the Barbarity of the Action. Yet it was confeſſed, that upon their firſt Arrival at *Dieppe*, and whilſt They were quartered there, the Chancellor then paſſing by between *Roan* and *Calais*, They had a Reſolution to have robbed or killed him, if They had not been prevented by his getting the Gates opened, and ſo going away before the uſual Hour.

THE Surgeons found *Monſieur Le Fonde's* Wound to be more dangerous than They had apprehended, and that at leaſt one of the Bullets remained ſtill in the Wound, and doubted that it might have hurt the Scull, in which Caſe trepanning would be neceſſary; which made him reſolve, though He was feveriſh, preſently to have a *Brancard* made, and to be put into it in his Bed, and ſo with Expedition to be carried to *Paris*, where He was ſure to find better Operators, beſides the Benefit and Convenience of his own Houſe and Family. And ſo the third Day after his Miſadventure, and after He had given his Teſtimony to the Intendant, He was in that Manner, and attended by a Surgeon, conveyed to *Paris*; and, by the Bleſſing of God, recovered without the Remedy that had been propoſed.

THE Chancellor, after He had bled once or twice, found himſelf only in Pain with the Blow, without any other Symptoms which frequently attend great Contuſions; and therefore He poſitively rejected the Propoſition of trepanning, which had been likewiſe earneſtly urged by the Surgeons: And upon Application of ſuch Plaſters and Ointments as were preſcribed, He found both the Pain and Swelling leſſen by Degrees, though the Memory of the Blow laſted long; ſo that He thought himſelf fit enough for his Journey, and was impatient to be out of that unlucky Town; and his Servants, having only Fleſh-Hurts, could endure the Coach as well as He. The Intendant, who knew his Deſire, and was willing to defer his Judgment till He was gone from thence, was very well content that He ſhould proceed in his Journey, and ſent his Sons with his own Troop to convoy him two or three Leagues out of the Town; and appointed the Provoſt with his Troop of Horſe to attend him to his Lodging that Night, and farther if He deſired it. And the next Day He condemned *Howard* and two others, an *Engliſhman*, a *Scotchman*, and an *Iriſhman* (for the Company conſiſted of the three Nations), to be broken upon the Wheel; which was executed accordingly. And ſhortly after his Arrival at *Bourbon*, *Monſieur De Lionne* writ a very civil Letter to the Chancellor, "of the Trouble the King ſuſ-"tained for the Affront and Danger He had undergone; and that his Ma-"jeſty was very ill ſatisfied, that ſo few as three had been ſacrificed to "Juſtice for ſo barbarous a Crime."

He removes from thence to Bourbon.

WHEN He had ſtayed as long at *Bourbon* in the Uſe of the Waters, as the Phyſicians preſcribed (in which Time He found a good Recovery of his Strength, ſave that the Weakneſs of his Feet ſtill continued in an uneaſy Degree); and had received great Civilities during his Abode there from all

And from thence to Avignon.

the *French* of Quality, Men and Women, who came thither for the ſame Remedies, and with whom the Town then abounded; He proſecuted his Journey to *Avignon:* And having ſtayed a Week at *Lyons*, without any new ill Accident He arrived about the Middle of *June* there, by the pleaſant Paſſage of the *Rhone*.

THOUGH He deſired to make his Journey as privately as He could, and had no more Servants in his Train than was neceſſary to the State of Health He was in; yet He was known in moſt Places by the Preſence of *Engliſh*, or by ſome other Accident. And ſome Friends at *Paris* had given ſuch Advertiſement to *Avignon*, that when He arrived there, He had no ſooner entered into a private Lodging, which He procured the next Day, but the Vice-Legate came to viſit him in great State and with much Civility, offering all the Commodities of that Place if He would reſide there. The Archbiſhop, a very reverend and learned Prelate, a *Genoeſe*, as the Vice-Legate likewiſe was, performed the ſame Ceremony to him; and afterwards the Conſuls and Magiſtrates of the City in a Body (who made a Speech to him in *Latin*, as all the reſt treated him in that Language), and all the principal Officers of the Court: So that He could not receive more Civility and Reſpect in any Place; which, together with the Cheapneſs and Convenience of Living, and the Pleaſantneſs of the Country about it, might have inclined him to reſide there. Yet the ill Savour of the Streets by the Multitude of Dyers and of the Silk-Manufactures, and the worſe Smell of the *Jews*, made him doubt that it could be no pleaſant Place to make an Abode in during the Heat of Summer: And therefore receiving new Confirmation by Letters from *Paris*, "that He was entirely at Liberty to reſide where He would in *France*," He reſolved to take a View of ſome Places before He would conclude where to fix; and the Fame of *Montpelier*, that was within two little Days Journey, invited him thither. And ſo after a Week's Stay at *Avignon*, and after having returned all the Viſits He had received, He went from thence, and came to *Montpelier* in the Beginning of *July*.

His good Reception there.

He goes to Montpelier.

IT was his very good Fortune, that an *Engliſh* Lady of eminent Virtue and Merit, the Lady Viſcounteſs *Mordaunt*, who had in the Beginning of the Winter before, in as great Weakneſs of Body as Nature can ſubſiſt with, tranſported herſelf thither, remained ſtill at *Montpelier*; where She had miraculouſly, by the Benefit of that Air, recovered a comfortable Degree of Health; And the News of her being ſtill there was a great Motive to his Journey from *Avignon* thither. The Chancellor had no Mind to be taken Notice of; but ſome Relations which that Lady made to his Advantage, and the great Eſteem that City had of her, made his Reception there more formal and ceremonious than He deſired.

Where He receives great Civilities from the Lady Mordaunt.

THE Marquis *De Caſtro*, Governour of the City and Caſtle, viſited him and welcomed him to the Town, though He had not ſo much as a Paſs to come thither. The *Premier* Preſident, and all the other Courts, and the Conſul and other Magiſtrates of the City, viſited him in their ſeveral Bodies, and entertained him in *Latin*. It is true, that ſome Days after, the Intendant of the Province (who was not then in the Town) came thither; and He had received Orders from the Court, as ſoon as it was known that the Chancellor was in *Montpelier*, "that He ſhould be looked upon and "treated as a Perſon of whom the *Moſt Chriſtian* King had a good Eſteem:" And ſo, as ſoon as He came to the Town, He viſited him with much Ceremony, and told him, "that He had received a particular Command "from the King to do him all the Services He could in that City, and in "the Province of *Languedoc*." And it muſt be confeſſed, that during his

Great Reſpect paid to him there.

Reſidence in *Montpelier*, which was not above one or two Months leſs than three Years, He did receive as much Civility and formal Courteſy from all Perſons of all Conditions in that Place, or who occaſionally reſorted thither, as could have been performed towards him, if He had been ſent thither as a publick Perſon. And when the Duke of *Vernueil* (who was Governour of the Province, and uſed to convene the States thither every Year) came to *Montpelier*, as He did three Times in thoſe three Years, He always viſited the Chancellor, and ſhewed a very great Reſpect to him: Which was as great a Countenance as He could receive.

Which He imputes to the Friendſhip of Lady Mordaunt.

YET He did always acknowledge, that He owed all the Civilities which He received at his firſt coming thither, and which were upon the Matter the firſt Civilities He had received in *France*, purely to the Friendſhip of the Lady *Mordaunt*, and to the great Credit She had there: And for which, and the Conſolation He received from her during the Time of her Stay there, He had ever a great Reſpect for her and her Huſband; who, coming likewiſe thither, when He received Information from *England* of a Deſign to aſſaſſinate him by ſome *Iriſh*, manifeſted a noble Affection for him, and ſtayed ſome Months longer than He intended to have done, that He might ſee the Iſſue of that Deſign. Of which He had a juſt Senſe, and tranſmitted the Information of it to his Children, to the End that They and his Friends might, upon all Opportunities, acknowledge it to them Both.

AND in Truth the great Reſpect the Place had for him was notorious, when any *Engliſh* came thither, and forbore to pay any Reſpect to the Chancellor; as only one Gentleman did, Sir *Richard Temple*, who publickly declared "that He would not viſit him," and diſſuaded others from doing it as a Matter the Parliament would puniſh them for, and ſhewed much Vanity and Inſolence in his Diſcourſes concerning him: But He found ſo little Countenance from any Perſon of Condition, though He called himſelf "the *Premier* Preſident of the Parliament of *England*," and ſuch a general Averſion towards him; that as They who came with him, and his other Friends, deſerted him and paid their Civilities to the Chancellor, ſo himſelf grew ſo ridiculous, that He left the Town ſooner than He intended, and left the Reputation behind him of a very vain, humorous and ſordid Perſon.

AND having thus accompanied the Chancellor through all his ill Treatments and Miſadventures to *Montpelier*, where He reſolved to ſtay, it will be to no Purpoſe farther to continue this Relation; otherwiſe than as himſelf afterwards communicated his private Thoughts and Reflections to his Friends.

WHEN He found himſelf at this Eaſe, and with thoſe convenient Accommodations, that He might reaſonably believe He ſhould be no more expoſed to the Troubles and Diſtreſſes which He had paſſed through; He began to think of compoſing his Mind to his Fortune, and of regulating and governing his own Thoughts and Affections towards ſuch a Tranquillity, as the Sickneſs of Mind and Body, and the continued ſharp Fatigue in the ſix or ſeven precedent Months, had not ſuffered to enter into any formed Deliberation. And it pleaſed God in a ſhort Time, after ſome Recollections, and upon his entire Confidence in him, to reſtore him to that Serenity of Mind, and Reſignation of himſelf to the Diſpoſal and good Pleaſure of God, that They who converſed moſt with him could not diſcover the leaſt Murmur or Impatience in him, or any Unevenneſs in his Converſations. He reſolved to improve his Underſtanding of the *French* Language, not towards ſpeaking it, the Defect of which He found many Conveniences in, but for the reading any Books; and to learn the *Italian*: Towards Both which He made a competent

petent Progreſs, and had Opportunity to buy or borrow any good Books He deſired to peruſe.

BUT in the firſt Place He thought He was indebted to his own Reputation, and obliged for the Information of his Children and other Friends, to vindicate himſelf from thoſe Aſperſions and Reproaches which the Malice of his Enemies had caſt upon him in the Parliament; which, though never reduced into any formal or legal Charge, nor offered to be proved by any one Witneſs, were yet maliciouſly ſcattered abroad and divulged to take away his Credit. And the Performance of this Work, that was ſo neceſſarily incumbent to him, was the more difficult, by his conſtant and uninterrupted Fidelity and Zeal for the King's Service, and his Reſolution to ſay Nothing on his own Behalf and for his own Vindication, that might in the leaſt Degree reflect upon his Majeſty; which Conſideration had before kept him from charging thoſe who perſecuted him, with ſuch indirect and naughty Proceedings as might have put an End to their Power. Nor did He think fit in that Conjuncture, when his Majeſty had not yet met with that Compliance and Submiſſion from the Parliament ſince the Chancellor's Remove, as had been promiſed to him as the Effect of that Counſel, to publiſh, that his coming away (which was the greateſt Blot upon his Reputation) was with the King's Privity, and at leaſt with his Approbation. However He was reſolved to commit into the Cuſtody of his Children, who He knew could never commit a Fault againſt his Majeſty, ſuch a plain, particular Defence of his Innocence upon every one of the Reproaches He had been charged with, that themſelves might infallibly know his Uprightneſs and Integrity in all his Miniſtry, which They obſerved and knew too much of to ſuſpect; and might likewiſe manifeſtly convince other Men, who were willing to be undeceived: But the Manner of doing it, in Reſpect of the former Conſideration, He left to their Diſcretion. And having prepared this, and cauſed it to be fairly tranſcribed, before the Lord and Lady *Mordaunt* returned for *England*; He committed it to their Care, who delivered it ſafely to the Hands of his Sons.

He writes a Vindication of himſelf.

THEY were themſelves upon that Diſadvantage under the Reproach of their Relation, that the eldeſt of them was removed from his Attendance upon the Queen for many Months, without the Allegation of any Crime; and the other was retained only by the Goodneſs of the King, againſt the greateſt Importunity that could be applied: And therefore it concerned them to be very wary in giving any Offence, of which their Adverſaries might take any Advantage. Beſides, They obſerved that They, whoſe Credit and Intereſt had done all the Miſchief to their Father, were now fallen out amongſt themſelves with equal Animoſity, and had all carried themſelves ſo ill with Reference to the Publick, and ſo looſely and licentiouſly in Order to a good Name, that their being Enemies brought little Prejudice to any Man's Reputation; and many of thoſe, who had been made Inſtruments to deprave the Chancellor, were not ſcrupulous in declaring how They had been cozened, and how unjuſtly He had been traduced and accuſed: So that They made no other Uſe of the Anſwer and Vindication They had received, than to be thereby enabled to make a perfect Relation of ſome particular Matters of Fact which were variouſly reported, and could not be underſtood by any but thoſe who had been converſant in the Tranſactions.

IT will be therefore neceſſary in this Place, ſince there hath been before ſo methodical an Account of all that the Committee brought into the Houſe of Commons againſt him, and never after mentioned when They had once accuſed him, to inſert ſuch a ſhort Anſwer and Defence to all that was alleged,

out of that Vindication which He ſent from *Montpelier*, that Nothing may remain in the poſſible Thoughts of any worthy and uncorrupted Man that may reflect upon his Sincerity, or leave any Taint upon his Memory; the Preſervation of which from being ſullied by the Misfortunes which befell him, is the only End of this Diſcourſe, never to be communicated, or peruſed by any but his neareſt Relations; who, by the Bleſſing of God, can never but retain that Affection and Duty to the Crown and for the Royal Family, that by the Laws of God and Man is due to it and them, and without which They can never expect God's Bleſſing in this or the World to come.

His Anſwer to the ſeveral Articles of the Charge againſt him.

And in this I ſhall obſerve the Order I uſed before in the Mention of the ſeveral Allegations, omitting upon any Particular the Repetition of what hath been at large already ſaid in this Diſcourſe, which ſhall be referred to for Anſwer.

The firſt Article.

To the FIRST then, *That He had deſigned a ſtanding Army, and to govern the Kingdom thereby; adviſed the King to diſſolve the preſent Parliament, and to lay aſide all Thoughts of future Parliaments; to govern by military Power, and to maintain the ſame by free Quarter and Contribution* (which, if true, whether it was Treaſon or no, muſt worthily have made him odious to all honeſt Men):

His Anſwer.

THE Anſwer which He then made, and which was dated at *Montpelier* upon the twenty fourth of *July* 1668, within few Days after his Arrival there and Reſolution to ſtay there, was in theſe Words. He ſaid, As Nothing could be more ſurpriſing to him, nor He thought to any Man elſe, than to find himſelf, after near thirty Years Service of the Crown in the higheſt Truſt; after having paſſed all the Time of his Majeſty's Exile with him beyond the Seas and in his Service, and in which the indefatigable Pains He took was notorious to many Nations; and after He had the Honour and Happineſs to return again with his Majeſty into *England*, and to receive from him ſo many eminent Marks of his Favour, and to ſerve him near eight Years after his Return in the Place of the greateſt Truſt, without ever having diſcovered that his Majeſty was offended with him, or in Truth that He had ever the leaſt ill Succeſs from any Counſel He had ever given him; or that any Perſons of Honour and Reputation, or Intereſt in the Nation, had ever made the leaſt Complaint againſt him, or had any Thought that the Miſcarriages (for Miſcarriages were enough ſpoken of) had proceeded from him, or from any Advice of his: He ſaid, that as after all this He could not but be exceedingly ſurpriſed to find himſelf on a Sudden, when He had not the leaſt Imagination of it, bereft of the King's Favour, and fallen ſo far from his Kindneſs, even within three or four Days after his Majeſty had vouchſafed to condole with him in his Houſe for the Death of his Wife, that He reſolved to take the Great Seal from him; ſo it was no ſmall Comfort to him to ſee and know, that very few Men of Honour and Reputation approved or liked what was done; but that the ſame was contrived, purſued, and brought to paſs by Men and Women of no Credit in the Nation; by Men, who had never ſerved his Majeſty or his bleſſed Father eminently or uſefully, but moſt of them of Truſt and Credit under *Cromwell*, or never of Credit to do the King the leaſt Service; and who were only angry with him for not being pleaſed with their vicious and debauched Lives, or for oppoſing and diſſuading their looſe and unreaſonable Counſels, which They were every Day audaciouſly adminiſtering in Matters of the higheſt Moment, with great Licenſe and Preſumption.

BUT above all, He ſaid, it was of the higheſt Conſolation to him, when it was publickly and induſtriouſly declared, "that the King was firmly re-

"ſolved to deſtroy him, and would take it very well from all Men who would "contribute thereunto, by bringing in any Charge or Accuſation againſt "him;" when the moſt notorious Enemies He had were the only Perſons truſted in Employment, Men who had moſt eminently differved and maliciouſly traduced the King, and had been to that Time looked upon as ſuch by his Majeſty; and when all, who were believed to have any Kindneſs for the Chancellor, were diſcountenanced and ill looked upon; when Men of all Conditions and Degrees were daily ſolicited and importuned, by Promiſes and Threats, to declare themſelves againſt him, at leaſt if They would not be wrought over to do any Thing againſt their Conſcience, that They would abſent themſelves from thoſe Debates: That all this Malice and Conſpiracy, with ſo long Deliberation and Conſultation, ſhould not be able at laſt to produce and exhibit any other Charge and Accuſation againſt him, but ſuch a one as moſt Men who knew him, or who had any Truſt or Employment in the publick Affairs, were well able to vindicate him from the Guilt of, and even his Enemies themſelves did not believe. The Particulars whereof, He ſaid, as far as He could take Notice of them, they having not been to that Day reduced into any Form, ſo much as in the Houſe of Commons itſelf, He would then examine: And if He ſhould appear too tedious in the Examination and Diſquiſition of them, and to ſay more than was neceſſary in his own Defence, and to mention many particular Perſons in another Manner than is uſual upon Occaſions of this Kind; He deſired it might be remembered and conſidered, that this was not written as a formal Anſwer to an Impeachment, nor like to be publiſhed in his Life-Time, a Judgment of Baniſhment being paſſed againſt him (without the leaſt Proof made or offered for the making good any one Article of Treaſon or Miſdemeanor) by Act of Parliament; but that it was a Debt due to his Children and Poſterity, that They might know (how much ſoever They were involved or might be in the Effects of the ſharp Malice againſt him) how far He was from any Guilt of thoſe odious Crimes which had been ſo odiouſly laid to his Charge.

AND that being his End, He might be excuſed if He did ſo far enlarge upon all Particulars, that it might be manifeſt unto them how far He had been from treading in thoſe Paths, or having been acceſſory to thoſe Counſels, which had been the Source from whence all thoſe bitter Waters had flowed, that had corrupted the Taſte even almoſt of the whole Nation. And in Order to that ſo neceſſary Diſcourſe and Vindication of his Integrity and Honour, He could only take Notice of the printed Paper of thoſe Heads for a Charge, that had been reported from the Committee to the Houſe; all Correſpondence and Communication being ſo ſtrictly inhibited to all Kind of Men to hold any Kind of Commerce with him, except his Children and menial Servants, who only had Liberty to write unto him of his own domeſtick Affairs; and the Letters which They ſhould write or receive were to be firſt communicated to one of the Secretaries of State.

To the Charge of the firſt Article itſelf He ſaid; it was no great Vanity to believe, that there was not one Perſon in *England* of any Quality to whom He was in any Degree known, who believed him guilty of that Charge: And that He wanted not a Cloud of Witneſſes (beſides the Teſtimony that He hoped his Majeſty himſelf would vouchſafe to give him in that Particular) who, from all that They had heard him ſay in Council and in Converſation, could vindicate him from having that odious Opinion. Having had the Honour, by the ſpecial Command of his late Majeſty of bleſſed Memory, to attend the Prince, his now Majeſty, into the Parts beyond the

Seas, and to be always with him and in his Service thoſe many Years of his Exile, and till his happy Return; He had always endeavoured to imprint in his Majeſty's Mind an Affection, Eſteem and Reverence for the Laws of the Land; "without the trampling of which under Foot," He told him "that himſelf could not have been oppreſſed; and that by the Vindication "and Support of them, He could only hope and expect Honour and Secu- "rity to the Crown." Upon that Foundation and declared Judgment (He ſaid) He came into the Service of the King his Father, by oppoſing all irregular and illegal Proceedings in Parliament; and that He had never ſwerved from that Rule in any Advice and Counſel He had given to him or to his Son.

From the Time of his Majeſty's happy Return from beyond the Seas, He had taken Nothing ſo much to Heart, as the Eſtabliſhment of the due Adminiſtration of Juſtice throughout the Kingdom according to the known Laws of the Land, as the beſt Expedient He could think of for the compoſing the general Diſtempers of the Nation, and uniting the Hearts of the People in a true Obedience unto, and Reverence for, his Majeſty's Perſon and Government. And with what Succeſs He had ſerved his Majeſty in that Province (which He had been pleaſed principally to commit to his Care and Truſt), He did appeal to the whole Nation; and whether the oldeſt Man could remember, that in the beſt Times Juſtice was ever more equally adminiſtered, and with leſs Complaint and Murmur; which had been frequently acknowledged from all the Parts of the Kingdom, and had been often taken Notice of by the King himſelf with great Approbation, and confeſſed by moſt of the Nobility upon ſeveral Occaſions. He ſaid, He had often declared in Parliament the King's Affection and Reverence for the Laws, and his Reſolution neither to ſwerve from them himſelf, nor to ſuffer any Body elſe to do ſo: And upon the publick Occaſions of ſwearing the Judges in any Courts, He had always enjoined them "to be very ſtrict "and preciſe in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice according to Law, with all "Equality, and without Reſpect of Perſons, which the King expected from "them; and that as his Majeſty reſolved never to interpoſe by Meſſage or "Letter for the Advancement or Favour of any Man's Right or Title, ſo "He would take it very ill if any Subject (how great ſoever) ſhould be able "to pervert them." And He did believe there had never paſſed ſo many Years together in any Age, in which the Crown had not in the leaſt Degree interpoſed in any Cauſe or Title depending in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, to incline the Court to this or that Side; or in which the Crown itſelf hath had ſo many Cauſes judged againſt it in ſeveral Courts: At leaſt in which former Practice and Uſage on the Behalf of the Crown hath been leſs followed. And Nothing is more known, than that from the Time of the King's bleſſed Return into *England*, even to the Preparation of that Charge againſt him, He had been reproached with Nothing ſo much as his too much adhering to the Law, and ſubjecting all Perſons to it: And this Reproach had not been caſt upon him ſo bitterly and ſo maliciouſly by any, and in Places where They thought it might produce moſt Prejudice to him, as by thoſe who now contrived that Charge, and who had been always great Enemies to the Law.

All this, and much more of the ſame Kind, He ſaid, was manifeſt to all the World: And therefore He needed not more to labour in that Vindication. Yet He could not but obſerve, that there was not in all the King's Forces, nor was when his Forces were much greater than They were at that preſent, one Officer recommended by him: And moſt of them were ſuch who profeſſed

feſſed publickly a great Animoſity againſt him, having been, by the Malice of ſome Men, very unreaſonably perſuaded that the Chancellor was their Enemy; that He deſired that They might be diſbanded, or at leaſt ſo obliged to the Rules of the Law, that They ſhould be every Day caſt into Priſon. And They had indeed found, that in ſome Inſolencies which the Soldiers had committed contrary to the Law, and ſome Pretences which They made to Privileges againſt Arreſts, and the like, He had always oppoſed their Deſires with more Warmth than other Men had done; as believing it might be the Cauſe of notable Diſorders, and more alienate the Affection of the People from the Soldiers: So that it could not be thought probable, that He ſhould contribute his Advice *for the raiſing a Standing Army, and that the Kingdom ſhould be governed thereby*; when there were very few Men ſo like to be deſtroyed by that Army as himſelf, who was ſo induſtriouſly rendered to be odious to it.

To the other Part of that firſt Article, *that He did adviſe the King to diſſolve the preſent Parliament, and to lay aſide all Thoughts of Parliaments for the future, &c.* which it was ſaid two Privy Counſellors were ready to prove; He made a Relation of all that had paſſed in that Conſternation when the *Dutch* Fleet came into the River as far as *Chatham*, and when the Debate was in Council upon the reconvening the Parliament in *Auguſt*, when it ſtood prorogued till *October*, which the Chancellor affirmed could not legally be done; all which is more at large related in this Diſcourſe † of the Time when thoſe Tranſactions paſſed, and ſo need not to be repeated in this Place.

THE SECOND Article was, *That He had, in the Hearing of many of his Majeſty's Subjects, falſely and maliciouſly ſaid*, That the King was in his Heart a Papiſt, popiſhly affected, *or Words to that Effect.* *The ſecond Article.*

HE ſaid, that He had Occaſion too often, throughout the whole Charge, to acknowledge and magnify the great Goodneſs of God Almighty, that, ſince He thought not fit (for his greater Humiliation, and it may be to correct the Pride of a good Conſcience) to preſerve him entirely from thoſe Aſperſions of Infamy, and thoſe *Flagella Linguæ*, thoſe Strokes of the Tongue, which always leave ſome Mark or Scar in the Reputation they deſire to wound; He had yet infuſed into the Hearts of his Enemies, who had ſuggeſted and contrived this Perſecution againſt him, to lay ſuch Crimes to his Charge as his Nature is known moſt to abhor, and which cannot only not be believed, but muſt be contradicted, and a Vindication of him from that Guilt muſt be made, by all Men who know him to any Degree, or who have been much in his Company. And as Juſtice would have required it, ſo the uſual Form in Caſes of this Nature doth exact, that in ſo general a Charge They ſhould have named one ſingle Perſon of thoſe many, in whoſe Hearing He had laid that odious Imputation upon the King: And every Man will preſume, that one ſuch Perſon would have been named, if He could have been found. *His Anſwer.*

THERE was no Man then alive, He ſaid, who had had the Honour to be ſo many Years about or near the Perſon of the King as He had been: No Man, who knew more of the Temptation his Majeſty had undergone, and the Aſſaults He had ſuſtained, in the Matter of Religion, during the whole Time of his Exile; when almoſt a total Deſpair poſſeſſed the Spirits of moſt Men of his own Religion, that He would recover his Regality; and the Hopes and Promiſes and Aſſurances were ſo pregnant of very many of all Conditions, that He would ſuddenly recover it if He would change it. No Man knew ſo well, with what Chriſtian Courage his Majeſty had repelled

† Page 419. &c.

thoſe Aſſaults, or with what pious Contempt and Indignation He reſiſted and rejected thoſe Temptations. Nor had any Man, He thought, held ſo many Diſcourſes with his Majeſty concerning Religion as He had done; and ſooner and more clearly diſcerned the Reproaches He would undergo from that innate Candour in his princely Nature, which diſpoſed him to receive any Addreſſes, or to hear any Diſcourſes, which thoſe of ſeveral Factions in Religion with great Preſumption have uſed to preſent to him: Whilſt his Majeſty hath, with equal Temper and ſingular Benignity, heard all; and, pitying their Errours, diſmiſſed them with Evidence, that their Arguments were too weak to make Impreſſion upon his Judgment. Which though They knew well, yet either Party, out of the Vanity of their Hearts, uſed all the Endeavours They could to get it believed, that the King was propitious to them and their Party. And the *Papiſts*, being moſt preſumptuous in particular, and in their dark Walks in ſeveral Counties making it a ſpecial Argument to their Proſelytes, and thoſe They endeavoured to make ſo, that the King favoured them, and was of their Religion in his Heart (of which, and the great Prejudice it brought upon his Majeſty, He frequently received Advertiſements from many Perſons of Honour, and of warm Affections to the Government); of which He had always informed the King, who was exceedingly offended at their Folly and Preſumption, and wiſhed "that ſome of them might be apprehended, "and proſecuted with the utmoſt Rigour; and that ſome ſuch Proſecution "might be made againſt all the *Roman Catholicks*, and that They might be "convicted;" which He always gave in Charge to the Judges accordingly. And upon that and the like Occaſions He had a juſt and neceſſary Opportunity to enlarge, in the Preſence of many Perſons of Honour and Intereſt in the Kingdom, upon the Sincerity of the King's Religion, and his conſtant Exerciſe of it when He ſuffered by it; giving ſuch Inſtances of many Particulars as were pertinent to the Diſcourſe: Of which Endeavours of his, and of ſome Fruit thereof, He doubted not but that many of as conſiderable Perſons as are in *England* would be ready to give him their Teſtimony. And (He ſaid) He might without Vanity ſay, that He had more than an ordinary Part in the framing and promoting that Act of Parliament, that hath made thoſe ſeditious Diſcourſes, *of the King's being a* Papiſt *in his Heart, or popiſhly affected*, ſo very penal as they are: And therefore there would be Need of an undoubted and uncontroulable Evidence, that He had ſo ſoon run into that Crime himſelf. Which was all He would for the preſent ſay upon that ſecond Article.

The third Article. THE THIRD Article was, *That He had received great Sums of Money for paſſing the* Canary *Patent, and other illegal Patents; and granted ſeveral Injunctions to ſtop Proceedings at Law againſt them, and other illegal Patents formerly granted.*

His Anſwer. To which He ſaid, that He had preſumed in his humble Addreſs to the Houſe of Peers to aſſure their Lordſhips, *that He had never received one Penny over and above the juſt Perquiſites of his Office, according to the Precedents and Practice of the beſt Times, which He conceived to be thoſe of the Lord* Coventry *and the Lord* Elleſmere; *and which He had made his Rule in all that He had received, excepting only what He had from the immediate Bounty of the King.* And as He had always done all that was in his Power to prevent and ſtop all illegal Patents, ſo He did believe that there would be more Patents then found in the Office, which had been ſtopped by him, than by any of his Predeceſſors in ſo ſhort a Time. He never granted any Injunctions in the Caſes mentioned in the Charge, nor in any Caſe, where,

by the Courſe of the Court and the Rules of Juſtice, it was not warranted. And for the *Canary* Patent, and the Original, and all the Proceedings thereupon, ſo much is ſaid in the Body of this Diſcourſe according to the Time it was tranſacted in *, that there needs no Repetition of it in this Place.

THE FOURTH Article was, *that He had adviſed and procured divers of his Majeſty's Subjects to be impriſoned againſt Law in remote Iſlands, Garriſons and other Places; thereby to prevent them from the Benefit of the Law, and to introduce Precedents for impriſoning of other of his Majeſty's Subjects in like Manner.* *The fourth Article.*

TO which He ſaid, He knew not what Anſwer to make to that Article, it being ſo general, and no particular Perſon being named: But, He ſaid, it was generally known, that He had never taken it upon him to commit any Man to Priſon, but ſuch who, by the Courſe of the Chancery, for Matters of Contempt are juſtly and neceſſarily to be committed. It was probable that He had been preſent at the Council-Board, when many Perſons had been ordered to be committed, and whoſe Commitment hath by the Wiſdom of that Board been thought juſt and neceſſary; and therefore He was not to anſwer apart for any Thing done by them. Only He might ſay, that He was frequently of Opinion that the Commitments were very neceſſary: And it was notoriouſly known, that by ſuch Commitments ſome Rebellions or Inſurrections had been prevented; and that other Perſons, who were afterwards attainted and executed for High Treaſon, had upon their Examinations and at their Death confeſſed, that their Purpoſe had been to riſe in Arms at ſuch and ſuch Times, if their Friends upon whom They had principally relied had not been then committed to Priſon. And, He ſaid, He did well remember, that it was thought fit that moſt of the Perſons who ſtand attainted for the Murder of the late King, his Majeſty's Royal Father, ſhould be removed out of the *Tower*, and diſperſed into ſeveral Iſlands and Garriſons: And if any other Perſons had been likewiſe ſent thither, He preſumed it was upon ſuch Reaſons, as upon a due Examination thereof would make it appear to be very juſt. *His Anſwer.*

THE FIFTH Article was, *That He had corruptly ſold ſeveral Offices contrary to Law.* *The fifth Article.*

THIS He poſitively denied. *His Anſwer.*

THE SIXTH was, *That He had procured his Majeſty's Cuſtoms to be farmed at Underrates, knowing the ſame; and great pretended Debts to be paid by his Majeſty, to the Payment whereof his Majeſty was not in Strictneſs bound; and that He had received great Sums of Money for procuring the ſame.* *The ſixth Article.*

TO this He ſaid, He had never had any Thing to do in the diſpoſing his Majeſty's Cuſtoms, or any other Part of his Revenue, except for ſome ſhort Time after his Majeſty's firſt Arrival in *England*; when He, amongſt others of the Lords of the Council, was a Commiſſioner for the Treaſury: During which Time there was no Farm let of any of the Revenue, and the Cuſtoms were put into the Hands of Commiſſioners, to the End that a Computation might be made as near as was poſſible of the full Value of them, before that it ſhould be put into a Farm, which every Man conceived would be fit to be done as ſoon as might be. The White Staff was ſhortly after given to the Earl of *Southampton* (to whom his Majeſty had deſigned it before He returned), and the Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer to the Lord *Aſhley*, the Lord Chancellor having reſigned it into his Majeſty's Hands, which *His Anſwer.*

* Page 254, &c.

He had been poſſeſſed of for many Years in the Time of the late King, and retained it till after his Majeſty's Return: And from the Time that thoſe two Officers of the Revenue were made, which determined the former Commiſſion, He never intermeddled in the Cuſtoms, or in any other Branch of the Revenue; except when the King commanded him to be preſent in ſome Conſultations which He had with the Lord Treaſurer, and when there were other Lords of the Council preſent. That excellent Perſon, the Lord Treaſurer, always reſorted to the King for his Direction, in all Matters of the leaſt Difficulty which occurred to him in the Adminiſtration of his Office; and frequently did deſire to confer with the Chancellor (with whom He was known to have held a long and a faſt Friendſhip) upon many Particulars of his Office, believing that He was not altogether ignorant in that Adminiſtration, with which He had been formerly ſo well acquainted. And that He conceived might be the Reaſon, why He did oftentimes procure him to be joined with him in References from the King, upon Matters wholly relating to his own Office. But the Chancellor did never then ſuffer any particular Application to be made to him in thoſe Caſes, nor had ever ſecret Conferences with any Perſons who were concerned in thoſe Pretenſions.

What was meant *by his having procured his Majeſty's Cuſtoms to be farmed at Underrates, knowing the ſame; and great pretended Debts to be paid by his Majeſty, to the Payment whereof his Majeſty was not in Strictneſs bound*; He ſaid, He could not imagine, except it did relate to the Payment of a Debt due from his late Majeſty to ſome of the Farmers. In which though He had no more to do, than in giving Information and his particular Advice to his Majeſty, in the Preſence of the Lord Treaſurer, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other of the Lords, and ſo was not himſelf reſponſible for what his Majeſty did thereupon; yet He thought himſelf obliged upon this Particular, which ſo much concerned the Honour and Juſtice of the late King and of his preſent Majeſty, to enlarge, and relate all He knew of what their Majeſties did, and what induced his preſent Majeſty to do his Part in it.

He ſaid, it was notoriouſly known, that before the late Troubles, and in the very firſt Entrance into them, his Majeſty was neceſſitated to borrow very great Sums of Money from his then Farmers of his Cuſtoms, and to oblige them to ſtand perſonally bound for many other great Sums of Money, which other Men lent to his Majeſty upon their Security. That thereupon, and for the Repayment of thoſe Sums which the Farmers had advanced, and for ſecuring them from any Damage for thoſe Monies which others had lent upon their Obligations; his late Majeſty, with the Advice of the then Lord Treaſurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had granted a farther Leaſe of his Cuſtoms to thoſe Farmers for three or four Years to come, after the Expiration of their former Leaſe; with a Covenant on his Majeſty's Part, to pay the juſt Intereſt for all ſuch Monies as were advanced by them, or for which They ſtood bound; and likewiſe that They ſhould, out of their growing Rent, deduct ſuch Sums of Money by the Year, as They had lent or been bound for, according to ſuch Proportions yearly as was agreed upon. That it was as well known, that ſhortly after the Beginning of the Parliament in 1640, and before the Commencement of the ſecond Leaſe, the Houſe of Commons did not only force the ſaid Farmers to pay a very great Sum of Money for their Preſumption in receiving Cuſtoms and Impoſitions upon Merchandiſe in the former Years, when They pretended ſuch Payments were not due; but took alſo from them their new

Leaſe granted to them by the King, and ſo left them without any Capacity of reimburſing themſelves of the Money They had lent, and likewiſe at the Mercy of their Creditors to whom They ſtood bound; many of whom quickly began to exerciſe that Severity towards them, that many of the poor Gentlemen had their Eſtates extended upon Judgments and Recognizances, and their Perſons taken in Execution and committed to Priſon; where ſome of them who had been known to have great Eſtates, as Sir *Paul Pindar* and others, were forced to end their Lives.

THERE were very few Circumſtances in the late King's Misfortunes, which gave him more Trouble, or ſo much afflicted him as the Senſe He had of the horrid and unjuſt Sufferings thoſe poor Gentlemen underwent for him, and their Affection for his Service; which He often publickly mentioned, and as often declared, "that He held himſelf obliged to make "them full Reparation as ſoon as God ſhould enable him." And He frequently ſpake to the Chancellor, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, of that Affair; of the good Opinion He had of the Men, and of the great Services They had done for his Majeſty; and commanded him expreſsly, when it ſhould fall within his Power, He ſhould do them all the Right He could. And of this He had often informed his Majeſty during the Time He was abroad, and after his Return, without any other Motive than his Father's Command and his own Honour, having himſelf never had any Degree of Friendſhip with any of the Perſons concerned, and a very ordinary Acquaintance with ſome of them. Upon his Majeſty's happy Return, thoſe Gentlemen who were alive of the old Farmers, who were Sir *John Jacob*, Sir *Job Harby*, Sir *Nicholas Criſpe* and Sir *John Harriſon*, applied themſelves to the King, having lain ſeveral Years and at that Time remaining in Execution in ſeveral Priſons, and having had their Eſtates ſold, upon the Proſecution of thoſe Creditors to whom They were bound for Money lent to his Majeſty.

AS ſoon as Meaſures were taken for collecting the Revenue, thoſe four Gentlemen named before, and two others who had ſerved his Majeſty very well, were appointed his Commiſſioners for the collecting the Cuſtoms and Duties upon Trade; in which Collection They continued a Year or thereabouts; during which Time many of their Creditors, who had generouſly forbore to proſecute them whilſt They were in Priſon and undone, begun now to commence their Actions againſt them, preſuming They were then or would ſhortly be able to ſatisfy them. Whereupon the King commanded the Lord Treaſurer and the Chancellor, with ſome other Lords, to ſend for thoſe Creditors, and to declare to them, "that his Majeſty "would in a ſhort Time enable his Farmers to pay their juſt Debts, which "He well knew were contracted for his Service; and that He would take "it very well from them, if They would for the preſent give no Obſtruc-"tion to his Service, by the Proſecution of thoſe Perſons at Law, whoſe "Time was ſolely taken up in the neceſſary Service of his Majeſty." Whereupon They willingly deſiſted from that Proſecution; and many of them finding now, that by his Majeſty's Favour They were like to recover their Debts They before thought to be deſperate, They frankly remitted the Whole or Part of the Intereſt, that in Strictneſs of Law was ſtill due to them.

HIS Majeſty ſhortly after, finding it beſt for his Profit to determine the Collection by Commiſſion, and to let the Whole to Farm, gave Direction to the Lord Treaſurer to confer and treat with any fit Perſons who deſired to contract for the ſame. Many Overtures were made by ſeveral Perſons,

and ſome applied themſelves directly to his Majeſty. Upon which, and after a competent Time in conſidering all that had been propoſed, the King appointed a Day, when He would be attended by the Lord Treaſurer and other of the Lords, and when all the Pretenders ſhould likewiſe be preſent, and He would then and there declare his own Judgment; having firſt declared to the Commiſſioners, whereof four were the old Farmers to whom ſo much Money was due, "that whoſoever ſhould take the Farm, They "ſhould be obliged to pay them their juſt Debt at ſuch Times, and by "ſuch Proportions, as his Service could bear. But as to the letting the "Farm itſelf, He would neither conſider the Debt He owed them, nor the "Sufferings They had undergone, but only the Rent They ſhould offer; "which if as much as any Body elſe would give, He would preſer their "Perſons before others; but if any other fit Men would offer more than "They thought fit to give, They ſhould be his Farmers: And therefore "wiſhed them well to conſider what They would propoſe to him."

After two Days ſpent by his Majeſty with the ſeveral Pretenders apart, and finding that the Propoſitions made to him by the old Farmers, with whom the other two were to be joined who had ſerved with them as Commiſſioners, were at leaſt as much if not more for his Profit than any that had been made by any of the reſt; He did declare, that the Farm ſhould be let to thoſe who had been his Commiſſioners: Which at that Time was underſtood to be ſo far from being a good Bargain, that the two Commiſſioners, who were not concerned in the great Debt, utterly refuſed to meddle with the Farm at ſo great a Rent; the other four publickly declaring at the ſame Time, "that They would not give the Rent but in Contemplation of their "Debt, which They thought They ſhould ſooner and better receive, when "it ſhould be aſſigned upon their own Collections, than when it ſhould be "charged upon new Farmers." But They were Suitors to his Majeſty, "that He would oblige the other two (Sir *John Wolſtenholme* and Sir *John* "*Shaw*) to be joint Farmers with them;" which his Majeſty did, by making a gracious Promiſe to them, "that if They ſhould be Loſers He would re-"pair them:" And thereupon Directions were given to Mr. Attorney General to prepare a Grant accordingly. And, He ſaid, He did not know that there was one diſſenting Voice from what his Majeſty inclined to do upon the whole Matter, the ſame appearing to every Man to be moſt juſt and reaſonable.

The Farm being thus ſettled, the old Farmers were directed "to bring "their Accompts to the Lord Treaſurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer, "by which it ſhould manifeſtly appear how much the King was juſtly and "truly indebted to them, and how the Debts were incurred; that ſo upon "a juſt Computation ſuch Satisfaction might be made to them, as was con-"ſiſtent with the preſent State of his Majeſty's Affairs and Occaſions." Many Months, if not a whole Year, were ſpent in the Examination of thoſe Accompts before the Auditors: Who, beſides the Exceptions They took for Want of ſome Formalities in the Proof of ſome Money paid, which after twenty Years of Licenſe (in which all their Books and Papers had been taken, their Houſes plundered, and their Perſons impriſoned; and in which ſo many Perſons employed by the King to receive and by them to pay Money were dead) could hardly be made with the uſual Exactneſs; made likewiſe ſeveral Certificates of particular Caſes, which required farther Directions. And the Lord Treaſurer would never take upon himſelf to give thoſe Directions, only declaring to them, as He had frequently done, "that in Re-"gard his Majeſty was not ſtrictly bound in Juſtice to pay that Debt due

"from his Father; but that his preſent Majeſty's generous and Royal Diſ-
"poſition had prevailed with him to pay that juſt Debt, whereby They might
"be preſerved from Ruin, in which," He ſaid, "He had fully concurred
"with his Majeſty; but that He would never adviſe him, on the Contrary
"He would always diſſuade his Majeſty from paying or allowing any In-
"tereſt, though paid by them, which would ſwell the Debt to ſuch a Pro-
"portion, that his Majeſty could never undertake the Payment of it." Which Determination, how great ſoever their Loſs appeared to be, ſeemed to be ſo juſt, at leaſt ſo neceſſary for the King, that They wholly referred it to his Majeſty; hoping that it might prevail with many of their Creditors not to exact it from them, though the Sale of their whole Eſtates had made Satisfaction to others for the whole Intereſt, as well as for the Principal.

WHEN the Auditors Certificate was ready, and all the Doubts and Queſtions that did ariſe thereupon were clearly ſtated, his Majeſty vouchſafed again to be preſent with the other Lords, who had from the Beginning aſſiſted in the Examination of that Buſineſs: And then the Lord Treaſurer declared to his Majeſty, what He had before ſaid to the Perſons concerned, "that though He willingly approved his Majeſty's Goodneſs in taking upon "himſelf that great Debt, yet that He would by no Means give his Advice "or Conſent that He ſhould pay or allow any Intereſt for it."

UPON the whole Matter, and upon all the Doubts ſtated to his Majeſty, and after the Rejection of ſeveral of the Sums of Money which were demanded by them, and for the Payment whereof ſuch direct Proof was not made as is required by the Courſe of the Exchequer (though, He ſaid, He thought moſt Perſons who were preſent were in their private Conſciences well ſatisfied, that thoſe Sums had been in Truth paid to his Majeſty's Uſe, as had been alleged); there appeared to his Majeſty to be juſtly due to them the Sum of two hundred thouſand Pounds, Principal-Money, for almoſt twenty Years, and for which They had paid the Intereſt for many Years out of their own Eſtates. And his Majeſty thought it very juſt; and, with many gracious Expreſſions of his Purpoſe and Reſolution further to repair them as He ſhould be able, gave Order to the Lord Treaſurer, "that the ſaid Debt of two hundred thouſand Pounds ſhould be paid "to them in five Years, that is, by forty thouſand Pounds for every Year, "out of the Rent of the Farm; and that all Inſtruments neceſſary for their "Satisfaction and Security ſhould be preſently given to them, whereby They "might be able to comply with their Creditors, and avoid their Impor-"tunity," wherewith his Majeſty begun to be troubled as much as themſelves.

HE did confeſs himſelf to have been preſent at thoſe Agitations, and to have contributed his humble Advice and Opinion to his Majeſty that He ſhould pay this Debt; which He thought himſelf obliged to do, as well as a faithful Counſellor to his preſent Majeſty, as in Diſcharge of his Duty and Obligation to his Father. And, He ſaid, He had very good Reaſon to believe, that if that two hundred thouſand Pounds be paid according to his Majeſty's Direction, and of which the Heirs and Executors of thoſe Farmers who are dead, as well as the four preſent Farmers, have their equal Proportions; the ſaid Perſons have not at this Day Half the Eſtates They had in the Year 1640, when They entered into thoſe Engagements for his Majeſty. Nor was there any one Perſon preſent at the Agitation of this Affair, who ſeemed in the leaſt Degree to differ in the Opinion, or to diſſuade his Majeſty from giving that Satisfaction for that Debt.

He ſaid, He did likewiſe very willingly confeſs, that He had in the Manner aforeſaid, and being called to adviſe, given his Opinion for the Payment of many other conſiderable Debts incurred by his late Majeſty, and for which many Perſons of Honour, who adhered to him during that War, were perſonally bound for him, and whoſe Eſtates had been extended and their Perſons impriſoned for the ſame; many of whom were in Execution and in Priſon for the ſame when his Majeſty returned, and others were then ſued in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, in his Majeſty's own Courts. His late Majeſty having granted under his Great Seal of *England*, to ſeveral Perſons intruſted for the reſt, many of his Foreſts, Parks and other Lands, for their Security and Indemnity who were or ſhould ſtand bound for him, for Money that was then borrowed for and applied to the neceſſary Support of himſelf and his Army, and to no other Purpoſe; in that Grant He had been particularly truſted, as well by the Deſire of the Perſons particularly concerned, as by his Majeſty's Command to be ſolicitous for their Satisfaction. And He did not deny, that He was never more glad, than when He was able to procure Satisfaction for thoſe Perſons who were ſo bound and ſo ſecured; nor more troubled, than that He could do no more, and that there remained ſtill ſo many unſatisfied, and almoſt undone, for thoſe Debts ſo contracted; of which Number He believed there were ſtill too many.

But having made thoſe clear Confeſſions of what was Truth, and what what He did do in thoſe Tranſactions, He ſaid, He muſt as poſitively deny, that ever He procured or adviſed the letting his Majeſty's Cuſtoms, or any other Part of his Revenue, at Underrates: On the Contrary, that He uſed all the Ways He could to advance the Rents, without Reſpect of Perſons; and that He was never preſent at the letting any Farm that any Men would have given more for, than They did to whom it was let, what Offers ſoever were made afterwards, when his Majeſty himſelf had made a Contract, and when a Grant was iſſued accordingly under the Great Seal of *England*. And He did as poſitively deny, that ever He received or expected the leaſt Sum of Money, or Money-worth, for any Leaſe made by his Majeſty of his Cuſtoms, or any other Part of his Revenue; or for the Payment of any one Debt made by his Majeſty, to which He was or was not bound: He having (He ſaid) never had any other Motive for the Performance of thoſe Offices, but the pure and entire Conſideration of his Majeſty's Honour, Juſtice and Profit, and his own Inclination to gratify worthy Perſons, who in Juſtice ought to be or might with Juſtice be gratified and obliged, and who had commonly been ſuch Perſons to whom He had had no Kind of Obligation.

The ſeventh Article. The Seventh Article was, *That He had received great Sums of Money from the Company of Vintners, or ſome of them or their Agents, for enhancing the Prices of Wines, and for freeing them from the Payment of legal Penalties which They had incurred.*

His Anſwer. He ſaid, if He had been in the leaſt Degree guilty of that Charge, it would very eaſily have been proved; and the Vintners would very gladly have helped them in it, being Perſons who never thought themſelves beholden to him, and ſo not obliged to conceal any of his Corruptions. They well knew, that He could never be prevailed with to conſent to the enhancing the Prices of their Wines, and that He never had received from them the leaſt Sum of Money, or other Gratuity from them, in his Life. He ſaid, He did remember, that at a Time when his Majeſty had refuſed to grant all their other Petitions, the Company of Vintners did complain, "that there "were ſo many Informations againſt them proſecuted by Informers in the "Exchequer, that They muſt give over their Trades, and be likewiſe un-

"done, if They ſhould be ſeverely purſued for what was paſt:" And therefore They beſought his Majeſty in Council, "that He would pardon what "was paſt; and that for the future They would treſpaſs no more." Whereupon his Majeſty thought it worthy of his Mercy to ſhelter them for the preſent from that Proſecution; and thereupon commanded his Attorney General "to call the Informers before him, and to appoint the Vintners to "pay them ſuch reaſonable Rewards for their Pains as He thought fit; and "thereupon He ſhould enter a *Noli Proſequi:*" But his Majeſty charged them "for the future not to run into the ſame Danger." And as this Grace from his Majeſty was not upon his Promotion, but purely from his own Bounty and Goodneſs, from which Nobody diſſuaded him; ſo He never received the leaſt Profit from the ſame.

THE EIGHTH is, *That He had in a ſhort Time gained to himſelf a far greater Eſtate, than can be imagined to be lawfully gained in ſo ſhort a Time; and contrary to his Oath He had procured ſeveral Grants under the Great Seal from his Majeſty, to himſelf and to his Relations, of ſeveral of his Majeſty's Lands, Hereditaments and Leaſes, to the Diſprofit of his Majeſty.* *The eighth Article.*

TO this He ſaid, that He wiſhed with all his Heart, that the Truth of that Article (which He preſumed had drawn on all the reſt) were clearly known to all the World: And that They, who in Truth do believe that He hath ſo great an Eſtate, were well informed what it is; and They would then clearly diſcern that He needed not be aſhamed of having gotten ſuch an Eſtate, nor that He needed to have any Recourſe to any ill Arts or Means for the obtaining thereof. They would know, that He had been ſo far from *procuring ſeveral Grants under the Great Seal of* England *from his Majeſty, to himſelf and his Relations, of ſeveral of his Majeſty's Lands, Hereditaments and Leaſes, to the Diſprofit of his Majeſty*; that He never moved his Majeſty in his Life for any one Grant to himſelf or any of his Relations. If his Majeſty's Royal Bounty had diſpoſed him to confer Somewhat of Benefit and Advantage upon an old Servant, who had waited upon his Father and himſelf near thirty Years in ſome Truſt and Employment; He ſaid, He hoped it ſhould not be imputed as a Crime in him to receive his Favours. He was far from believing or imagining, that the poor Services He had ever done, or could do, were in any Degree proportionable to his Majeſty's Bounty: Yet ſince his Majeſty's Goodneſs had thought him fit for it, He hoped many others would think ſo too; at leaſt as fit as ſome Men, who had received greater Marks and Proportions of it than He had done, and who, though They might ſerve much better, had not ſerved ſo long. *His Anſwer.*

HE ſaid, He forbore to enlarge upon that Charge, becauſe He conceived that it was now evident to many, who had been wrought upon by thoſe who did not believe it themſelves, to think his Eſtate to be very great, that the Information They received was without Ground: And whoever conſiders, that the firſt Year after the King's Return yielded juſtly more Profit to the Great Seal than He ever received in all the Years following, and ſome particular Acts of Bounty conferred on him by his Majeſty, without the leaſt Suit from him, and unthought of by him, will believe that his Fault was greater in having no better an Eſtate, than that what He hath hath been gotten by Corruption. He ſaid, He hath none of his Majeſty's Lands, but what He had bought, for as much as any Body would pay for it, of thoſe who had the ſame granted to them by his Majeſty's Bounty, and that Grant confirmed to them by Act of Parliament. And He preſumed that it could not have fallen from his Majeſty's Memory, and was ſure was well known

to ſome Perſons of Honour yet alive, that when his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed, upon his firſt coming over, to offer him ſome Land that had never yielded any Thing to the Crown, He abſolutely refuſed to receive it, becauſe it was generally thought to be of great Value; and therefore He would not expoſe himſelf to the Envy which naturally attends thoſe Donations, having in Truth never had an immoderate Appetite *to make Haſte to be rich*; and had as much apprehended the being accuſed of Witchcraft or Burglary, as of Bribery and Corruption.

In a Word: He did declare, that, his Debts being diſcharged, for which He paid Intereſt, all his Eſtate was not worth, being ſold, the Money that He had received from his Majeſty's own Royal Bounty, and far from being ſuitable to the Quality He yet held, and which was never obtained by his own Ambition, as many Perſons of Honour could teſtify.

The ninth Article. The Ninth Article was, *That He had introduced an arbitrary Government in his Majeſty's foreign Plantations; and had cauſed ſuch as complained thereof before his Majeſty and his Council, to be long impriſoned for ſo doing.*

His Anſwer. To this He ſaid, that though He could not poſſibly comprehend the full Meaning of that Article, yet becauſe He had heard of many Diſcourſes made of the Authority that He aſſumed to himſelf over the Plantations, and the great Advantage and Benefit that He had drawn to himſelf from thence, He was very willing to take that Occaſion to relate all that He knew, and all that He had done, with Reference to any of his Majeſty's Plantations; declaring in the firſt Place, that at his Majeſty's Return, and before, He had uſed all the Endeavours He could to prepare and diſpoſe the King to a great Eſteem of his Plantations, and to encourage the Improvement of them by all the Ways that could reaſonably be propoſed to him. And He had been confirmed in that Opinion and Deſire, as ſoon as He had a View of the Entries in the Cuſtomhouſe; by which He found what a great Revenue accrued to the King from thoſe Plantations, inſomuch as the Receipts from thence had upon the Matter repaired the Decreaſe and Diminution of the Cuſtoms, which the late Troubles had brought upon other Parts of Trade, from what it had formerly yielded.

The firſt Conſideration that offered itſelf before the King that related to the Plantations, was concerning the *Barbadoes*; which having been moſt diſcourſed of ſince, and, as He had heard, with ſome Reflections upon him of Partiality and Injuſtice, He ſaid, He would in the firſt Place ſet down all He knew in that Affair, and how He came to meddle in it.

Before the Beginning of the late Troubles, the King had granted the Iſland of the *Barbadoes* to the Earl of *Carliſle* and his Heirs for ever, upon a Suppoſition that it had been firſt diſcovered, poſſeſſed and planted at his Charge: And the ſaid Earl ſent a Governour and People thither, and enjoyed it to his Death; and by his Will ſettled it for the Payment of his Debts, which were very great. The Troubles falling out in a ſhort Time after, little or no Profit had been drawn from thence towards the Satisfaction of thoſe Debts; and the Executors and Truſtees totally neglected the taking Care of it, or proſecuting the Plantation. But in and after the War many Citizens, Merchants and Gentlemen, who were willing or forced to withdraw themſelves from *England*, tranſported themſelves thither, and planted without aſking any Body's Leave, and without being oppoſed or contradicted by any Body.

About the Year 1647, or thereabouts, the late Earl of *Carliſle*, Son and Heir of the former Earl, to whom the Inheritance of that Iſland belonged,

treated with the late Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, how that Iſland might be ſo huſbanded, that the Plantation might be advanced, and Profit made by it; which would at laſt redound to himſelf, when the Debt ſhould be paid. The late King was then in the Hands of the Army: And with his Majeſty's Approbation and Conſent, it was agreed between the ſaid Earl and the ſaid Lord, "that a Leaſe ſhould be made by the Earl of *Carliſle* to the "Lord *Willoughby*, of all the Profits which ſhould ariſe out of that Planta- "tion, for the Term of twenty one Years or thereabouts; a Moiety of the "whole Profits to be received by the Lord *Willoughby* himſelf for his own "Uſe, in Recompenſe for his Pains and Charge. And He was likewiſe to "receive a Commiſſion from the ſaid Earl, to be Governour of that and the "reſt of the *Caribbee* Iſlands" (all which were comprehended in the Charter granted by the King to the Earl of *Carliſle*); "and that a Commiſſion "ſhould be likewiſe procured from the King or the Prince of *Wales*, by "which the Lord *Willoughby* was to be conſtituted Governour of the ſaid "Iſlands."

ABOUT that Time the Fleet in the *Downs* returned to their Obedience to the King, withdrawing themſelves to the Coaſt of *Holland* to offer their Service to the Prince of *Wales*, his Majeſty that now is; the Lord *Willoughby* then likewiſe coming over to him, to ſerve him in any Condition his Highneſs would employ him in. That Summer being paſſed without any good Succeſs, the Lord *Willoughby* then informed the Prince of what had paſſed between the Earl of *Carliſle* and him with the King his Father's Conſent; which his Highneſs had likewiſe received from his Majeſty himſelf, with much Recommendation of the Lord *Willoughby*. He ſaid, He was then attending upon the Prince in *Holland*, as one of the King's Council aſſigned by his Majeſty for that Service. Upon the underſtanding this whole Caſe, the Prince, upon the unanimous Advice of the Council, thought fit to grant ſuch a Commiſſion of Governour of the *Barbadoes* and the other Iſlands, as He deſired: And He had the more Reaſon to deſire it (notwithſtanding the Earl of *Carliſle's* Grant and Commiſſion), becauſe the principal Planters upon the *Barbadoes* had been Officers in the King's Army, or of manifeſt Affections to him, and always looked upon as of his Party.

WITH this Commiſſion the Lord *Willoughby* had, at his great Charge and Expenſe, tranſported himſelf to the *Barbadoes*, and was there received as Governour; and made a Contract with the Planters, "that ſo much "ſhould be paid upon the Hundred to the Earl of *Carliſle*," to whom the Propriety of the Whole belonged. But before this Agreement could be well executed, or any Profit drawn from thence, the Iſland was reduced to the Obedience of the Parliament and of *Cromwell*, and a Governour appointed by them; the Lord *Willoughby* being ſent into *England*, where He remained till the King's Return, and had given unqueſtionable Evidence of his Affection to the King's Service, for which He had often been committed to Priſon before and after *Cromwell's* Death.

As ſoon as the King returned, the Lord *Willoughby* (who had then eight or nine Years to come of his Leaſe formerly granted to him by the Earl of *Carliſle*, who was then likewiſe living, and ready to do any other Act to the Lord *Willoughby's* Advantage) reſolved to return himſelf to the *Barbadoes*, and deſired the King to renew his Commiſſion to him for the Government; which his Majeſty was very willing to do, as to a Perſon He eſteemed very much, and who had ſpent very much of his own Fortune, as was notoriouſly known, in that Service. But the *Barbadoes* and all thoſe other Iſlands were now become of another Conſideration and Value, than they

had been of before the Troubles: The *Barbadoes* itſelf was (by that Confluence and Reſort thither as was mentioned before) ſo fully planted, that there was no Room for new Comers, and They had ſent very many of their People to the other Iſlands to plant; many Citizens of *London* had raiſed very great Eſtates there, and every Year received a very great Revenue from thence; and the King's Cuſtoms from that one Iſland came to a very great Sum of Money yearly.

All theſe Men, who had entered upon that Plantation as a waſte Place, and had with great Charge brought it to that Perfection, and with great Trouble, begun now to apprehend, that They muſt depend upon the Good-Will of the Earl of *Carliſle* and Lord *Willoughby* for the Enjoyment of their Eſtates there, which They had hitherto looked upon as their own. All theſe Men joined together in an Appeal to the King, and humbly prayed "his Protection, and that They might not be oppreſſed by thoſe two Lords." They pleaded, "that They were the King's Subjects; that They had repaired thither as to a deſolate Place, and had by their Induſtry obtained a "Livelihood there, when They could not with a good Conſcience ſtay in "*England*. That if They ſhould be now left to thoſe Lords to ranſom "themſelves and compound for their Eſtates, They muſt leave the Country; "and the Plantation would be deſtroyed, which yielded his Majeſty ſo good "a Revenue. That They could defend themſelves by Law againſt the Earl "of *Carliſle's* Title, if his Majeſty did not countenance it by a new Grant "of the Government to the Lord *Willoughby*: And therefore They were "Suitors to his Majeſty, that He would not deſtroy them by that Countenance."

At the ſame Time, the Creditors of the late Earl of *Carliſle* (whoſe Debts were to be ſatisfied by the Profits of that Plantation, by the Will and Settlement of the ſaid Earl) petitioned the King, "that They might be in "the firſt Place provided for: Their Principal-Money due to them at the "Death of the Earl amounted to no leſs than fifty thouſand Pounds, of "which They had never yet received one Penny; and therefore that the "Profits which ſhould ariſe ought in the firſt Place to be applied to them, "there having been many Families utterly ruined for Want of their Monies "ſo due to them." The King appointed to hear all their ſeveral Pretences at the Council-Board, where They all attended with their Council: And after his Majeſty had ſpent three or four Days himſelf in hearing the ſeveral Allegations, finding new Pretences and Difficulties every Day to ariſe (which ſhall be mentioned anon), the King appointed ſeveral of the Lords of the Council "to conſider of the whole Matter, and to confer with the ſeveral Parties, and, "if it were poſſible, to make an End between them by their own Conſent; "otherwiſe to report the ſeveral Titles to his Majeſty, with ſuch Expedients as "in their Judgments They thought moſt like to produce a general Satisfaction, "without endangering the Plantation," the Preſervation whereof his Majeſty took to Heart. The Chancellor was one of that Committee, and took very much Pains in reading the Charters, Grants and Leaſes, and many other Papers and Diſpatches which concerned that Affair; and conferred with ſeveral of the Perſons intereſted; to the End that He might the better diſcern what could be done, having never underſtood or heard any Thing of the Matter, or that concerned that Plantation, otherwiſe than what He hath before ſet down upon the Diſpatch of the Lord *Willoughby* to *Holland*; nor had He the leaſt Inclination or Bias to any Party. Upon the hearing all the Allegations before the Lords, the ſeveral Pretences and Titles appeared to them to be theſe; which They afterwards reported to the King.

THE Lord *Willoughby* demanded Nothing from the King, but his Commiſſion to be Governour for the Remainder of the Years which had been granted to him by the Earl of *Carliſle*; to the End that He might receive one Moiety of thoſe Profits which ſhould ariſe to the Earl, and which had been aſſigned to him with the Conſent and Approbation of the late King, and of his Majeſty that now is; upon which He had undertaken that Voyage, and ſpent ſo much of his Eſtate.

THE Earl of *Carliſle*, whilſt this Contention was depending, died, and by his Will deviſed his Intereſt in the *Barbadoes* to the Earl of *Kinnoul*, who likewiſe petitioned the King for the Preſervation of his Right: But neither He, nor the Perſon under whom He claimed, had any Pretence till all the Debts ſhould be ſatisfied; nor did the Earl of *Kinnoul* demand any Thing till then, but believed the Profit would ariſe yearly to ſo much, that the Debts would quickly be ſatisfied, and then the Whole was to come to him.

THERE was another Title that preceded the Earl of *Carliſle's*, which was that of the Earl of *Marlborough*, who alleged, and proved it to be true, "that the *Barbadoes* and thoſe adjacent Iſlands were firſt granted by the King "to his Grandfather the Earl of *Marlborough*, who was then Lord High "Treaſurer of *England*, before the Earl of *Carliſle* had any Pretence there-"unto; and that the Lord Treaſurer had afterwards conſented that the ſame "ſhould be granted to the Earl of *Carliſle*, upon a full Contract, *that He "ſhould firſt receive for ever the Sum of three hundred Pounds by the Year out "of the firſt Profits of the Plantations*; which Sum of three hundred Pounds "had never been yet paid: And therefore the Earl of *Marlborough* deſired, "as Heir to his Grandfather, to have Satisfaction for the Arrears, and that "the growing Rent might be ſecured to him."

THE Creditors were of two Kinds: The firſt, and who had firſt petitioned the King, as was ſaid before, had an Aſſignment made to them by the Executors and Truſtees of the Earl of *Carliſle* upon his Will, and who at his Death owed them the full Sum of fifty thouſand Pounds or thereabouts. The other Creditors conſiſted of ſeveral Tradeſmen and Artificers, to whom the ſaid Earl was indebted for Wares and Goods which They had delivered for his Uſe; and of ſeveral Servants for their Arrears of Wages: And all thoſe had, during the late Troubles, exhibited their Bill in Chancery againſt the Executors and Overſeers of the late Earl, and had obtained a Decree in that Court for their Satisfaction out of the Profits of thoſe Plantations (which Decree ſtood confirmed by the late Act of Judicial Proceedings); and, as He remembered, their Debts amounted to thirty thouſand Pounds or thereabout. None of the Creditors in general, of one or the other Sort, had ever received one Shilling from the Time that the Earl had firſt aſſigned it.

THE Planters inſiſted poſitively, "that the Charter granted to the Earl "of *Carliſle* by the King was void in Point of Law:" For which their Council alleged many Reaſons. And having ſpent much Time upon that Argumentation, They concluded with two humble Propoſitions to the King. (1.) "That his Majeſty would give them Leave to proſecute in his Name "in the Exchequer, and at their own Charge, to repeal that Grant to the "Earl of *Carliſle*; by which They ſhould be freed from the arbitrary Power "and Oppreſſion which would be exerciſed upon them under the Colour of "that Charter, and his Majeſty might receive a great Benefit to himſelf, by "taking the Sovereignty into his own Hands, to which it belonged. And "in that Caſe They offered in their own Names, and for the reſt of the "Planters who were in the Iſland, to conſent to an Impoſition of ſo much

"in the Hundred, which They confidently averred would amount in the "Year to ten thouſand Pounds at the leaſt; out of which his Majeſty's Go- "vernour might be well ſupported, and his Majeſty diſpoſe of the Overplus "as He ſhould think fit." (2.) "If his Majeſty would not ſuffer the Charter "to be repealed, that He would leave thoſe who claimed under the Earl "of *Carliſle's* Patent to their Remedy at Law, and leave the Planters to "their own Defence; which They hoped in Juſtice could not be denied to "them, ſince They alone had been at the Charge to ſettle the Plantation, "which brought every Year ſo great a Revenue to the Crown, when the "Earl had not been at the leaſt Expenſe thereupon: And if his Majeſty "ſhould not aſſiſt their Pretences with his Royal Authority, They muſt all "quit the Plantation."

THESE being the ſeveral Pretences of the ſeveral Perſons, and Nothing being to be done by Agreement between themſelves, their Intereſts being ſo diſtinct and inconſiſtent with each other; his Majeſty thought fit, in the firſt Place, to refer the Conſideration of the Validity and Legality of the Patent to his Council at Law; who, upon full Deliberation and after the Hearing of all Parties, returned their Opinion "that their Patent was void, and that "his Majeſty might take the ſame into his own Power." This Report was no ſooner made to his Majeſty, but that He very graciouſly declared, "that "He would not receive from hence any Benefit or Advantage to himſelf, "until all their Pretences had received Satisfaction; and that He would make "no farther Uſe of avoiding the ſaid Charter, than to diſpoſe the Profits of "the Plantation to thoſe, who in Juſtice had any Pretence in Law or "Equity to receive the ſame: And therefore that the Lord *Willoughby* "ſhould proceed in his Voyage to the *Barbadoes*, and ſhould receive ac- "cording to his Bargain a Moiety of the Profits; and that the other Part "ſhould be diſpoſed of for the Satisfaction of the Debts and other Incum- "brances." In Order to which, his Majeſty appointed the ſame Committee of the Lords to meet again, and to adjuſt the ſeveral Proportions.

WHEN They met again, They had all the Perſons concerned with them, or ready to be called in upon any Occaſion; and They all appeared very glad that the King had taken the Care and Protection of the Plantation upon himſelf, which was all the Security the Planters had or could deſire. And the Lords firſt Care was, to make ſome Computation that might be de- pended upon, as the yearly Revenue that would ariſe upon the Impoſition within the Iſland. But the Planters would not be drawn to any particular Agreement in that Point, not ſo much as to conſent to what ſhould be im- poſed upon every Hundred; but on the Contrary declared, "that too much "had been undertaken in that Kind by one of their own Number, Mr. "*Kendall*, in his Diſcourſe before the King in the Council," and declared "that the Plantation could not bear the Impoſition He had mentioned. "That whatſoever was to be done of that Nature was to be tranſacted by an "Aſſembly in the Iſland: And that all that They could promiſe for them- "ſelves was, that They would uſe their utmoſt Endeavours with their Friends "in the Iſland, that when the Lord *Willoughby* ſhould arrive there and call "an Aſſembly, They ſhould conſent to as great an Impoſition as the Planta- "tion would bear; by which," They ſaid, "a good Revenue would ariſe "to the King for the Purpoſes aforeſaid."

THE Creditors had great Reaſon to be glad of the Reſolution his Majeſty had taken: For though it would be a long Time before They could be fully ſatisfied out of a Moiety of the Profits, though it ſhould ariſe to the higheſt Computation, yet in Time They ſhould receive all, and ſhould every

Year receive ſome; which would leſſen their Debt, and relieve thoſe who were in the higheſt Neceſſities, of which there was a great Number. Whereas They had hitherto in ſo many Years received not one Penny: And it was evident, that without his Majeſty's Authority They never ſhould, ſince the Planters were reſolved never to conſent to any Impoſition, nor ſubmit to any Authority that ſhould be exerciſed under the Earl of *Carliſle's* Patent, without a due Courſe of Law; the Way to obtain which would be very difficult to find out. And They underſtood well enough, that, without his Majeſty's Grace and Bounty to them, the Repeal or avoiding the Earl of *Carliſle's* Patent would put a quick End to all their Pretences.

THE greateſt Difficulty that did ariſe was from the Earl of *Kinnoul*, to whom the laſt Earl of *Carliſle* had deviſed theſe Iſlands by his Will: And He had a great Mind to go thither himſelf, and take Poſſeſſion of his Right; and his Council had perſuaded him, "that the King's Charter granted to the "firſt Earl of *Carliſle* was good and valid in Law, and that They believed "They could defend and maintain it in any Court of Juſtice." Then his own Eſtate in *Scotland* was ſo totally loſt by the Iniquity of the Time, and his Father's having ſo frankly declared himſelf for the King, when very few of that Nation loſt any Thing for their Loyalty, that He had very little left to ſupport himſelf; and therefore was willing to retire into any Place abroad, where He might find but a bare Subſiſtance. But when He conſidered again, that He could have no Pretence to any Thing till after the Creditors were fully ſatisfied, and how long it was like to be before They could be ſatisfied, there remaining ſtill due to the Creditors of Both Kinds no leſs than fourſcore thouſand Pounds, Principal-Money; He did not believe that his inſiſting upon the Patent would be worth the Charge and Hazard He muſt inevitably be put to: And therefore, upon farther Deliberation with his Friends, He willingly referred himſelf and all his Intereſt to the King's gracious Determination, as all the reſt of the Pretenders and intereſted Perſons had done.

THE Caſe being thus fully ſtated to the Lords, and every Man's Intereſt and Pretence clearly appearing before them, They conſidered ſeriouſly amongſt themſelves what They might reaſonably propoſe to the ſeveral Perſons, in Order to their Agreement amongſt themſelves; or, that proving ineffectual, what Advice They might reaſonably give his Majeſty. They were unanimouſly of Opinion, "not to adviſe his Majeſty to cauſe the Patent to be "called in Queſtion: For though They doubted not, upon the Opinion of "his learned Council, that the ſame would be judged void and illegal; yet "They did not think it a ſeaſonable Time, when the Nation was ſo active and "induſtrious in foreign Plantations, that They ſhould ſee a Charter or Patent "queſtioned and avoided, after it hath been ſo many Years allowed and coun-"tenanced, and under which it hath ſo long flouriſhed, and was almoſt grown "to Perfection. And that ſince his Majeſty had declared, *that, notwithſtanding "any Right of his own, all poſſible Care ſhould be taken for the Satisfaction of "the Creditors, as well as for the Preſervation and Support of the Plantation*; "it would be equally equitable and honourable in his Majeſty, not to leave the "Earl of *Kinnoul* the only Perſon unconſidered, and bereaved of all his Pre-"tence. But that They would humbly move his Majeſty, that He would gra-"ciouſly vouchſafe to aſſign ſome preſent Maintenance to the ſaid Earl, which "his unhappy Condition required, out of the Revenue that ſhould be there ſet-"tled, and until the Debts ſhould be paid; and that after that Time ſuch an "Augmentation might be made to him, as his Majeſty in his Royal Bounty "ſhould think fit: In Conſideration whereof, the Earl ſhould procure the

" Patent to be brought in and ſurrendered;" which He promiſed ſhould be done accordingly, as ſoon as the Settlement ſhould be made of that Proportion which ſhould be aſſigned to him.

" THAT the Lord *Willoughby* ſhould enjoy the Benefit of his former Con-
" tract with the Earl of *Carliſle*, and approved by his Majeſty, during the Re-
" mainder of thoſe Years which are not yet expired; that He ſhould make
" what Haſte He could thither, and call an Aſſembly, to the End that ſuch
" an Impoſition might be agreed upon to be paid to his Majeſty as ſhould be
" reaſonable, in Conſideration of the great Benefit They had already and
" ſhould ſtill enjoy, in being continued and ſecured in their ſeveral Planta-
" tions, in which as yet They were as it were but Tenants at Will, having
" no other Pretence of Right but the Poſſeſſion: And therefore, that thoſe
" Merchants and Planters who had petitioned the King ſhould, according to
" their Obligation and Promiſe made by them to his Majeſty, uſe all their
" Credit with thoſe in the Iſland, that the Impoſition might ariſe to ſuch a
" Proportion, that the Revenue might anſwer the Ends propoſed; and that
" one Moiety of that Revenue ſhould be enjoyed by the Lord *Willoughby*
" for his Term."

" THAT the Annuity of three hundred Pounds by the Year ſhould be paid
" to the Earl of *Marlborough*, according to the original Contract mentioned
" before; and that the Aſſignment, that his Majeſty would likewiſe be pleaſed
" to make to the Earl of *Kinnoul*, ſhould be firſt paid: And then that the
" Remainder of that Moiety ſhould be received to the Uſe of the Creditors.
" And that when the Lord *Willoughby's* Term ſhould be expired, his Majeſty
" ſhould be deſired, after the Reſervation of ſo much as He ſhould think fit
" for the Support of his Governour, that all the Remainder might be conti-
" nued towards the Creditors, until their juſt Debts ſhould be paid."

THESE Particulars appearing reaſonable to the Lords, all Perſons concerned were called, and the ſame communicated to them, who appeared all well contented: And thereupon the Lords reſolved to preſent the ſame to his Majeſty, which They did accordingly at the Board; and his Majeſty with a full Approbation and Advice of the whole Council ratified the ſame. Whereupon that Order was made by the King in Council, which comprehends all the Particulars mentioned before; which was delivered to the Lord *Willoughby*, with his Majeſty's expreſs Command, " that He ſhould ſee it " punctually and preciſely executed;" and the like Order was delivered by the Clerk of the Council to every other Perſon mentioned, who deſired the ſame: To which Order He did for the more Certainty refer himſelf, being in no Degree confident (having then no other Help than his Memory), that all was ſet down with that Exactneſs as it ought to be. And, He ſaid, as He had throughout the whole Affair taken very great Pains to reduce it to that Agreement, which at that Time ſeemed to be ſatisfactory to all the Perſons concerned, ſo He had not the leaſt Temptation of particular Benefit to himſelf; and He did ſtill believe it to be very juſt, reaſonable, and agreeable to his Majeſty's Juſtice and Goodneſs, all Circumſtances being conſidered. And though it may be, in Strictneſs of Law, and by the avoiding the Grant made to the Earl of *Carliſle*, his Majeſty might have poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole Iſland, without any tender Conſideration of the Planters or the Creditors; He ſaid, He was not aſhamed that He had never given his Majeſty that or the like Counſel, in that or any other Matter of the like Nature; and if He had, He was confident his Majeſty would have abhorred it, and not have thought the better of him for giving it.

THE other Part of that Article, *That He had cauſed ſuch as complained of the arbitrary Government in the Plantations before the King and Council, to be long impriſoned for ſo doing*, did refer, He ſuppoſed, to the Commitment of one *Farmer*; who, being ſent over a Priſoner by the Lord *Willoughby* in a Ship that came from thence, made his Appearance at *Oxford*, his Majeſty being then there in the Sickneſs-Time, which, He ſaid, was the firſt Moment that He had ever heard of the Man or the Matter. And at the ſame Time one of the Secretaries of State received a Letter from the Lord *Willoughby*, which was ſent by the ſame Ship, in which his Lordſhip had ſent a direct, full Charge of Mutiny, Sedition and Treaſon, againſt the ſaid *Farmer*; and by his Letter informed the Secretary of all his Behaviour and Carriage, with all the Circumſtances thereof; and "that He had, by his "ſeditious Practices, prevailed ſo far upon a diſaffected Party in that Iſland, "that the Lord *Willoughby* found himſelf obliged in the Inſtant to ſend him "on Board the Ship, without which He did apprehend a general Revolt in "the Iſland from his Majeſty's Obedience:" And He did therefore deſire, "that *Farmer* might not be ſuffered to return thither before the Iſland "ſhould be reduced to a better Temper." The Man was called in before the King and Council, and the Charge that the Lord *Willoughby* had ſent read to him, the greateſt Part whereof He could not deny; and in his Diſcourſe upon it He behaved himſelf ſo peremptorily and inſolently before the King, that his Majeſty thought it very neceſſary to commit him; nor did any one Counſellor then preſent appear to think otherwiſe.

AND He did confeſs, that the diſcharging him from his Impriſonment was ſome Time afterwards moved, and that He was always againſt his Diſcharge; being of Opinion that it would be impoſſible for the Lord *Willoughby*, or any other Governour in any of the Plantations, to preſerve his Majeſty's Right and to ſupport the Government, if He ſhould be ſo far diſcountenanced, that a Man, being ſent over by him as a Priſoner under ſo particular and heinous a Charge, ſhould be upon his Appearance here ſet at Liberty. But his Opinion was, "that He ſhould be ſent back a Priſoner thither, that He "might be tried by the Law and Juſtice of the Iſland, and receive condign "Puniſhment for his Offence:" And, He ſaid, He could not deny but that He was ſtill of the ſame Opinion; and, if it were an Errour, it proceeded from the Weakneſs of his Underſtanding, which was not in his Power to reform.

HE ſaid, what He had here ſet down was all that occurred to his Memory with Reference to the Iſland of the *Barbadoes*, which being not particularly mentioned in the Article, but comprehended under the general Expreſſion of his Majeſty's foreign Plantations, and ſecretly and maliciouſly inſinuated in private Diſcourſes, He took himſelf to be obliged to give ſome Anſwer to what, how generally ſoever, had been charged. And He hoped it would not be imputed as a Crime to him, if He had taken more Pains than other Men in that important Service of his Majeſty concerning his foreign Plantations, which He did not think had been enough taken to Heart: And if his Deſire and Readineſs to take any Pains, or give any Aſſiſtance to the Advancement of that Service, had induced many Perſons to apply themſelves to him on thoſe Occaſions, He hoped it ſhould not be charged upon him as Over-Activity, or Ambition to engroſs more Buſineſs into his Hands than He was entitled to; for which He had this Excuſe to make for himſelf, that He found the Pains He took to be acceptable to his Majeſty. And He was ſo far from having any particular Deſign of Advantage to himſelf, that He did profeſs and declare, that from all or any of his Majeſty's Plantations He

never had the leaſt Reward, or leaſt Preſent made to him; except that the now Lord *Willoughby* once told him, "that his Brother had ſent over "ſome Pieces of the ſpeckled Wood which grows in *Surinam*, with Direc-"tion, that if He liked it He might have what He would of it;" whereupon He had ſome Pieces of it, which He thought might have been applied to the making of Cabinets or the adorning of Wainſcot (but as they were very ſmall, ſo the Middle of every Piece was wind-ſhaken and rotten, that they could not be applied to any conſiderable Uſe); and except ſome Blocks of Walnut-Tree which the Governour of *Virginia* ſent to him, and of which He made ſome Table-Boards and Frames for Chairs; the Workmanſhip whereof coſt much more than the Wood was worth. And theſe two Particulars contained all the Rewards and Preſents or Profit, that ever He received from all his Majeſty's Plantations, or any Body to his Uſe.

The tenth Article. THE TENTH Article was, *That He did reject and fruſtrate a Propoſal and Undertaking approved by his Majeſty, for the Preſervation of* Nevis *and* St. Chriſtophers, *and reducing the* French *Plantations to his Majeſty's Obedience, after the Commiſſions were drawn for that Purpoſe; which was the Occaſion of ſuch great Loſſes and Damages in thoſe Parts.*

His Anſwer. To which He anſwered, that He never did reject or fruſtrate any ſuch Propoſal or Undertaking, never taking upon him in the leaſt Degree to make a Judgment of Enterpriſes of that Nature; nor was ever any ſuch Propoſition made to him. But He did very well remember, that his Majeſty himſelf did once deliver to the Council a Paper, which He ſaid one of his Servants (Mr. *Marſh*) had preſented to him, containing ſome Propoſitions for Ships and Men to be ſent by his Majeſty for the Recovery of *St. Chriſtophers*, which had been newly taken by the *French*. Upon the reading which Paper and Propoſitions, the ſame were referred to the Conſideration of the General, one of the Secretaries of State, and to the Vice-Chamberlain, who were to confer with Mr. *Marſh*, and ſuch others as joined with him. And They were at the ſame Time appointed to conſider of another Propoſition delivered in Writing by the now Lord *Willoughby*, and ſome Merchants of *London* who were Planters in the *Barbadoes*, for the ſupplying and better ſecuring that Iſland, and the reſt of thoſe *Caribbee* Iſlands; and for the reducing and recovering any of them which were or might be taken by the Enemy. Upon the latter of which Somewhat was afterwards done: And if the other concerning *Nevis* and *St. Chriſtophers* was rejected, of which, He ſaid, He knew Nothing, He preſumed it was, becauſe it either appeared unpracticable, or not conſiſtent with his Majeſty's other Affairs.

The eleventh Article. THE ELEVENTH Article was, *That He adviſed and effected the Sale of* Dunkirk *to the* French *King, being Part of his Majeſty's Dominions, together with the Ammunition, Artillery, and all Sorts of Stores there; and for no greater Value than the ſaid Ammunition, Artillery and Stores were worth.*

His Anſwer. THIS whole Tranſaction of the Sale of *Dunkirk*, with all the Circumſtances, is ſo fully related in this Diſcourſe, in the Place and at the Time when this Affair was tranſacted *, that any Repetition here is to no Purpoſe: And whoſoever turns back and reads it will clearly ſee, that He had no Hand in the Counſel; though He is far from condemning it, or believing that it was not neceſſary, as his Majeſty's Affairs at that Time ſtood. To which may be added, that the Treatment He received after his coming into *France* was an unqueſtionable Evidence, that that King did

* Page 201, &c.

never take himſelf to be beholden to him for that or any other Service; as in Truth He never was.

THE TWELFTH Article was, *That He did unduly cauſe his Majeſty's Letters Patents under the Great Seal of* England *to one Dr.* Crowther *to be altered, and the Enrollment thereof to be unduly razed.* *The twelfth Article.*

To which He ſaid, that when He heard of this Charge, He could not comprehend what the Meaning thereof was, being moſt aſſured that He had never *cauſed any Alteration to be made in any of his Majeſty's Letters Patents under the Great Seal, or the Enrollment thereof to be razed.* But upon Inquiry He was informed, that Dr. *Crowther*, who was Chaplain to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, and had attended upon his Perſon during the whole Time that his Highneſs was beyond the Seas, upon his Majeſty's Return into *England*, had obtained from the King his Royal Preſentation to the Parſonage of *Treddington* in the County of *Worceſter*; which Preſentation, according to Courſe, paſſed under the Great Seal of *England*. That when He brought his Action againſt the Intruder, who refuſed to give him Poſſeſſion, and the Record was carried down to the Aſſizes in the County; when the Doctor's Council were to open his Title, and thereupon to produce the King's Preſentation, They found upon Peruſal thereof, that either by Miſinformation or Negligence of the Clerk, inſtead of the County of *Worceſter*, where the Rectory was, the County of *Warwick* was inſerted: Upon which Miſtake the Doctor was neceſſitated to be nonſuited. And thereupon He forthwith made a Journey to *London* to adviſe with his Council, and the moſt experienced Clerks, how to recover the Misfortune that had befallen him, and that his Majeſty's Right might not be deſtroyed by ſuch an Overſight in the Clerk. And it ſeems He was by them adviſed, as the uſual Way in Caſes of that Nature, to petition the King, "that in his Majeſty's Preſence the Preſentation might be mended, and "*Worceſter* inſerted inſtead of *Warwick*, and that thereupon the Great "Seal might be again affixed to it;" all which was done accordingly, as in ſuch Caſes is uſual. *His Anſwer.*

THE THIRTEENTH Article was, *That He had in an arbitrary Way examined and drawn into Queſtion divers of his Majeſty's Subjects concerning their Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels, and Properties; determined thereof at the Council-Table, and ſtopped Proceedings at Law, and threatened ſome that pleaded the Statute of* 17 Car. *The thirteenth Article.*

To this He ſaid, He muſt here again lament his own Misfortunes, that He was expoſed to publick Reproach under a general odious Charge, without inſerting any one Particular to which He might make his Defence. He had therefore no more to ſay, but that He was very innocent as to any Crime laid to his Charge in that Article: And that He had been ſo far from *examining and drawing into Queſtion any of his Majeſty's Subjects concerning their Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels, and Properties, and determining the ſame at the Council-Table, and ſtopping Proceedings at Law*; that He did not know or believe, that any one Caſe of that Nature had been ever determined there, at leaſt when He had been preſent. That He had always diſcountenanced ſuch Addreſſes, and procured all Petitions of that Kind to be rejected as often as they have been tendered: And, He ſaid, He took himſelf obliged to ſay, for the Vindication of his Majeſty's Honour and Juſtice, that there had not been ſo many Years paſſed, ſince the Erection of the Council-Table, with ſo little Diſturbance or Diſquiet to the Subjects concerning their Lands, Tenements, Goods and Properties, *His Anſwer.*

as have been ſince his Majeſty's happy Return; nor hath the ordinary Courſe of Proceedings at Law been leſs obſtructed.

The fourteenth Article. THE FOURTEENTH Article was, *That He had cauſed* Quo Warrantos *to be iſſued out againſt moſt of the Corporations in* England, *to the Intent that He might receive great Sums of Money from them for renewing their Charters; which when They complied withal, He cauſed the ſaid* Quo Warrantos *to be diſcharged, and Proſecution thereon to ceaſe.*

His Anſwer. TO this He anſwered, That He never cauſed any *Quo Warranto* to iſſue out againſt any one Corporation in *England*, but by his Majeſty's expreſs Command, or by Order of the Board; which was always upon ſome Miſcarriage or Miſbehaviour in the Corporation: And that He did not remember that He had ever moved the King againſt any particular Corporation but that of *Woodſtock*; and which his Duty to his Majeſty had obliged him to do, being intruſted by his Majeſty with the Command of his Houſe and Park there, and being his Majeſty's Steward of his Majeſty's Honour and Manor of *Woodſtock*, upon which that Borough had always depended.

HE ſaid, his Majeſty having conferred that Charge upon him, He was no ſooner poſſeſſed of it by the Death of the late Earl of *Lindſey*, who enjoyed that Place before, than He received a Petition from ſeveral Inhabitants and Burgeſſes of the Borough of *Woodſtock*, who complained, "that the Mayor and Juſtices had lately procured their Charter to be renewed, without the Privity or Conſent of the Borough; and that under "Pretence of renewing it, They had procured many new Clauſes to be inſerted, and thereby reduced much of the Government, which before depended on the whole Corporation, into their own Hands; and had "thereby likewiſe procured a Piece of Ground, the Benefit whereof did "formerly belong to all the Burgeſſes, and was uſually applied to the Relief of ſuch of them who were decayed in their Eſtates, to be now granted "to the Mayor and a ſelect Number of the Juſtices, and the Profits thereof "to be at their Diſpoſal, to the great Prejudice of the Borough and the "Inhabitants thereof." He referred this Petition to Mr. Juſtice *Morton*, who lived within four or five Miles thereof, and deſired him to examine the Truth of thoſe Allegations, and to certify him whether the Complaints were juſt and reaſonable. Whereupon He took the Pains to go to the Town, and to confer with the Mayor and Juſtices, and heard the Allegations of the Petitioners; and upon the whole Matter certified, "that He "found ſeveral important Alterations in the new Charter from what had "been in the old, and ſome new Conceſſions."

AND at the ſame Time Sir *William Fleetwood*, who was Ranger of the Parks, certified him, "that ſince the renewing their Charter, the Mayor "and Juſtices were not ſo good Neighbours to his Majeſty's Game as They "had formerly been, and had withdrawn many of thoſe Services which "They had uſed to perform: And that when any Treſpaſſes were committed by thoſe of the Borough upon his Majeſty's Woods or Game, which "happened very frequently, and Complaint was thereof made to the Mayor "and Juſtices, who had the ſole Juriſdiction within the Borough; there "was ſo ſlight and perfunctory Examination thereof, that the Proſecutors "were wearied out, and no Juſtice could be obtained."

THAT it was his Duty to inform the King of thoſe Proceedings, who was much offended thereat, and thereupon gave his Direction to his Attorney General to bring a *Quo Warranto*, and to repeal the Charter which had been ſo unduly procured, and in which his Majeſty had been ſo groſsly

deceived and abuſed: And He did believe that there was the leſs Vigour uſed in the Proſecution of that *Quo Warranto*, becauſe the Mayor and Juſtices for ſome Time had pretended that They would ſurrender the ſaid Charter, and receive a new one in ſuch a Manner as his Majeſty thought fit, though They afterwards changed their Mind. And this was the only Charter, He ſaid, which He gave Direction for the Proſecution of.

NOR did He ever give Order, upon the Receipt of any Money, *to diſcharge any* Quo Warranto, *or cauſe the Proſecution thereupon to ceaſe:* Nor did He ever receive the leaſt Sum of Money for the granting or renewing any Charter, other than the uſual Fees received for the ſame by the Clerk of the *Hanaper*, and accounted to the Seal; which Fee, as He did remember, did amount to thirteen Shillings and four Pence, or thereabouts.

THE FIFTEENTH Article was, *That He procured the Bills of Settlement for* Ireland, *and received great Sums of Money for the ſame, in a moſt corrupt and unlawful Manner.* *The fifteenth Article.*

To this Article there needs no other Anſwer than what is contained in two † ſeveral Places of this Diſcourſe, in which ſo full a Relation is made of the whole Settlement of *Ireland*, with all the Circumſtances that accompanied it, that it would be to no Purpoſe to repeat it in this Place. And therein it appears what Money the Chancellor received from *Ireland*, and how He came to receive any, and by what Injuſtice He came to receive no more; all which was not only well known to the King himſelf, but to very many of thoſe, who promoted the Accuſation directly contrary to what They knew to be true. *His Anſwer.*

THE SIXTEENTH Article was, *That He had deluded and betrayed his Majeſty and the Nation, in all foreign Treaties and Negotiations relating to the late War.* *The ſixteenth Article.*

To which He ſaid, that He did heartily wiſh that thoſe particular Treaties, and the Particulars in thoſe Treaties, had been mentioned, wherein it was conceived that He had deluded and betrayed his Majeſty, that He might at large have ſet down whatſoever He had known or done in thoſe Treaties; and then it would eaſily have been made appear, how far He had been from betraying or deluding him. That it was never any Ambition of his own that brought him to have a Part in any Treaty: He ſaid, God knew, that He heartily wiſhed to have meddled in Nothing, but the Adminiſtration of that great Office the King had thought fit to have truſted him with. But his Majeſty had then ſo good an Opinion of him, that He required and commanded his Service in many of thoſe Treaties: And therefore it would be neceſſary for him, according to the Method He had hitherto uſed, to mention every particular Treaty that had been entered into ſince the Time of his Majeſty's Return into *England*, and the Part that He had in it; being as willing to be called to the ſtricteſt Account for any other Treaty He had been engaged in when He had been abroad, or for any Counſel He had ever given in his Life, publick or private; wherein, He doubted not, He ſhould be found to have behaved himſelf (according to the weak Abilities God had given him) with Fidelity to his Maſter, and with all imaginable Affection to his Country, how unhappily ſoever He had been repreſented. *His Anſwer.*

THE firſt Treaty, He ſaid, was with the Crown of *Portugal*; in which He was none of the Commiſſioners who treated, and was only preſent when any Report was made by the Commiſſioners to the King, or to the Council-Board, where all the Articles were debated; and He did not remember that there had been any Difference of Opinion upon any of them: And

† Page 57, &c. and Page 102, &c.

that Treaty had been generally held the beſt that hath been made with any Crown, the Merchants having thereby greater Advantages in Trade than They have in any other Place, beſides many other great Benefits, with a great Enlargement of his Majeſty's Empire.

The ſecond Treaty was with the *States* of the *United Provinces*; in which likewiſe He was none of the Commiſſioners who treated: But all that was by them tranſacted was ſtill brought to the Council-Board, and debated there in his Majeſty's Preſence; in which the Rule by which his Majeſty guided himſelf was, that He would not remit any of thoſe Conceſſions which had been formerly made by them in their laſt Treaty with *Cromwell*; and their Unwillingneſs to conſent to that was the Reaſon that their Ambaſſadours proceeded ſo ſlowly. And his Majeſty had the leſs Reaſon to be ſolicitous for Expedition, becauſe the King of *France* had given his Royal Word, and propoſed it himſelf, "that the two Crowns might proceed in the ſeveral "Treaties with the *Dutch* together, that ſo They might be brought to thoſe "good Conditions, that They might live like good Neighbours with Both "the Crowns, which," He obſerved, "They were not naturally inclined to "do;" and promiſed poſitively, "that for his Part He would not conclude "any Thing with the *Dutch*, before He had entirely communicated the "ſame to his Majeſty." Notwithſtanding which Engagement, *France* entered into and finiſhed their Treaty; and in it made that ſecret Article, which They declared afterwards to be the Ground of their Obligation to aſſiſt the *Dutch* in the enſuing War. However, his Majeſty proceeded not till the *Holland* Ambaſſadours conſented to all that had been before granted to *Cromwell*: Which being done, the Peace was made and ratified on Both Sides; and without Doubt was with more Advantage and Honour to the *Engliſh*, than ever had been provided by any former Treaty between the Crown of *England* and thoſe *States*.

From the two Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark* Ambaſſadours Extraordinary arrived at *London* ſhortly after the King's Return, and the ſeveral Treaties were made with Both thoſe Crowns before the Departure of the Ambaſſadours: In neither of which Treaties the Chancellor was a Commiſſioner, nor knew any Thing that paſſed in either, but as it was repreſented at the Council-Board, and debated in his Majeſty's Preſence; nor did He ever hear that either of them was reckoned a diſadvantageous Treaty, Both of them containing as much Benefit to the *Engliſh* as any Treaties which had been made before with thoſe Crowns. He ſaid, it was very true, that there were ſome unuſual Expreſſions of Kindneſs and Friendſhip in the Treaty with *Denmark*; which, in Reſpect of that King's being at that Time in a very low Condition, under the diſadvantageous Conditions of the Treaty at *Copenhagen* newly ſubmitted to, and under almoſt as ill a Treaty extorted from that Crown by the *Dutch*, and yet being in terrible Apprehenſion of ſome new Oppreſſion from the one and from the other, the Ambaſſadour did very earneſtly ſolicit to have inſerted; and which were upon great Deliberation allowed and inſerted by his Majeſty's own particular Direction, in Conſideration of the near Alliance in Blood between his Majeſty and that King, and the Civilities and Obligations his Majeſty had received from *Denmark*, during his being in *Holland* after the Murder of his Father, and during his being in *Scotland*, when the King of *Denmark* ſent him Horſes, Arms and Ammunition. Of which his Majeſty had ſo great a Senſe, that He was often heard to ſay, "that if it had pleaſed God to have brought him Home "before that diſadvantageous Peace at *Copenhagen* had been made" (which had been done by the Countenance of the *Engliſh* Ships, and the Threats

of thoſe who were then Ambaſſadours from the governing Power in *England*), "He would have done the beſt He could to have defended and protected him:" And therefore He did very readily yield to that Article drawn by the Ambaſſadour; his Majeſty declaring at the ſame Time, "that He "was very willing that thoſe Princes who were Neighbours to *Denmark*, and "from whom that Kingdom apprehended new Oppreſſions, ſhould know "his Majeſty's Reſolutions to ſupport that King, and to defend him "from new Injuries;" to which the Policy of his Government, as well as his Friendſhip, inclined and obliged him; though it is very true, the King of *Denmark* did ſhortly after make very ill Returns to his Majeſty for that his ſo ſignal Affection.

THESE were all the Treaties made by the King before the War with the *Dutch* (for there was very little Progreſs made either with *France* or *Spain* for the Reaſons mentioned before), except only a ſhort Treaty with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*; which Treaty was, for the moſt Part, particular with Reference only to the Prince of *Orange*, his Majeſty's Nephew, and for the better ordering his Affairs. In which Treaty his Majeſty likewiſe employed five or ſix of his Council: And the few Articles between his Majeſty and that Elector in Point of State were likewiſe tranſacted by them, and debated and conſidered at the Council-Board, and in which all Things were inſerted for his Majeſty's Benefit and Service; and if they had not been afterwards violated by the Elector, the King would have reaped much Fruit and Advantage even from that Treaty.

AFTER the War was entered into with *Holland*, his Majeſty ſent Mr. *Coventry* to *Sweden*, and Sir *Gilbert Talbot* to *Denmark*, to diſpoſe thoſe two Crowns to a Confidence in each other, and then to diſpoſe them Both to adhere to his Majeſty, or at leaſt not to aſſiſt or favour the *Dutch*. The Treaty with *Sweden* ſucceeded to his Majeſty's Wiſh, and was concluded in a League defenſive, very much to the King's Satisfaction, and with the full Approbation of the whole Board; that Crown having manifeſted ſo much Affection, and ſuch an Inclination to an entire Conjunction with him, that upon very reaſonable Conditions They would have been induced to have entered into a League offenſive, and even into the preſent War againſt the *Dutch*: In Order to which, They ſent their Ambaſſadours to the King at the ſame Time when Mr. *Coventry* returned, and They became the Mediators for the Peace; having firſt declared to his Majeſty, "that if the "Treaty ſhould prove ineffectual, the Crown of *Sweden* would immediately "join with his Majeſty againſt the *Dutch*." What became of the other Treaty with *Denmark* is publickly known, his Majeſty having declared to all the World how perfidiouſly He was treated by the *Dane*.

THERE remains only one other Treaty to be mentioned, which is the laſt with the *Dutch*, upon which the Peace was made: And therefore it will be neceſſary to ſet down the Inducements to that Treaty, the whole Progreſs and Concluſion of it; by all which it will eaſily appear that his Majeſty was neither betrayed nor deluded in it, or, if He were, that it was not done by him.

AFTER ſo many Encounters and various Succeſſes in the War, which had been carried on with a much greater Expenſe than his Majeſty at his firſt Entrance into it was perſuaded it would coſt him; when He ſaw the Strength and Power of the *Dutch* ſo much increaſed by the Conjunction of *France* and *Denmark*, who ſupplied them with Money, Ships, and, what They more wanted, with Men as many as They deſired; and that all the Propoſitions He could make to *Spain* could not induce them to enter into ſuch

an Alliance with him, as might embark them againſt *France*, notwithſtanding it was evident to all but themſelves, that the *French* reſolved to break the Peace with them, having at that Time publiſhed thoſe Declarations which They afterwards made the Ground of the War: His Majeſty clearly diſcerned, that the *Dutch* grew leſs weary of the War than They had before ſeemed to have been; and that They would be able, with that Aſſiſtance and Conjunction, to continue the War with leſs Inconvenience than his Majeſty was like to do.

He had found it neceſſary for ſtreightening the Trade of the Enemy (the depriving them of which could only induce them to deſire a Peace, and which He could not do by the Strength of his own Ships, which were ſtill kept together to encounter their Fleet), to grant Commiſſions upon Letters of Marque to as many private Men of War as deſired the ſame, and with ſuch ſtrict Orders and Limitations as are neceſſary in thoſe Caſes; and He found indeed the Advantage very great, in the Damage thoſe Men of War did to the Enemy, which was conſiderable, and gave them great Trouble. On the other Side, the common Seamen choſe much rather to go on Board thoſe Men of War, where their Profit out of their Shares of the Booty was greater, and their Hazards much leſs, than in the King's Ships, where They got only Blows without Booty, though their Pay and Proviſions were much greater than they had been in any former Time: So that when the Royal Fleet was to be ſet out, there was greater Difficulty in procuring Seamen and Mariners to man it.

And then, whereas the Advancement of Trade was made the great End of the War, it was now found neceſſary to ſuppreſs all Trade, that there might be Mariners enough to furniſh the Ships for the carrying on the War. And this Inconvenience produced another Miſchief: For by the great Diminution and even Suppreſſion of Trade, there was likewiſe ſo great a Fall in the Cuſtoms, Exciſe, and all other Branches of the King's Revenue, that it was evident enough that his Majeſty would have little to carry on the War, but what ſhould ariſe by Impoſition in Parliament upon the People; who already complained loudly of the Decay of their Rents, of the ſmall and low Prices which their Commodities yielded by the Ceſſation of Trade, and eſpecially by the carrying all the Money *in Specie* from the ſeveral Counties to *London*, for the carrying on the War. And the Parliament itſelf appeared ſo weary of it, that inſtead of granting a new Supply proportionable to the Charge, They fell upon Expedients to raiſe Money by the Sale of Part of the King's Revenue, which was already too ſmall to ſupport the ordinary and neceſſary Expenſe of the Crown.

But above all, his Majeſty was moſt diſcouraged by the extreme Licenſe of the Seamen in general; but eſpecially of thoſe who were called Privateers, ſet out in the particular Ships of War upon Adventure, who made no Diſtinction between Friends and Foes; but, as if the Sea had been their own Quarters, They ſeized upon all Ships which paſſed within their View, and either pillaged them entirely and ſo diſmiſſed them (which They uſually did to thoſe which They foreſaw would be delivered by the Courſe of Juſtice), or elſe brought them into the Harbours, after They had taken from them what They beſt liked. And then the formal Proceedings in the Court of Admiralty were ſo dilatory, and involved in ſo many Appeals, that the Proſecution of Juſtice for Injuries received grew as grievous as the Injury itſelf; which drew an univerſal Clamour from all Nations, "that without "being Parties to the War They were all treated as Enemies."

FRANCE had made the Damage They had this Way received, and the Interruption of their Trade, a great Part of their Quarrel, and one Ground of their Conjunction with the *Dutch*. From *Spain*, which really wiſhed better to us than to our Enemies, the Complaints were as great; "that their "whole Trade was deſtroyed; their Ships of *Flanders*, which ſupplied *Spain* "with what They wanted for themſelves, and with what was neceſſary for "their Trade and Intercourſe with the *Indies*, were all taken as *Dutch*, be- "cauſe it was very hard to diſtinguiſh them by their Language:" Which was likewiſe the Caſe of all the *Hanſe-Towns*, which made grievous Complaints, and had without Doubt received great Damage. Thoſe Princes of *Italy* whoſe Dominions reached to the Sea, as the two Republicks of *Venice* and *Genoa*, and the Duke of *Florence*, expoſtulated very grievouſly for their Ships taken by thoſe Freebooters of *Scotland* and of *Ireland*, Both which Nations enriched themſelves very much upon ſuch Depredations. And how much ſoever the Royal Navy was weakened every Day, the Number of thoſe Men of War wonderfully increaſed; ſo that thoſe Kind of Ships, of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, covered the whole Ocean: And of thoſe Ships which were taken and carried into *Scotland* or *Ireland* (in *England* there were many Redeliveries), it was obſerved, that there were *Veſtigia nulla retrorſum*. Even *Sweden* itſelf, with whom a new ſtricter Alliance was entered into at that Time, with as ſevere Reſtrictions to that Licenſe of the Men of War as could be contrived for the Liberty and Security of the Trade of that Crown, complained exceedingly of the Violation of all thoſe Conceſſions and Proviſions, and that their Ships were every Day taken and plundered. And this univerſal Complaint began to awaken all Princes to a Jealouſy, that the *Engliſh* endeavoured to reſtrain all Trade, till They could make themſelves the entire Maſters of it, and by their naval Power put ſome Impoſition upon the whole Traffick of *Europe*.

IT is very true, at the firſt Entrance into the War there had been many unſkilful Expreſſions even in the Parliament itſelf, as well as in the frequent Diſcourſes of Parliament-Men, "that by this War, and by ſuppreſſing the "Power of the *Dutch* at Sea" (of which They made not the leaſt Doubt), "the King would be able to give the Law to all the Trade of the World, "and that no Ships ſhould paſs the Sea without paying ſome Tribute to *Eng-* "*land:*" Which Liberty and Raſhneſs of Diſcourſe made great Impreſſion upon thoſe who wiſhed Miſchief enough to the *Dutch*, till They ſaw what Danger might enſue to themſelves by the Succeſs of the *Engliſh*; and thereupon wiſhed that They might break themſelves upon each other, without Advantage to either Party. And this general Diſtemper and Complaint made the deeper Impreſſion upon the King, by his diſcerning an extreme Difficulty, if not an Impoſſibility, to give any juſt Remedy to it; and conſequently, that He ſhould be ſhortly looked upon as a common Enemy.

HE had taken very great Pains, upon deliberate Conſultations, to ſuppreſs that odious Irregularity and deſtructive Licenſe that was practiſed amongſt the Seamen, and had in many particular Caſes himſelf examined the Exceſs, and cauſed exemplary Juſtice to be done upon the Offenders, and Reſtitution to be made of what had been taken, at leaſt of what was left; for no Juſtice could preſerve the injured Perſons from being Loſers. He had granted ſuch Rules and Privileges and Protection to the Ports in *Flanders*, and to others of his Allies, as themſelves deſired, and looked upon as full Security; but then He quickly found, that from thoſe very Ports and in thoſe very Ships which enjoyed thoſe Privileges, the Trade of the *Dutch* was driven on: So that it was evident that by that Liberty, which other Nations

thought themſelves in Juſtice entitled to, if not reſtrained, the *Hollanders* themſelves would be eaſily able to carry on their whole Trade in the Ships of *Flanders*, *Hamburgh*, and the other free Towns, or in their own Ships owned by the other; and that the Reſtraint would likewiſe be impoſſible, without a total Suppreſſion of thoſe Men of War, and a Revocation of all Commiſſions granted to them or any of them, which would likewiſe be attended with the Freedom and Security of Trade to all his Majeſty's Enemies.

In the laſt Encounter at Sea, the *Prince Royal*, and three other of his Majeſty's Navy, had been loſt; and another, the *London*, had been burned in the River by the Negligence of the Seamen; for there was never any Diſcovery made, that there was any Purpoſe or Malice in it. The *French* had obliged themſelves, that the Duke of *Beaufort*, Admiral of *France*, ſhould, with the whole Fleet under his Command, amounting to eighteen good Ships, join with the *Dutch*; and the King of *Denmark* was likewiſe engaged to ſend all his great Ships, which were Ten or a Dozen, in Order to the like Conjunction: So that it was evident to his Majeſty, that the Enemy would be much ſuperiour to him in Strength and Power, though He had been able to have manned and ſet out all his Royal Navy; which He well foreſaw He ſhould not be able to do, both for Want of Money and Want of Seamen, who were already in great Diſorder and Mutiny for Want of their Pay, of which there was indeed a great Arrear due to them. And, which was worſe, there was grown ſuch an Animoſity amongſt the principal Officers of the Fleet between themſelves, that the whole Diſcipline was corrupted; ſo that it was hard to reſolve into what Hands to put the Government thereof, if it could have been made ready.

Upon which, and the whole State of Affairs, and upon Deliberation and frequent Conſultation with the principal Officers of the Sea, and ſuch others whoſe Experience in ſuch Matters rendered them moſt capable to give Advice, the King found it moſt counſellable to reſolve to make a defenſive War the next Year, and to lay up all his great Ships, and to have ſome Squadrons of the lighter Veſſels to continue in ſeveral Quarters aſſigned to them, which ſhould be ready to take all Advantages which ſhould be offered; and that there ſhould be likewiſe ready in the River another good Squadron of Ships againſt the End of the Summer, which being ready to join with thoſe which lay out, when the Enemy was weary and their Ships foul, would be able to take many notable Advantages upon them; of which They who adviſed it were ſo confident, that They did believe this defenſive Way thus ordered and proſecuted would prove a greater Damage to the Enemy in their Trade, and all other Reſpects, than They had ever undergone. And in all this Counſel and Reſolution the Chancellor had no other Part than being preſent; and not underſtanding the Subject Matter of Debate could not be able to anſwer any of the Reaſons that had been alleged.

These Conſiderations, upon a full Survey of his ill Condition at Home and abroad, induced the King to wiſh that there were a good End of the War; of which Inclination his Majeſty vouchſafed to inform the Chancellor, well knowing that He would be very glad to contribute all He could to it, as a Thing He deſired moſt in this World, and which He thought would prove the greateſt Benefit to the King and Kingdom; and his Majeſty likewiſe told him, "that He found all thoſe, who had been moſt forward and "impatient to enter into this War, were now weary of it, and would be "glad of a Peace:" So that there remained now Nothing to do, but for his Majeſty to adviſe with thoſe whom He thought fit (for there ſeemed many

Reaſons to conceal both the Inclination to Peace, and the Reſolution not to ſet out a Summer Fleet, from being publickly known), what Method to obſerve, and what Expedients to make Uſe of, for the better procuring this wiſhed for Peace, without appearing to be too ſolicitous or importunate for it, or ſo weary of the War as in Truth He was. And to this Conſultation the King was pleaſed to call together with his Royal Brother, Prince *Rupert*, the Chancellor, the General, the Lord Treaſurer, and thoſe other honourable Perſons with whom He uſed to adviſe in his moſt ſecret and moſt important Affairs.

THAT which occurred firſt to conſider was, whether there were any Hope to divide the *French* from the *Dutch*; upon which Suppoſition the Proſpect was not unpleaſant, the War with one of them being hopefully enough to be purſued; the Conjunction was only formidable. And to this Purpoſe ſeveral Attempts had been made both in *France* and in *Holland*; Both Sides being equally reſolved not to ſeparate from each other, till a joint Peace ſhould be made with *England*, though They Both owned a Jealouſy of each other: Thoſe of *Holland* having a terrible Apprehenſion and Foreſight of the King of *France's* Deſigns upon *Flanders*, which would make his Greatneſs too near a Neighbour to their Territories; beſides that the Logick of his Demands upon the Devolution and Nullity of the Treaty upon the Marriage was equally applicable to their whole Intereſt, as it was to their Demands from the King of *Spain*. And *France*, upon all the Attacks They had made both in *France* with the *Dutch* Ambaſſadour there, and in *Holland* by their own Ambaſſadour, found clearly, that They were to expect no Aſſiſtance from the *Dutch* in their Deſigns, and that at leaſt They wiſhed them ill Succeſs, and would probably contribute to it upon the firſt Occaſion: And this made them willing to put an End to their ſo ſtrict Alliance, which was already very chargeable to them, and not like to be attended with any notable Advantage, except in weakening an Ally from whom They might probably receive much more Advantage.

HOWEVER, neither the one nor the other would be induced to enter into any Treaty apart, though They Both ſeemed willing and deſirous of a Peace; in Order to which, the *Dutch*, through the *Swedes* Ambaſſadours Hands, had writ to the King, "to offer a Treaty in any ſuch neutral Place as his "Majeſty ſhould make Choice of;" profeſſing, "that They ſhould make "no Scruple of ſending their Ambaſſadours directly to his Majeſty, but that "their Conjunction with the other two Crowns, who required a neutral "Place, would not admit that Condeſcenſion." And at the ſame Time They intimated to the *Swedes* Ambaſſadours, "that the King of *France* "would not ſend his Ambaſſadours into *Flanders*, or any Place of the King "of *Spain's* Dominions;" and therefore wiſhed, "that his Majeſty would "make Choice of *Duſſeldorp*, *Cologne*, *Francfort*, or *Hamburgh*, or any "other Place that his Majeſty ſhould think more convenient than the other, "under that Exception:" All which Places, and in Truth any other out of the King of *Spain's* Dominions, were at ſuch a Diſtance (the Winter being now near over), that there could be no reaſonable Expectation of the Fruit of the Treaty in Time to prevent more Acts of Hoſtility.

How the Treaty came afterwards to be introduced by Overtures from *France*, and what Preliminaries were firſt propoſed from thence by the Earl of *St. Albans*, and how agreed to by his Majeſty; how the Place of the Treaty came to be adjuſted, the Ambaſſadours choſen, and the whole Progreſs thereupon, and the Publication of the Articles of the Peace; is ſo particularly

ticularly ſet forth in this Narrative before *, that it needs not to be repeated here. And one of the Ambaſſadours repairing (as is there ſaid) to the King, and giving him an Account of all that had paſſed before any Thing was concluded, and every Particular having been debated at the Council-Board and conſented to; He ſaid, He could not underſtand how his Majeſty could be deluded or betrayed in that Treaty, which paſſed with ſuch a full Examination and Diſquiſition, and in all which Debates his Majeſty himſelf had taken the Pains to diſcourſe more, and to enlarge in the Anſwer to all Objections which were foreſeen, than He had been ever known to have done upon any other Article.

It is very true, that the Chancellor had been commanded by the King to write moſt of the Letters which had been ſent to the Earl of *St. Albans*, from the Time of his going over concerning the Treaty, his Lordſhip having likewiſe directed moſt of his Letters to him; and moſt of the Diſpatches to the Ambaſſadours were likewiſe prepared by him, They being by their Inſtructions (without his Deſire or Privity) to tranſmit all Accounts to one of the Secretaries or to himſelf. But, He ſaid, it was as true, that He never received a Letter from either of them, but it was read entirely, in his Majeſty's Preſence, to thoſe Lords of the Council who were aſſigned for that Service, where Directions were given what Anſwer ſhould be returned; and He never did return any Anſwer to either of them, without having firſt read it to the Council, or having firſt ſent it to one of the Secretaries to be read to his Majeſty. And He did with a very good Conſcience proteſt to all the World, that He never did the leaſt Thing, or give the leaſt Advice, relating to the War or relating to the Peace, which He would not have done if He had been to expire the next Minute, and to have given an Account thereof to God Almighty.

And as his Majeſty prudently, piouſly and paſſionately deſired to put an End to that War, ſo no Man appeared more delighted with the Peace when it was concluded, than his Majeſty himſelf did; though (He ſaid) as far as He could make any Judgment of publick Affairs, the Publication of that Peace was attended with the moſt univerſal Joy and Acclamation of the whole Nation, that can be imagined. Nor is it eaſy to forget the general Conſternation that the City and People of all Conditions were in, when the *Dutch* came into the River as high as *Chatham*; and when the Diſtemper in the Court itſelf was ſo great, that many Perſons of Quality and Title, in the Galleries and Privy Lodgings, very indecently every Day vented their Paſſions in bitter Execrations againſt thoſe who had firſt counſelled and brought on the War, wiſhing that an End were put to it by any Peace; ſome of which Perſons, within very few Days after, as bitterly inveighed againſt the Peace itſelf, and againſt the Promoters of it. But, He ſaid, He was yet ſo far from repenting or being aſhamed of the Part He had in it, that He looked upon it as a great Honour, that the laſt Service He performed for his Majeſty was the ſealing the Proclamations, and other Inſtructions for the Concluſion and Perfection of that Peace, the Great Seal of *England* being that very Day ſent for and taken from him.

The ſeventeenth Article.

The Seventeenth and laſt Article was, *That He was a principal Author of that fatal Counſel of dividing the Fleet about* June 1666.

His Anſwer.

For Anſwer to this, He ſet down at large an Account of all the Agitation that was in Council upon that Affair, and that the dividing and Separation of the Fleet at that Time was by the Election and Advice of the two Generals, and not by the Order or Direction of the Council: All which hath been

* Page 400, &c. and Page 425, &c.

at large, in that Part of this Diſcourſe which relates the Tranſactions of that Time †, ſet down, and therefore needs not to be again inſerted.

HE took Notice of the Prejudice that might befall him, in the Opinion of good Men, by his abſenting himſelf, and thereby declining the full Examination and Trial which the publick Juſtice would have allowed him; which obliged him to ſet down all the Particulars which paſſed from the taking the Seal from him, the Meſſages He had received by the Biſhop of *Hereford*, and finally the Advice and Command the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* brought him from the Duke of *York* with the Approbation of the King. Upon all which, and the great Diſtemper that appeared in the two Houſes at that Time, and which was pacified upon his withdrawing, He did hope, that all diſpaſſioned Men would believe that He had not deſerted and betrayed his own Innocence; but on the Contrary, that He had complied with that Obligation and Duty which He had always paid to his Majeſty and to his Service, in chooſing at that Time to ſacrifice his own Honour to the leaſt Intimation of his Majeſty's Pleaſure, and when the leaſt Inconvenience might have befallen it by his Obſtinacy, though in his own Defence: And concluded, that though his Enemies, who had by all the evil Arts imaginable contrived his Deſtruction, had yet the Power and the Credit to infuſe into his Majeſty's Ears Stories of Words ſpoken and Things done by him, of all which He was as innocent as He was at the Time of his Birth, and other Jealouſies of a Nature ſo odious, that themſelves had not the Confidence publickly to own; yet, He ſaid, notwithſtanding all thoſe Diſadvantages for the preſent, He did not deſpair, but that his Majeſty, in his Goodneſs and Juſtice, might in due Time diſcover the foul Artifices which had been uſed to gain Credit with him, and would reflect graciouſly upon ſome poor Services (how over-rewarded ſoever) heretofore performed by him, the Memory whereof would prevail with him to think, that the baniſhing him out of his Country, and forcing him to ſeek his Bread in foreign Parts at this Age, is a very ſevere Judgment. However, He was confident that Poſterity will clearly diſcern his Innocence and Integrity in all thoſe Particulars, which have been as untruly as maliciouſly laid to his Charge by Men who did Nothing before, or have done any Thing ſince, that will make them be thought to be wiſe or honeſt Men; and will believe his Misfortunes to have been much greater than his Faults.

The Chancellor enjoys great Tranquillity of Mind in his Baniſhment.

AS ſoon as He had digeſted and tranſmitted this his Anſwer and Vindication to his Children, which He did in a ſhort Time after his Arrival at *Montpelier*, He appeared to all Men who converſed with him to be entirely poſſeſſed of ſo much Tranquillity of Mind, and ſo unconcerned in all that had been done to him or ſaid of him, that Men believed the Temper to be affected with much Art; and that it could not be natural in a Man, who was known to have ſo great an Affection for his own Country, the Air and Climate thereof; and to take ſo much Delight and Pleaſure in his Relations, from whom He was now baniſhed, and at ſuch a Diſtance, that He could not wiſh that They ſhould undergo the Inconveniences in many Reſpects which were like to attend their making him many Viſits. But when there was viſibly always in him ſuch a Vivacity and Cheerfulneſs as could not be counterfeited, that was not interrupted nor clouded upon ſuch ill News as came every Week out of *England*, of the Improvement of the Power and Inſolence of his Enemies; all Men concluded, that He had Somewhat about him above a good Conſtitution, and proſecuted him with all the Offices of Civility and Reſpect They could manifeſt towards a Stranger.

† Page 341, &c.

Two Apprehenſions give him ſome Uneaſineſs.

1. The Inſufficiency of his Fortune.

THERE were two Inconveniences which He foreſaw might happen, and could not but diſcompoſe the Serenity of his Mind. The firſt, and that which gave him leaſt Apprehenſion, though He could not avoid the thinking of it, nor the Trouble of thoſe Thoughts which could not be ſeparated from it, was, how He ſhould be able to draw as much Money out of *England* as would ſupport his Expenſe; which, though huſbanded with as much Frugality as could be uſed with any Decency, He foreſaw would amount to a greater Proportion than He had propoſed to himſelf. His Indiſpoſition and Infirmity, which either kept him under the actual and ſharp Viſitation of the Gout, or, when the Vigour of that was abated, in much Weakneſs of his Limbs when the Pain was gone, were ſo great, that He could not be without the Attendance of four Servants about his own Perſon; having, in thoſe Seaſons when He enjoyed moſt Health and underwent leaſt Pain, his Knees, Legs and Feet ſo weak, that He could not walk, eſpecially up or down Stairs, without the Help of two Men; and when He was ſeized upon by the Gout, They were not able to perform the Office of watching: So that to the *Engliſh* Servants which He had brought with him, which with a Cook, and a Maid to waſh his Linen, amounted to ſix or ſeven, He was compelled to take four or five *French* Servants for the Market and other Offices of the Houſe; and his Lodging coſt him above two hundred *Piſtoles*. But all the Apprehenſions of this Kind were upon ſhort Reflections compoſed, in the Aſſurance He had of the Affection and Piety of his Children, who He believed out of his and their own Eſtate would raiſe enough for his unavoidable Diſburſements.

This ſoon removed by his Confidence in the Piety of his Children.

2. The Fear of being again perſecuted abroad.

THE other Apprehenſion ſtuck cloſer to him, and made him even tremble in the very Reflection. He could not forget the Treatment He had between *Calais* and *Roan*, and the ſtrange violent Importunity that was uſed to him to get out of the Kingdom, when He had not Strength to get out of his Bed. And though He was now at Eaſe from ſuch inhuman Preſſures; yet his Enemies, who had even extorted that Importunity from a People not inclined to ſuch Incivilities, had ſtill the ſame Power, and the ſame Malice, and a froppiſh Kind of Inſolence, that delighted to deprive him of any Thing that pleaſed him, and manifeſtly pleaſed itſelf in vexing him. And if They ſhould again prevail with the ſame Miniſters to remove him from his Quiet, and oblige him to new Journies, the ſame Spirit would chace him from Place to Place; there being none in View like to be ſuperiour to their Influence, when *France* had been ſubdued by it. So that beſides the Impoſſibility of preſerving the Peace and Repoſe of his Mind in ſo grievous a Fatigue, and continual Torture of his Body, He ſaw no Hope of Reſt but in his Grave. And againſt this Kind of Tyranny He could by no reaſonable Diſcourſe with himſelf provide any Security, or Stock of Courage to ſupport it.

HIS Friend the Abbot *Mountague*, who was the only Advocate He had to that Court, uſed all his powerful Rhetorick to allay thoſe Fears, and to comfort him againſt thoſe melancholick Apprehenſions, by aſſuring him, "that the Miniſters were far from ſuch Inclinations, and that Nothing but "Reaſon of State could diſpoſe them to that Severity:" Yet He prepared him not to think of removing from *Montpelier*, without firſt acquainting that Court with it. And when afterwards He propoſed to him, "that He might "have Leave to reſide in *Orleans* or ſome other City, at ſuch a nearer Diſ-"tance from *England*, that his Children or Friends might more eaſily repair "to him;" the Court did not like the Propoſition, but propoſed *Molins*, whither They would not yet give him a Paſs, till firſt their Ambaſſadour

in *England* ſhould know that it would not be unacceptable to his Majeſty: So that He found himſelf upon the Matter not only baniſhed from his Country, but confined to *Montpelier*, without any Aſſurance that He ſhould not be again ſhortly baniſhed from thence.

This removed by an entire Reſignation to Providence.

HOWEVER after He had revolved all the Expedients that occurred to him for the Prevention of ſuch a Miſchief, He concluded there was no other Remedy to be applied to thoſe Contingencies, than in acquieſcing in the good Pleaſure of God, and depending upon him to enable him to bear what no Diſcretion or Foreſight of his own could prevent. And in this Compoſure of Mind He betook himſelf to his Books, and to the Entertainment and Exerciſe of ſuch Thoughts, as were moſt like to divert him from others which would be more unpleaſant.

Reflections on his undeſerved Treatment.

GOD bleſſed him very much in this Compoſure and Retreat. And the firſt Conſolation He adminiſtered to himſelf was, from the Reflection upon the wonderful and unuſual Proceedings and Proſecution that had been againſt him, in another Kind of Manner, and after another Meaſure, than uſed to be practiſed by the moſt bitter Enemies, and than was neceſſary to their Ends and Advantages who had contrived them: Not to mention the Malice and Injuſtice of their firſt Deſign of removing him from the Truſt and Credit He had with the King, and to alienate his Majeſty's Affection and Kindneſs from him, to which the corrupt Hopes and Expectation of Benefit to themſelves might incline them; and then ſuch unrighteous Ends cannot naturally be proſecuted but by as unrighteous Means. When They were not only privy to but Contrivers of his Eſcape, which They looked upon as attended with more Benefit to them than his Impriſonment, or the taking his Life, could have been; when They were ſecure of his Abſence, and of no more being troubled or contradicted by him, by the Bill of Baniſhment, by which They broke their Faith and Promiſes to the King, and made him depart from his own Reſolutions: To what Purpoſe was all their other Proſecution of him both at Home and abroad, more derogatory to the King's Honour, and that innate Goodneſs of Nature and Clemency that all Men know He abounds in, than miſchievous to him? Why muſt He be abſurdly charged with Counſels and Actions, of which He could never be ſuſpected? And why muſt his Name be ſtruck out of all Books of Council, and Catalogues and Liſts of Servants, that it might not appear that He had ever been a Counſellor of State, or a Magiſtrate of Juſtice; a Method that was never practiſed towards the greateſt Malefactor? To what worthy or neceſſary End could that exorbitant Demand be made and purſued in *France*, to expoſe him and the Honour of that Crown to the general Reproach of all Men, with ſuch unparallelled Circumſtances?

Which raiſe his Confidence in God.

THESE very extraordinary Attempts and unheard of Devices ſeemed to all wiſe Men but the laſt Effort of vulgar-ſpirited Perſons, and the faint graſping of impotent Malice; and inſtead of depreſſing the Spirits of him They hated, raiſed his Confidence, that God would not permit ſuch groſs Inventions of very ill and ſhortſighted Men to triumph in the Ruin of an honeſt Man, whoſe Heart was always fixed upon his Protection, and whom He had ſo often preſerved from more powerful Stratagems: And He did really believe, that the divine Juſtice would at ſome Time expoſe the Pride and Ambition of thoſe Men to the Infamy They deſerved.

He reflects on his Conduct from the Time of the King's Return.

TO thoſe Perſons with whom He did with the moſt Freedom communicate, He did often profeſs, that upon the ſtricteſt Inquiſition He could make into all his Actions from the Time of the King's Return, when his Condition was generally thought to have been very proſperous, though at

beſt it was exerciſed with many Thorns which made it uneaſy, He could not reflect upon any one Thing He had done (amongſt many which He doubted not were juſtly liable to the Reproach of Weakneſs and Vanity), of which He was ſo much aſhamed, as He was of the vaſt Expence He had made in the Building of his Houſe; which had more contributed to that Guſt of Envy that had ſo violently ſhaken him, than any Miſdemeanor that He was thought to have been guilty of; and which had infinitely diſcompoſed his whole Affairs, and broken his Eſtate. For all which He had no other Excuſe to make, than that He was neceſſitated to quit the Habitation He was in at *Worceſter-Houſe*, which the Owner required, and for which He had always paid five hundred Pounds yearly Rent, and could not find any convenient Houſe to live in except He built one himſelf (to which He was naturally too much inclined); and that He had ſo much Encouragement thereunto from the King himſelf, that his Majeſty vouchſafed to appoint the Place upon which it ſhould ſtand, and graciouſly to beſtow the Inheritance of the Land upon him after a ſhort Term of Years, which He purchaſed from the preſent Poſſeſſor: Which Approbation and Bounty of his Majeſty was his greateſt Encouragement. And his own Unſkilfulneſs in Architecture, and the poſitive Undertaking of a Gentleman (who had Skill enough, and a good Reward for his Skill), that the Expenſe ſhould not amount to a third Part of what in Truth it afterwards amounted to, which He could without eminent Inconvenience have diſburſed, involved him in that raſh Enterpriſe, that proved ſo fatal and miſchievous to him; not only in the Accumulation of Envy and Prejudice that it brought upon him, but in the Entanglement of a great Debt, that broke all his Meaſures; and, under the Weight of his ſudden, unexpected Misfortune, made his Condition very uneaſy, and near inſupportable.

And blames himſelf chiefly for his Expenſe in Building.

And this He took all Occaſions to confeſs, and to reproach himſelf with the Folly of it. And yet, when his Children and his neareſt Friends propoſed and adviſed the Sale of it in his Baniſhment, for the Payment of his Debts, and making ſome Proviſion for two younger Children; He remained ſtill ſo much infatuated with the Delight He had enjoyed, that, though He was deprived of it, He hearkened very unwillingly to the Advice; and expreſſly refuſed to approve it, until ſuch a Sum ſhould be offered for it, as held ſome Proportion to the Money He had laid out; and could not conceal ſome Confidence He had, that He ſhould live to be reſtored to it, and to be vindicated from the Brand He ſuffered under, except his particular compleat Ruin were involved in the general Diſtraction and Confuſion of his Country, of which He had a more ſenſible and ſerious Apprehenſion.

His three Acquieſcences, or Retreats from publick Buſineſs.

He was wont to ſay, "that of the infinite Bleſſings which God had vouchſafed to confer upon him almoſt from his Cradle," amongſt which He delighted in the reckoning up many ſignal Inſtances, "He eſteemed himſelf ſo "happy in none as in his three Acquieſcences," which He called *his three Vacations and Retreats He had in his Life enjoyed from Buſineſs of Trouble and Vexation*; and in every of which God had given him Grace and Opportunity to make full Reflections upon his Actions, and his Obſervations upon what He had done himſelf, and what He had ſeen others do and ſuffer; to repair the Breaches in his own Mind, and to fortify himſelf with new Reſolutions againſt future Encounters, in an entire Reſignation of all his Thoughts and Purpoſes into the Diſpoſal of God Almighty, and in a firm Confidence of his Protection and Deliverance in all the Difficulties He ſhould be obliged to contend with; towards the obtaining whereof, He renewed thoſe Vows

and Promiſes of Integrity and hearty Endeavour to perform his Duty, which are the only Means to procure the Continuance of that Protection and Deliverance.

THE firſt of theſe Receſſes or Acquieſcences was, his remaining and reſiding in *Jerſey*, when the Prince of *Wales*, his now Majeſty, firſt went into *France* upon the Command of the Queen his Mother, contrary, as to the Time, to the Opinion of the Council the King his Father had directed him to govern himſelf by, and, as They conceived, contrary to his Majeſty's own Judgment, the knowing whereof They only waited for; and his Stay there, during that Time that his Highneſs firſt remained at *Paris* and *St. Germains*, until his Expedition afterwards to the Fleet and in the *Downs*. His ſecond was, when He was ſent by his Majeſty as his Ambaſſadour, together with the Lord *Cottington*, into *Spain*; in which two full Years were ſpent before He waited upon the King again. And the third was his laſt Receſs, by the Diſgrace He underwent, and by the Act of Baniſhment. In which three Acquieſcences, He had learned more, knew himſelf and other Men much better, and ſerved God and his Country with more Devotion, and He hoped more effectually, than in all the other more active Part of his Life. *The great Benefits He received in them.*

HE uſed to ſay, that He ſpent too much of his younger Years in Company and Converſation, and too little with Books; which was in ſome Degree repaired, by the greateſt Part of his Converſation being with Perſons of very eminent Parts of Learning and Virtue, and never with Men of looſe and debauched Manners. And He took great Pleaſure frequently to remember and mention the Names of thoſe with whom He kept moſt Company, when He firſt entered into the World; many whereof lived to be very eminent in Church and State: To whoſe Information and Example, and to the Affection, Awe and Reverence He had to their Perſons, He did acknowledge to owe all that was commendable in him. He did very much affect to be loved and eſteemed amongſt Men of good Name and Reputation, which made him warily avoid the Company of looſe and diſſolute Men, and to preſerve himſelf from any notable Scandal of any Kind, and to live *cautè*, if not *caſtè*. Nor was the Converſation He lived in liable to any other Exception, than that it was with Men ſuperiour to him in their Quality and their Fortunes, which expoſed him to greater Expenſe than his Fortune would warrant: And yet it pleaſed God to preſerve him from ever undergoing any Reproach or Inconvenience. *A ſummary Recapitulation of his Life.*

HE accuſed himſelf of entering too ſoon out of a Life of Eaſe and Pleaſure and too much Idleneſs, into a Life of too much Buſineſs, that required more Labour and Experience and Knowledge than He was ſupplied for; for He put on his Gown as ſoon as He was called to the Bar; and, by the Countenance of Perſons in Place and Authority, as ſoon engaged himſelf in the Buſineſs of the Profeſſion as He put on his Gown, and to that Degree in Practice, that gave little Time for Study, that He had too much neglected before; beſides that He ſtill indulged to his beloved Converſation. Few Years paſſed before the Troubles in *Scotland* appeared, and *The little Parliament* was convened; which being diſſolved and preſently a new one called, He was a Member in Both, and wholly gave himſelf up to the publick Affairs agitated there, and where He was enough eſteemed and employed, till the Spirit reigned there, and drove Men of his Principles from thence.

HE was entirely and without Reſerve truſted, with two other of his Friends, in all the King's Affairs which related to the Parliament, before the Rebellion appeared; which brought him into Prejudice and Jealouſy with many of Both Houſes, who before were very kind to him. And in the Be-

ginning of the Rebellion He was ſworn of the Privy Council and made Chancellor of the Exchequer: And from this Time the Pains He took, and the great Fatigue He underwent, were notorious to all Men; inſomuch as, the Refreſhment of Dinner excepted, for He never ſupped, He had very little of the Day, and not much of the Night, vacant from the moſt important Buſineſs.

When the Prince was ſeparated from his Father, the King commanded him to attend his Highneſs into the *Weſt*, under more than a common Truſt: And the Inequality of Humours amongſt the Counſellors, the Wants and Neceſſities of the Prince his little Court and Family, the Want of Wiſdom in his Governour, that made him want that Reſpect from the Prince and all other People that was due to him, the Faction amongſt all the Country Gentlemen, and above all, the ill Succeſs in the King's Affairs, and the Prevalence of the Parliament in all Places, made the Province He had very uncomfortable and uneaſy. The unavoidable Neceſſity of tranſporting the Perſon of the Prince out of the Kingdom (which was intruſted only to four of the Council by the King, and by his Command reſerved from his Governour and another) when there ſhould be apparent Danger of his falling into the Hands of the Rebels, and the as neceſſary deferring it till that Danger was even in View, and the Deſigns of ſome of the Prince his Servants with the County to obſtruct and prevent it when it was in View; the executing it in a ſeaſonable Article of Time before or in the Moment that it was ſuſpected, and diſguiſing it by a Retreat to *Scilly*, and ſtaying there till They could be provided for a farther Voyage; and then the Prince's Remove from thence to *Jerſey*, the Conteſts which happened there between the Counſellors upon the Queen's Commands for his Highneſs's preſent Repair into *France*, her Majeſty's declared Diſpleaſure, and the perſonal Animoſities which grew from thence between the Perſons in the greateſt Truſt; were all Particulars of that Weight and Diſtraction, that made great Impreſſion upon his Mind and Faculties, which needed much Reflection and Contemplation to compoſe them.

His firſt Retreat in the Iſland of Jerſey.

This firſt Retreat gave him Opportunity and Leiſure to call himſelf to a ſtrict Account for whatſoever He had done, upon revolving of all his particular Actions, and the Behaviour of other Men; and to compoſe thoſe Affections and allay thoſe Paſſions, which, in the Warmth of perpetual Actions and chafed by continual Contradictions, had Need of Reſt and cool and deliberate Cogitations. He had now Time to mend his Underſtanding, and to correct the Defects and Infirmities of his Nature, by the Obſervation of and Reflection upon the Grounds and Succeſſes of thoſe Counſels He had been privy to, upon the ſeveral Tempers and Diſtempers of Men employed both in the martial and civil Affairs of the greateſt Importance, and upon the Experience He had and the Obſervation He had made in the three or four laſt Years, where the Part He had acted himſelf differed ſo much from all the former Tranſactions and Commerce of his Life.

He had originally in his Nature ſo great a Tenderneſs and Love towards Mankind, that He did not only deteſt all calumniating and Detraction towards the leſſening the Credit or Parts or Reputation of any Man, but did really believe that all Men were ſuch as They ſeemed or appeared to be; that They had the ſame Juſtice and Candour and Goodneſs in their Nature, that They profeſſed to have; and thought no Men to be wicked and diſhoneſt and corrupt, but thoſe who in their Manners and Lives gave unqueſtionable Evidence of it; and even amongſt thoſe He did think moſt

to

to err and do amiſs, rather out of Weakneſs and Ignorance, for Want of Friends and good Counſel, than out of the Malice and Wickedneſs of their Natures.

BUT now, upon the Obſervation and Experience He had in the Parliament (and He believed He could have made the Diſcovery no where elſe, without Doubt not ſo ſoon), He reformed all thoſe Miſtakes, and mended that Eaſineſs of his Underſtanding. He had ſeen thoſe there, upon whoſe Ingenuity and Probity He would willingly have depoſited all his Concernments of this World, behave themſelves with that ſignal Uningenuity and Improbity that muſt pull up all Confidence by the Roots; Men of the moſt unſuſpected Integrity, and of the greateſt Eminence for their Piety and Devotion, moſt induſtrious to impoſe upon and to cozen Men of weaker Parts and Underſtanding, upon the Credit of their Sincerity, to concur with them in miſchievous Opinions, which They did not comprehend, and which conduced to diſhoneſt Actions They did not intend. He ſaw the moſt bloody and inhuman Rebellion contrived by them who were generally believed to be the moſt ſolicitous and zealous for the Peace and Proſperity of the Kingdom, with ſuch Art and Subtilty, and ſo great Pretences to Religion, that it looked like Illnature to believe that ſuch ſanctified Perſons could entertain any but holy Purpoſes. In a Word, Religion was made a Cloak to cover the moſt impious Deſigns; and Reputation of Honeſty, a Stratagem to deceive and cheat others who had no Mind to be wicked. The Court was as full of Murmuring, Ingratitude and Treachery, and as willing and ready to rebel againſt the beſt and moſt bountiful Maſter in the World, as the Country and the City. A barbarous and bloody Fierceneſs and Savageneſs had extinguiſhed all Relations, hardened the Hearts and Bowels of all Men; and an univerſal Malice and Animoſity had even covered the moſt innocent and beſt-natured People and Nation upon the Earth.

THESE unavoidable Reflections firſt made him diſcern, how weak and fooliſh all his former Imaginations had been, and how blind a Surveyor He had been of the Inclinations and Affections of the Heart of Man; and it made him likewiſe conclude from thence, how uncomfortable and vain the Dependance muſt be upon any Thing in this World, where whatſoever is good and deſirable *ſuddenly periſheth*, and Nothing is laſting but *the Folly and Wickedneſs of the Inhabitants thereof*. In this firſt Vacation, He had Leiſure to read many learned and pious Books; and here He began to compoſe his MEDITATIONS UPON THE PSALMS, by applying thoſe Devotions to the preſent Afflictions and Calamities of his King and Country. He began now by the eſpecial Encouragement of the King, who was then a Priſoner in the Army, to write THE HISTORY OF THE LATE REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS, and finiſhed the four firſt Books thereof; and made an Entry upon ſome Exerciſes of Devotion, which He lived to enlarge afterwards.

WHEN He had enjoyed, in that pleaſant Iſland of *Jerſey*, full two Years, in as great Serenity of Mind as the Separation from Country, Wife and Children can be imagined to admit, He received a Command from the Queen, then at *St. Germains*, and an expreſs Order from the King, upon which the other had been ſent, his Majeſty being then Priſoner in the Iſle of *Wight*, that He ſhould forthwith attend the Perſon of the Prince of *Wales*, who, upon the Revolt of the Ships under the Command of the Parliament in the *Downs*, and their Profeſſion of Obedience to the King, was adviſed to make all poſſible Haſte to them; and the Chancellor was required to wait upon his Highneſs at *Roan* upon a Day aſſigned, which was paſt before the Orders came to him.

And then without any Delay He uſed all poſſible Diligence to find the Prince; who with greater Expedition, without coming to *Roan*, paſſed to *Calais*, and from thence to *Holland* to poſſeſs the Ships which He found there, and poſſeſſed with all that Alacrity (which is always very loud) that Seamen can expreſs; and by the Aſſiſtance of the Prince of *Orange* got more Victual quickly on Board, that He might be in the *Downs* with the Fleet to ſecond ſome Attempt which was already on Foot in *Kent*, and others expected in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom. And the Chancellor having in his Way called upon the Lord *Cottington* at *Roan*, and together with him, and ſome other Perſons of Honour and Quality, made what Haſte They could to *Dieppe*, that They might there embark for any Place where They ſhould hear the Prince to be; there They were informed, that his Highneſs was at the *Brill* in *Holland*. And thereupon They put themſelves on Board a *French* Man of War, and upon the Sea were taken Priſoners by *Oſtenders*, who, upon the Advantage of being in the Ship of an Enemy, concluded them to be lawful Prize, and treated them accordingly, with all the Circumſtances of Barbarity; and after having plundered them thoroughly of Money and Jewels of great Value, and ſtripped moſt of their Servants to their Shirts, They carried them in great Triumph to *Oſtend*; where though their Perſons were uſed with Civility and Reſpect, and preſently ſet at Liberty, yet They were compelled to ſtay there many Days, in Hope to obtain the Jewels and Money of which They had been robbed, and, finding that not to be done (thoſe Privateers being ſubject to no Diſcipline, nor regarding the Orders of the Admiralty, or any other Governour), to make ſuch Proviſion as was neceſſary for a further Voyage. And at laſt They got from *Oſtend* to *Fluſhing*, having found Means to inform the Prince of their Miſadventures, and of their Readineſs at *Fluſhing* to receive and obey his Commands.

The Fleet was then in the *Downs* in ſo good a Poſture, by the Acceſs of other Ships and Veſſels to it, and by ſome notable Commotions on Land, that the Proſpect was fair and hopeful. And the Prince received the Advertiſement no ſooner, than He was pleaſed to ſend a Frigate to *Fluſhing* for thoſe who had been ſo long expected. But the Winds proved then ſo croſs and tempeſtuous in the gentleſt Seaſon of the Year, that after ſeveral Attempts at Sea, They were ſo often driven back again into the Harbour, ſometimes by very dangerous Storms, that in the End They received new Directions to attend the Prince at the *Hague*, the Fleet being at the ſame Time under Sail for that Coaſt.

The Earl of *Lautherdale* was at that Time come to the Fleet as Commiſſioner from the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to inform the Prince, that Duke *Hamilton* with a powerful Army was already marched into *England*; and thereupon to invite his Highneſs to make what Haſte He could, to put himſelf in the Head of that Army, according to a Promiſe the King had made in ſome private Treaty with the *Scots*; and which the Queen had ſent very poſitive Commands to be obſerved and obeyed. This was the Reaſon, not without other more reaſonable Motives, ſo ſuddenly to quit the *Downs*, that He might get more Victual for the Fleet, and therewith ſail to the *North*, and diſembark in ſuch a Place as ſhould be neareſt to the *Scots* Army, with which He doubted not to find a very conſiderable Conjunction of the *Engliſh*; ſince He knew that Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had poſſeſſed himſelf with a Body of *Engliſh* Officers and Gentlemen, of *Berwick*, and Sir *Philip Muſgrave* had done the ſame with the like Aſſiſtance, at *Carliſle*, before the *Scots* began their March.

THE Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor came to the *Hague* the next Day after the Prince his Arrival, and were very graciouſly received by his Highneſs, and with a wonderful Kindneſs by all the Court, and all the Gentlemen who had attended upon him; not ſo much out of Affection to them, as out of Deteſtation of one another, who had kept Company for the Space of two Months laſt paſt.

THE Prince had found the common Seamen full of ſuch a keen Devotion for his Service upon the true Principles of the Cauſe, and for the Redemption of the King his Father out of Priſon, and ſo full of Indignation againſt thoſe who had formerly miſled them into Rebellion, eſpecially the *Presbyterians*; that as They had before the Declaration ſet all thoſe Officers on Shore by Force, who were appointed by the Parliament to command them, ſo now They thought the new ones which They had choſen for themſelves, not fierce and reſolute enough for their Purpoſes. The Truth is; there had been much unſkilful Tampering amongſt them by Emiſſaries from *Paris*, and other Attempts. And the Duke of *York*, having made his Eſcape very little Time before, and being then at the *Hague* when the Fleet came to *Helvoetſluys*, upon the firſt Notice loſt no Time in making Haſte to them. It was generally known, that the King his Father had long deſigned to make him High Admiral of *England*; and the Commiſſion which had been formerly granted to the Earl of *Northumberland* They all knew to be repealed and cancelled: So that He no ſooner came to the Fleet, but He was received with the uſual Acclamations of Joy as their Admiral, and He as cheerfully aſſumed the Command. And his ſmall Family preſently began to propagate their ſeveral Factions and Animoſities, with which They abounded, to make ſuch Parties amongſt the Seamen as might advance their ſeveral Pretences. And in this Poſture the Prince found the Fleet when He came to it, and reſolved to take the Command immediately into his own Hand, and that the Duke ſhould remain at the *Hague* with his Siſter, till that Expedition were over; and ſo He made Haſte with the Fleet into the *Downs*, hoping that ſome preſent Occaſion would be the beſt Expedient to extinguiſh that Fire, and compoſe thoſe Diſtempers, which He diſcerned already to be kindled amongſt the Seamen.

THE Advice and Inſtruction which were brought from *Paris* were grounded upon the Treaty with *Scotland*, the marching of that Army, and the Expectation of ſome notable Attempt by the Preſbyterian Party in *London*; in Order to which, all Addreſs was to be made to that City, and a Declaration to be publiſhed to gratify that Party. This Secret was intruſted only to one of the Council, and one other who was to be miniſterial in whatſoever the other directed. And this Temper was quickly diſcovered when They came into the *Downs*, by the great Care that was taken to give no Offence or Interruption to the Trade of the City, which all Men believed would be the beſt Means to reduce it. Ships of Return, richly laden, were ſuffered quietly to paſs thither; others coming from thence, very well freighted, were likewiſe quietly permitted to proſecute their Voyage: All which was paſſionately oppoſed by Prince *Rupert* and all the reſt of the Council. And this Contradiction was quickly known to the Lords of the Bedchamber, and others, who had no Reverence for that Council, and were now the more inflamed upon this Diviſion of Opinion. And the Seamen likewiſe coming to take Notice of it cried out, "the Prince "was betrayed;" and grew into ſuch Rage and Fury, that They declared, "that They would throw thoſe overboard who gave the Prince ſuch evil "Counſel." Two or three unproſperous Attempts at Land, and then the

Lord *Lautherdale's* coming thither, and the Order thereupon for the Fleet to ſail preſently for *Holland* for the Reaſons aforeſaid, kindled all thoſe Sparkles into a bright Flame of Diſſenſion, ſo univerſal, that there were very few who ſpake with any Civility of one another, or without the higheſt Animoſity that can be imagined.

THIS was the diſtracted Condition of Affairs when the Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor came to the *Hague*; the Council divided between themſelves, and more offended with the Court for Preſumption in making themſelves of the Council, and oppoſing whatſoever the other directed, by their private Whiſpering to the Prince in Reproach of them, and their publick Murmurings againſt their Perſons for the Counſel They gave, every Man endeavouring to incenſe others againſt thoſe who were not affected by him; and this ill Humour increaſed by ſuch an univerſal Poverty, that very few knew where to find a Subſiſtence for three Months to come, or how to diſpoſe of themſelves. The Clamour from the Fleet was ſo high for new Victual and for Money, that there was Apprehenſion juſt enough, that They would provide for themſelves by returning to their old Station; to which They had both Opportunity and Invitation, by the Parliament's having ſet out another Fleet ſuperiour in Power to them, that were already at Anchor in their View, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, to block them up in that inconvenient Harbour. The ſudden News of the total Defeat of the *Scots* Army; and ſhortly after of the Loſs of *Colcheſter*, and taking the Perſons of ſo many gallant Gentlemen, and murdering ſome of them in cold Blood; the daily warm Conteſts in Council upon the inſolent Behaviour and the unreaſonable Demands of the Lord *Lautherdale*, who as peremptorily inſiſted upon the Prince's going immediately with the Fleet into *Scotland*, as He had done before the total Defeat of Duke *Hamilton*, and without expecting to hear what Alteration that fatal Change had produced in that Kingdom, which was very reaſonable to apprehend, and in Truth had at that Time really fallen out: Theſe and many other ill Preſages made the Chancellor quickly find, that in his two Years Repoſe in *Jerſey* He had not fortified himſelf enough againſt future Aſſaults, nor laid in Ballaſt to be prepared to ride out the Storms and Tempeſts that He was like to be engaged in.

THE Preſervation of the Fleet was a Conſideration that would bear no Delay; and was in a ſhort Time, though with infinite Difficulties and Conteſts full of Animoſity, reſolved to be by committing the Charge of it to Prince *Rupert*, who was to carry it into *Ireland*, where were many good Ports in his Majeſty's Obedience. But that was no ſooner done, but the horrid Murder of the King, and the formed Diſſolution of the Monarchy there, and erecting and eſtabliſhing the Government in that Kingdom with a ſeeming general Conſent, at leaſt without any viſible Appearance or Poſſibility of Contradiction or Oppoſition; the faint Proclamation of the preſent King in *Scotland*, under the ſame Conditions which They would have impoſed, and with all the Circumſtances with which They had proſecuted the Rebellion againſt his Father; the Reſolution what was fit for the young King to undertake in his own Perſon, and the diſmal Proſpect, how all the neighbour Princes were ſolicitous not to pay him any ſuch Civilities, as might encourage him to expect any Thing from them; were all Arguments of Perplexity and Conſternation to all Men, who had been moderately verſed in the Tranſaction of Affairs; and were too many Things to be looked upon at once, and yet could not be effectually looked upon but together. So that the Chancellor uſed to ſay, "that all the Buſineſs He had been converſant "in, from the Beginning to his coming to the *Hague*, had not adminiſtered

"Half the Difficulties and Diſconſolation, had not half ſo much diſturbed "and diſtracted his Underſtanding, and broken his Mind, as the next ſix "Months from that Time had done." Nor could He ſee any Light before him to preſent a Way to the King, by entering into which He might hopefully avoid the greateſt Miſery that ever Prince had been expoſed to. His own particular Condition (under ſo general a Mortification) afflicted him very little, having long compoſed himſelf by a Reſolution, with God's Bleſſing, to do his Duty without Heſitation, and to leave all the reſt to the Diſpoſition of Providence.

WHEN the Fleet was committed to the Government of Prince *Rupert* to embark for *Ireland*, it was enough foreſeen by thoſe who foreſaw what naturally might fall out, that *Ireland* was probably like to be the Place whither it might be the moſt counſellable for the Prince himſelf to repair. But as it was not then ſeaſonable in many Reſpects to publiſh ſuch an Imagination; ſo it was not poſſible to keep the Fleet where it then was, or in any Port of the Dominions of *Holland*, where the *States* were already perplexed what Anſwer They ſhould return if the new Commonwealth ſhould demand the Ships, or whether They were not obliged to deliver them: And therefore no Time was to be loſt. Nor was the Voyage itſelf like to be ſecure, but by the Benefit of the Winter Seaſon, and the unquiet Seas They were to paſs through; which would have made it too dangerous a Voyage for the Perſon of the Prince, who muſt find a ſhorter Paſſage thither, when it ſhould be neceſſary.

WHEN that inhuman Impiety was acted at *London*, and the young King had in ſome Degree recovered his Spirits from the ſudden Aſtoniſhment, and had received the vile Proclamation and Propoſitions from *Scotland*, his Majeſty with thoſe few who were of neareſt Truſt concluded, "that it would "be ſhortly of Neceſſity to tranſport himſelf into *Ireland*;" which was to be the higheſt Secret, that it might be equally unſuſpected in *England* and in *Scotland*. "That He ſhould *incognito*, or with a light Train, paſs through "*France* to *Nants*, or ſome other Port of *Bretagne*, where two or three "Ships of War, which He could not doubt of obtaining by the Favour of "his Brother the Prince of *Orange*, might attend him; and from thence He "might with leaſt Hazard embark for the neareſt Coaſt of *Ireland*, where "the Marquis of *Ormond* might meet him."

THIS being concluded in that Manner, the Lord *Cottington* went in a Morning to the King before He was dreſſed; and deſired, "that when He "was ready, He would give him a private Audience in his Cloſet." He there told him, "that his Majeſty had taken the moſt prudent Reſolution "that his Condition would admit, for *Ireland*; where there remained yet "ſome Foundation for Hope. That for himſelf He was ſo old and infirm" (for to his ſeventy five Years, which was then his Age, He had frequent and painful Viſitations of the Gout and the Stone), "that his Majeſty could not "expect his perſonal Attendance in ſo many Journies by Land as He muſt "be expoſed to: Yet having ſerved the Crown throughout the Reign of his "Grandfather and his Father, He was very deſirous to finiſh his Life in his "Majeſty's Service."

"THAT He had reflected upon the woful Condition his Affairs were "in, not more by the Power of his Rebels, than by being abandoned by all "his neighbour Princes. That it was too apparent, that neither of them "would embark themſelves in his Quarrel; ſo that the utmoſt He could "hope from them was, that in ſome ſecret Manner They might contribute "ſuch a Supply and Relief to him, as might give him a Subſiſtence, till

"ſome new Accidents and Alterations at Home or abroad might produce a "more ſeaſonable Conjuncture. That even in that Particular, He doubted "the Magnanimity or Generoſity of Princes would not be very conſpicuous: "However it being all his preſent Dependance, He muſt try all the Ways He "could to provoke them to that Diſpoſition."

"THAT He knew the Crown of *Spain* was ſo low at that Time, that "whatever their Inclinations might be, They could neither ſupply him with "Ships or Men or Money towards the raiſing or ſupporting of an Army: "Yet that He knew too, that there is ſuch a Proportion of Honour, and "of a generous Compaſſion and Bounty, that is inſeparable from that Crown, "and even runs through that People, which other Nations are not inſpired "with. And He was confident, that if his Majeſty ſent an Ambaſſadour thither, "how neceſſitous ſoever that Court might be, it would never refuſe to make "ſuch an Aſſignment of Money to him as might, well huſbanded, provide "a decent Support for him in *Ireland*; where likewiſe the King of *Spain* "had Power to do his Majeſty more Offices than any other Prince could "do, or He any where elſe, by the univerſal Influence He had upon the "*Iriſh* Nation. And General *Owen ONeile*, who was the only Man that "then obſtructed the Union of that People in a Submiſſion to the King, had "been bred up in the Court of *Spain*, and had ſpent all his Time in the "Service of that Crown, and had ſtill his ſole Dependance upon it; and "therefore it was to be preſumed, that He might be induced by Direction "from *Madrid*, to conform himſelf to a Conjunction with the Marquis of "*Ormond*, the King's Lieutenant there." He ſaid, "that his Majeſty knew "well that He had ſpent a great Part of his Life in that Court, in the Ser-"vice of his Grandfather and Father; and He would be willing to end his "Days there, if it were thought of Uſe to his Affairs."

THE Diſcourſe was too reaſonable not to make Impreſſion upon the King; which diſcovering in his Countenance, the other deſired him, "that He "would think that Day upon all that He had ſaid, without communicating "it to any Body, till the next Morning, when He would again wait on "him to know his Opinion upon the Whole; for if his Majeſty ſhould ap-"prove of what He propoſed, He had another Particular to offer, before the "Matter ſhould be publickly debated." When He came the next Morn-ing, and found the King was much pleaſed with what He had before diſ-courſed, and aſked what the other Particular was that He intended to offer; the Lord *Cottington* told him, "that He was very glad his Majeſty was ſo "well pleaſed with what He had propoſed, which He confeſſed the more "He had revolved himſelf, the more hopeful the Succeſs appeared to him; "which made him the more ſolicitous, that through any Inadvertency ſuch "a Deſign might not miſcarry."

HE put him then in Mind again "of his great Age, how unlike it was "that He ſhould be able to hold out ſuch a Journey, or, if He did, the Fa-"tigue thereof would probably caſt him into a Fit of the Gout or the Stone, "or Both, which if He ſhould outlive, He ſhould be long detained from the "Proſecution of his Buſineſs, which the leſs vigorouſly purſued would be more "ineffectual;" and therefore propoſed, "that He might have a Companion "with him, of more Youth and a ſtronger Conſtitution, who would receive "ſome Benefit by the Information and Advice He ſhould be able to give "him, the Advantage whereof would redound for the preſent, and might "more in the future, to the King's Service;" and in Fine propoſed, "that "the Chancellor of the Exchequer might be joined in the Commiſſion with "him, and accompany him into *Spain*, from whence if They made Haſte

"in their Journey, They might make ſuch a Progreſs in that Court, that "He might be able to attend his Majeſty in *Ireland* in a very ſhort Time "after his Arrival there; whilſt himſelf remained ſtill at *Madrid*, to proſe- "cute all farther Opportunities to advance his Service."

THE King was ſurpriſed with the Overture; and aſked, "whether the "Chancellor would be willing to undertake the Employment, and whether "He had ſpoken with him of it." To which the other preſently replied, "that He knew not, nor had ever ſpoke to him of it, nor would do, till "his Majeſty, if He liked it, ſhould firſt prepare him; for He knew well "He would at firſt be ſtartled at it, and it may be might take it unkindly. "That He knew well how much of the Weight of his Buſineſs lay upon the "Chancellor's Shoulders, and in that Reſpect that many others would not "be willing He ſhould be abſent: Yet that there was a long Vacation in "View, and there could be little to be done till the King ſhould come into "*Ireland*; and by that Time He might be with him again, with ſuch a "Return from *Spain* as might be welcome and convenient to him. And "therefore if his Majeſty would firſt break the Matter to him, He would "then take the Work upon him; and He believed He ſhould give him ſuch "Reaſons, ſince He could not ſuſpect his Friendſhip" (which was very no- torious, and They lived then together), "as would diſpoſe him to the "Journey."

WHEN the King ſpake to him of it, as a Thing that had reſulted from his own Thoughts; "that He had more Hope to obtain ſome Supply from "*Spain*, than from any other Place; that no Man could be ſo fit to ſolicit it "as the Lord *Cottington*, and Nobody ſo fit to accompany him as He, who "might be with him in *Ireland* in a ſhort Time;" He ſaid, "He had "ſpoken with Lord *Cottington* to undertake the Employment, to which He "was not averſe; but He had expreſſly refuſed to undertake it alone, and He "knew that no Companion would be ſo acceptable to him as He would be."

THE Chancellor did not at firſt diſſemble the Apprehenſion, that this Device had been contrived at *Paris*, where He knew that neither of them were acceptable, nor were wiſhed to be about the King, or to have ſo much Credit with him as They were Both thought to have: But the King quickly expelled that Jealouſy. And He deſired a ſhort Time to conſider of it; and received ſuch Reaſons (beſides Kindneſs in the Invitation) from the Lord *Cottington*, that He did not ſubmit only to the King's Pleaſure, but very willingly undertook the Employment: And, though it was afterwards de- layed by the Importunity of many, and the Queen's own Advice, who thought the Chancellor's Attendance about the Perſon of the King her Son to be more uſeful to his Service, than it was like to be in the other Climate, the King was firm to his Purpoſe; and diſpatched them ſhortly after his coming into *France*, when He reſolved and prepared for his own Expedi- tion into *Ireland*, in Order to which there were then ſome *Dutch* Ships of War that waited for him at *St. Maloes*.

His ſecond Retreat in Spain.

THIS was the Occaſion and Ground of his ſecond Retreat and Receſs from a very uneaſy Condition, of which He was not more weary in Reſpect of the Difficulty and Melancholy of the Buſineſs, from which He could not en- tirely diſentangle himſelf by Abſence, than in Reſpect of the Company He was to keep in the conducting it, who had Humours and Inclinations uneaſy to him, irreſolute in themſelves, and contrary for the moſt Part to his Judg- ment. And He did ſtill acknowledge, that He did receive much Refreſh- ment and Benefit by that Negotiation. For though the Employment proved ineffectual to the Purpoſes for which it was intended, by the King's finding it

neceſſary to divert his intended Journey for *Ireland*, into that of *Scotland*; yet He had Vacancy to recollect and compoſe his broken Thoughts; and mended his Underſtanding, in the Obſervation and Experience of another Kind of Negotiation than He had formerly been acquainted with, under the Aſſiſtance, Advice and Friendſhip of the moſt able Perſon, and the beſt acquainted with foreign Negotiations and the general Intereſts of the ſeveral Kings and States in *Chriſtendom*, of any Stateſman then alive in *Europe*, and who delighted in giving him all the Information He could. He was converſant in a Court of another Nature and Humour, of another Kind of Grandeur and Gravity, of another Conſtitution and Policy; and where Ambaſſadours are more eſteemed and regarded, and live with more Converſation and a better Intelligence amongſt themſelves, than in any other Court in the World.

THE leſs of Buſineſs He had, He was the more vacant to ſtudy the Language and the Manners and the Government of that Nation. He made a Collection of and read many of the beſt Books which are extant in that Language, eſpecially in the Hiſtories of their Civil and Eccleſiaſtical State. Upon the reading the Pontifical Hiſtory written by *Illeſcas* in two Volumes, and continued by one or two others in three other Volumes, He begun there firſt his ANIMADVERSIONS UPON THE SUPERIORITY AND SUPREMACY OF THE POPE, which He afterwards continued to a perfect Work. Here He reſumed the Continuation of his DEVOTIONS ON THE PSALMS, and other Diſcourſes of Piety and Devotion, which He reviewed and enlarged in his later Times of Leiſure. Though He underwent in this Employment many Mortifications of ſeveral Kinds, yet He ſtill acknowledged that He learned much during the Time of his being in *Spain*, from whence He returned a little before the Battle of *Worceſter*; and after the King's miraculous Eſcape into *France*, He quickly waited upon his Majeſty, and was never ſeparated from his Perſon, till ſixteen or ſeventeen Years after by his Baniſhment.

His third Retreat after his Baniſhment.

THIS He called his third and moſt bleſſed Receſs, in which God vouchſafed to exerciſe many of his Mercies towards him. And though He entered into it with many very diſconſolate Circumſtances; yet in a ſhort Time, upon the Recovery of a better State of Health, and being remitted into a Poſture of Eaſe and Quietneſs, and ſecure from the Power of his Enemies, He recovered likewiſe a marvellous Tranquillity and Serenity of Mind, by making a ſtrict Review and Recollection into all the Actions, all the Faults and Follies, committed by himſelf and others in his laſt continued Fatigue of ſeventeen or eighteen Years; in which He had received very many ſignal Inſtances of God's Favour, and in which He had ſo behaved himſelf, that He had the good Opinion and Friendſhip of thoſe of the beſt Fame, Reputation and Intereſt, and was generally believed to have deſerved very well of the King and Kingdom.

IN all this Retirement He was very ſeldom vacant, and then only when He was under ſome ſharp Viſitation of the Gout, from reading excellent Books, or writing ſome Animadverſions and Exercitations of his own, as appears by the Papers and Notes which He left. He learned the *Italian* and *French* Languages, in which He read many of the choiceſt Books. Now He finiſhed the Work which his Heart was moſt ſet upon, THE HISTORY OF THE LATE CIVIL WARS AND TRANSACTIONS TO THE TIME OF THE KING'S RETURN IN THE YEAR 1660; of which He gave the King Adverſiſement. He finiſhed his REFLECTIONS AND DEVOTIONS UPON THE PSALMS OF DAVID, which He dedicated to his Children; which was ended at *Montpelier* before the Death of the Dutcheſs. He wrote and

finiſhed his ANSWER TO MR. HOBBES HIS LEVIATHAN, to which He prefixed an Epiſtle dedicatory to the King, if his Majeſty would permit it. He wrote a good Volume of ESSAYS, DIVINE, MORAL, AND POLITICAL, to which He was always adding. He prepared A DISCOURSE HISTORICAL OF THE PRETENCE AND PRACTICE OF THE SUCCESSIVE POPES FROM THE BEGINNING OF THAT JURISDICTION THEY ASSUME; in which He thought He had fully vindicated the Power and Authority of Kings from that odious Uſurpation. He entered upon the forming A METHOD FOR THE BETTER DISPOSING THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, THAT IT MAY BE MORE PROFITABLY AND EXACTLY COMMUNICATED THAN IT HATH YET BEEN. He left ſo many Papers of ſeveral Kinds, and cut out ſo many Pieces of Work, that a Man may conclude, that He never intended to be idle.

IN a Word, He did not only by all poſſible Adminiſtrations ſubdue his Affections and Paſſions, to make his Mind conformable to his preſent Fortune; but did all He could to lay in a Stock of Patience and Proviſion, that might ſupport him in any future Exigent or Calamity that might befall him: Yet with a cheerful Expectation, that God would deliver him from that powerful Combination which then oppreſſed him.

THE END.

finished his ANSWER TO Mr. HOBBES HIS LEVIATHAN, to which He prefixed an Epistle dedicatory to the King, if his Majesty would permit it. He wrote a good Volume of ESSAYS, DIVINE, MORAL, AND POLITICAL, to which He was always adding. He prepared A DISCOURSE HISTORICAL OF THE PRETENCES AND PRACTICE OF THE SUCCESSIVE POPES FROM THE BEGINNING OF THAT JURISDICTION THEY ASSUME; in which He thought He had fully vindicated the Power and Authority of Kings from that odious Usurpation. He entered upon the forming A METHOD FOR THE BETTER DISPOSING THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, THAT IT MAY BE MORE PROFITABLY AND EXACTLY COMMUNICATED THAN IT HATH YET BEEN. He left so many Papers of Several Kinds, and cut out so many Pieces of Work, that a Man may conclude, that He never intended to be idle.

In a Word, He did not only by all possible Admonitions subdue his Affections and Passions, to make his Mind conformable to his present Fortune; but did all He could to lay in a Stock of Patience and Provision, that might support him in any future Exigent or Calamity that might befall him: Yet with a cheerful Expectation, that God would deliver him from that powerful Combination which then oppressed him.

THE END.

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