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.

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

IN THREE VOLUMES.

OXFORD,
At the Clarendon Printing-House. M.DCC.LIX.
THE LIFE OF EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON, LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND, AND CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD. CONTAINING, AN ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE FROM HIS BIRTH TO THE RESTORATION IN 1660. 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.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

OXFORD,
At the CLARENDON PRINTING-HOUSE. M.DCC.LIX.
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 itself bears plain Characteristics 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 authentic 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.

* See Continuation, Page 1.
THE PREFACE.

But Lord Hyde dying before his Father, the then Earl of Clarendon, the Property of those 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 fulfil the kind Intentions of Lord Hyde, and adopt a Scheme recommended both by him, * and his Great Grandfather. 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 Trans.

* See his Dialogue on Education, Page 325, &c.
scripts 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 Pa-
per containing his Reasons for withdrawing him-
self, 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 en-
titled by his Lordship, The History of his
own Life, and contains likewise the Substance
of The History of the Rebellion. How-
ever, 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 com-
iled. 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 in-
forms us, that He did not proceed to compleat
that History till after his Banishment. It is
therefore supposed by the Family (and the Suppo-
sition seems to carry with it great Probability)
that, seeing an unjust and cruel Persecution pre-
vail against him, He was induced at that Time to
extend the original Plan of his Work, by intro-
ducing the particular History of his own Life,
from his earliest Days down to the Time of his
Disgrace,
THE PREFACE.

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 Direction 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 already been printed in The History of the Rebellion; and therefore 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,
"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 satis-"fied 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 Contin-"uation of Lord Chancellor Claren-"don's Life from 1660 to 1667 inclusive "is very incorrect, many Words being omitted, "that must necessarily be supplied: But it is de-"fired 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 At-
tention of the Author. The Work must be "printed entire, as it now stands, no Part "of it left out, not an Abstract, nor a Refe-
rence omitted.

These Directions have been punctually ob-
served. The Second Part is printed from his Lordship's Manuscripts entire, without any Omis-
sion, or Variation, except as above. And with Regard to the First Part, the Extract sent to us has been carefully compared with the Original

* Those Passages are indented. Those printed in Italics, Pages 59, 82, 90, 135, the Note Page 100, and some others still less ma-
terial, were added with the same View.
Manuscript itself, 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 Benefactors, to be deposited in the Publick Library.
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.
The LIFE of
EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON
From his Birth to the Restoration of the ROYAL FAMILY in 1660.

PART the FIRST.

Montpelier, 23 July 1668.

He was born in Dinton in the County of Wilt's, Place of Mr. E. Hyde's Birth, 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 possess'd thereof: The other Estate of Hyde having some Ages since fallen into that of Norbury, by a Marriage, and continues still in that House.

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 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 Relic and Widow of Matthew Calthurst, Esq; of Claveron 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 Caftiljan 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 inpropriate Rec-

Rectory of Dinton, after the Life of Anne his Mother, charged with an Annuity of forty Pounds per Annun, to his third Son Henry for his Life; and He charged some other Part of his Estate with an Annuity of thirty Pounds per Annun 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 Caliburst, that She would provide for the better Support of the younger Children; two of which raised their Fortunes by the Law, Lawrence, 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.

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, *A 2 being
being then in *Rome*, He received so 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 Cheerfulness 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 neigh-
Edward Earl of Clarendon.

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 Wildom 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 Sistars, 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.
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.

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,
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 Hussey, 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 Alber Hall, who had supped that Night with Sir James Hussey, He did not go to the middle Temple till the Michaelmas 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 re-"moved him from the University," though He always reserved a high Esteem of it.

Before the Beginning of Michaelmas 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,
Term, being then between sixteen and seventeen 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 Alholland-tide to send him into the Country to Pirton in North Wiltshire, whither his Father had removed himself from Dinton; choosing 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 aConsumption; it then left him, and He grew quickly strong again. In this Time of his Sickness his Uncle was made Chief Justice: It was Michaelmas 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 Re. 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; infomuch as He used often to say, "that since it pleased God to " preserve him whilst He did keep that Company " (in

"(in which He wonderfully escaped from being involved in many Inconveniences) and to withdraw him so soon from it, He was not sorry that He had some Experience in the Conversation of such Men, and of the License 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.

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
The LIFE of Part I.

next Day; but before they went, the Small 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 Bartholomew Day.

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, "Joannes Feltonus, qui "Bullam Pontificiam Valvis Palatii Episcopi Londini-"sis affixerat jam deprehensus, cum fugere nollet, Fac-"tum confessus quod tamens Crimen agnoscer e 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 Charle-thon, 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 Au- gust, Bartholomew 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 Difbanding 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 Profes-
sion of the Law, without declining the politer Learn-
ing, 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 Appe-
tite to a convenient Estate, succeeded not, yet pro-
duced new Acquaintance, and continued the same
Inclinations.

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 ex-
cellent Learning for that Province He was to go-
vern, of unsuspected and unblemished Integrity, of
an exemplar Gravity and Austerity, which was ne-
cessary for the Manners of that Time, corrupted by
the marching of Armies, and by the Licence after
the disbanding them; and though upon his Promo-
tion 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 en-
tire 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 la-
mented.

The Loss of so beneficial an Encouragement and
Support in that Profession, did not at all discourage
his Nephew in his Purpose; rather added new Re-
solution
satisfaction 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 Gran-dison, 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
them both to the Tower, and declaring that "since
He was satisfied that there was a Promise of Mar-
riage 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 Decla-
ration by the King, made the nearest Friends of the
Lady pursue the Design of this Reparation more
soliciously, 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 Inftan-
ces at Court, and Conferences with those who had
most Power and Opportunity to confirm the King
in the Sense He had entertained; and those Confe-
rences 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 Mar-
quis of Hamilton was one, who having married an
ever Lady, Cousin-German to the injured Per-
son, 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 up-
on 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.
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 public 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;
riage; 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 Daughter of
of Sir *Thomas Aylesbury* Baronet, Master of Requests (9) 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
"one of those Fits;" as soon as it was over, which was quickly, He was the cheerfuleft Man living; eat well such Things as He could fancy, walked, slept, digested, conversed with such a Promptnefs and Vivacity upon all Arguments (for He was omnifarium doctus) as hath been seldom known in a Man of his Age: But He had the Image of Death to 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 cheerfully of all Things He would have performed after his Death.

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

* B "Name,
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 cheerful Conversation with his Friends (having 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 Michaelmas's 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 Hastie 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 feizing 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
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.”

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 Household, 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-Councillor, well foreseeing, as He made manifest upon several Occasions, the Growth of the Schismatics, and that if

* B 2 They
They were not with Rigour suppressed, They would(11) 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 Catholic, 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
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 cheerfully 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 Jealoufy 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.
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) disoblighed 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 alleged 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
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 Per-
The X
If of Parti.
fons of Quality, told him, He would some other (13) 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 said 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 refu-"sing 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 accustum-
ed to; that They had given this Petition to a Se-
cretary of State to present it to the King, who "referred it to the Consideration of the Treasurer; "and thereupon They pursued it no further, know-
ing how He stood resolved, and the Cause of it, "which troubled them most, viz. that that Cus-
tom-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
"Farmers being offended with the Order, which "They law would offend the Merchants."—The Archbishops 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 re- "main in the Hands of Mr. Hyde, who had drawn "it, and was of Council with the Merchants through- "out 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, remembred many Circumstan- "ces in the Business which the other had forgotten; "that He was generally known; and had lately mar- "ried the Daughter of Sir Thomas Aylesbury."

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 ac- cording 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 "of
of Portland had been much incensed against him, (14) 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 Affluence of the Treasurer. He asked still for the Petition that was 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 Commissioners 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 principal Branch of the Revenue; that his Neighbour Daniel Harvey had spoken much Good of him to Him; and informed him of that Complaint 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 willing to receive any Information from him, and that He should be welcome 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 ingratitude 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 so 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
ually agreed between them; where They enjoyed themselves 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 Cheerfulness amongst his Friends, who then resort ed 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 Tem perance

Perance 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 Jour-}

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 (left 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 remembering 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 ne-
ever knew one Man, of what Condition soever, arrive to any Degree of Reputation in the World, who made Choice or delighted in the Company of those, who in their Qualities were inferior, or in their Parts not much superior to himself.

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.

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
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, Courtefy, 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, cenfured, 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 foever 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.

2. Charles
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 Pleasantry 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.

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

ship 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 dispos'd 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.

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 expressely 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.

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.
ly 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 Courteisy and Civility, and such a Volubility of Language, as surprised, and delighted; and though in another Man it might have appeared to have somewhat of Affection, 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 Presence 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.

Thomas

Thomas May was the eldest Son of his Father, 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 wrote 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.

* C 2 Thomas
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.

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
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 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 Beaconsfield; Dr. Gilbert Sheldon; Dr. George Morley; Dr. John Earles; Mr. John Hales of Eton; and Mr. William Chillingworth.

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 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 to
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 some-
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 it's 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 Enterprise; 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 Courtefy, 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,
tion, 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
don 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 Expenfe, 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 Oftentation, 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
ledgment 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 reformed 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-rulled 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 classical 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 authentic 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 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,
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 unpollished, 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 Republica Platonis, than in Facce Romuli: but this Rigidity was only exercised towards himself; towards
wards his Friend's Infirnities no Man was more indulgent. In his Conversation, which was the most cheerful 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.

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 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 Lazi-
nes of Mind, which disinclined him to Business, and He died a little before the general Troubles of the Kingdom, which He forefaw with wonderful Concern, and when many wise Men were weary of living so long.

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 cheerful 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 Com-
pany. 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 him self 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 Mus ket; 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 Publick.

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 sate when He was very young; and so when They were resumed again (after a long Intermi-

sion) 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 Melancholick, inclined him to) He seemed often to speak upon the sudden, when the Occasion had only administered 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, to cover them, that They were not taken Notice of to his Reproach; viz. a Narrowness in his Nature to the lowest Degree; an Absectness, 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 lo
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 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 Busineses 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 reforted 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."

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 always of the first Eminency, He had by the natural Faction and Animosity of those Disputes,
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 Pleasantry 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

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.

Doctor Earles was at that Time Chaplain in the House to the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesty’s Household, 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 Fam-

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ly, 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.

Mr. John Hales had been Greek Professor in the University of Oxford; and had born 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 cheerful Conversation.
Edward Earl of Clarendon.

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 no Body would conclude another Man to be damned,
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
lied 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.

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 infe-

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riour 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 restles 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 Diseinclination 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 Ta-
lents) that the poor Man, not able to live long in Doubt, too hastily deserted his own Church, and (10) 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 Edgehill; 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 Breastwork 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 cheerful Disposition; void of all Kind of Vice, and endued with
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.

Those Persons were, Mr. Lane, who was then Mr. Hyde's 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...
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 converted. 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
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 designd 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 fame; 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 truft 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 Hert-
Hertford to a very good Acquaintance, and Inclination to each 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 Practitioner of the Law, being in some Favour with him (as is mentioned before) He went to visit him, in the Beginning of a Michaelmas Term, shortly after his Return from the Country, where He had spent a Month or two of the Summer.

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 spake 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
"and Church, exceedingly indevoted to Him; com-
plaining of his Manner of treating them, when
They had Occasion to refer to him, it may be," for his Directions." And then named him two
Perfons 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
Country; that all the Lords present used them with
great Courtefy, 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, sup-
posing 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 Leisur-
"for Compliments;" and so hurried away; which
put the other Gentleman much out of Counte-
nance: And that this Kind of Behaviour of his was
the Discourse of all Companies of Persons of Qua-

ty; every Man continuing any such Story with
another like it, very much to his Disadvantage;
and to the Trouble of those who were very juft
to him.

He heard the Relation very patiently, and at-
tentively; and discoursed over every Particular with
all imaginable Condefcenfion; and said, with evi-
dent Shew of Trouble, that "He was very unfor-
tunate to be so ill understood; that He meant
very well; that He remembered the Time, when
those two Persons were with the Council; that
upon any Deliberations, when any Thing was re-
solved, or to be said to any Body, the Council
enjoined him to deliver their Resolutions; which
He did always according to the beef of his Un-
"der-
"derstanding; but by the Imperfection He had by "Nature, which He said often troubled him, He "might deliver it in such a Tune, and with a(S) "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 fpake with some of the Lords, which "not being according to Order, He thought He "gave them some Reprehension; 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 fent for him, himself going into the "next Room, and received him very kindly, as He "thought; and supposing that He came about Bu-
"finefs, 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 faid, that He had not Time for Com-
"pliments; but He did not think that He went "out of the Room in that Manner: And con-
"cluded, that it was not possible for him in the "many Occupations He had, to fpend any Time "in unnecessary Compliments; and that if his In-
"tegrity and Uprightnefs, which never should be "liable to Reproach, could not be strong enough "to preserve him, He must submit to God's Plea-
"fure."

He was well contented to hear Mr. Hyde reply
very freely upon the Subject, who faid, "He ob-
"ferved by what his Grace himfelf had related, "that the Gentlemen had too much Reason for "the Report They made; and He did not won-
"der that They had been much troubled at his "Car-
Carriage 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 Country, 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 Meaning; for his Tongue, He could not undertake, that He would not sometimes 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 Infirmity, 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 fate 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) towards 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 Misfor-
tune of most Persons of that Education (how worthy foever) 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 Dependents than Friends; and are still deceived, by keeping something 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 cheerful, 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 Expence, greater much than Men of his Rank, and Pretences, used to make, but increased 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.

Be-
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 preserved 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 Re, the Town was full of Soldiers, and of young Gentlemen who intended to be Soldiers, or as like them as They could; great Licence used of all Kinds, in Cloaths, in Diet, in Gaming; and all Kinds 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, disentangled 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 Expence 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.

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 Men; 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
excelled in gratifying their Appetites. He had a 
Fancy sharp, and luxuriant; but so carefully cul-
tivated, and strictly guarded, that He never was heard 
to speak a loose, or a profane Word; which He 
imputed to the Chatfality of the Persons, where his 
Conversation usually was; where that rank Sort of 
Wit was religiously detested; and a little Discoun-
tance would quickly root those unfavoury 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 Com-
pany in a short Time, so much reformed, and man-
tered, 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 abound-
ed in Passion, used to say, He had much extin-
guish’d the Unruliness of that Fire. That which 
supported, and rendered him generally acceptable, 
was his Generosity (for He had too much a Con-
tempt 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 Temp-
tation. He was firm and unshaken in his Friend-
ships: And though He had great Candour towards 
others in the Differences of Religion, He was zea-
lously, 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 Almighty had 
pre-
"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;" whole Memory He had always in Ve-нерation: 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.

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 ranfack, and burn each other's Dominions, than to extinguish their own Fire. All Germany weltering 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 wea-ried, and tired with their long, and chargeable War, how prosperous soever They were in it; and be-

inning to be more afraid of France, their Ally, than of Spain, their Enemy. Italy, every Year in-fected by the Arms of Spain, and France; which divided the Princes thereof into the several Fac-

Of

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 nōrint! 

In this blessed Conjuncture, when no other Prince thought He wanted any Thing, to compass what He most desired to be possess'd 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 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 (37) 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 be gone 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.

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 ordi-
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
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 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 past, 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 Relation of any Thing that had past, of which He presumed He had received a good Account; that his Business was only to inform him of his own Fears and Apprehensions; and the Observations 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 Expedition 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 desperate 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 Number
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 Incl-
inations, 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 Con-
juncture, the delaying, and denying to do what He
desired, was the same Thing; and therefore He be-
lieved it probable that He would disolve 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 per-
suade the Dissolution, which might be attended by
Consequences 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 disolve them: As He
actually did on the 4th, or 5th of May, not three
Weeks after their first Meeting.

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 dis-
covered 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 Archbishop; 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 Kind-
ness for him: But not finding the Succes in either,
answerable to their Expectation, They lived fairly
towards him; and endeavoured by several Applica-
tions,
tions, to gain Credit with him; who returned them their own Civilities; having had very particular Acquaintance with many of them, whom He as much endeavoured to preserve from being prevail-

Within few Days after their Meeting, He renewed the Motion He had made in the last Parlia-
ment, 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 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 Parlia-
ment; 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 Houfe of Commons, the Earl Marshal, seeing Mr. Hyde in the Closet at Whitehall, during the Time of the Sermon, He came with great Courtesey to him, thanked him for having treated his Person so civilly, when
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 Endeavours, which were used to lessen it. And it being evident, that He had no Dependance upon the Court; and instifted 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 faw
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 Miscarriages 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 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 Gloucester, and consequently the Knights, and Burgesses which served for the 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: Infomuch 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 Waftes, belonging to 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
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 Waftes, as the Queen’s Tenants of the same, made loud Complaints, as a great Oppreflion, carried upon them with a very high Hand, and supported by Power.

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 (whole 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 Businesse 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 inflamed 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,
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 sooner it was spread afterwards.

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 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 Doubt, if it had been then communicated, or attempted, (42) 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 should 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.

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 Com-

mons 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 remember 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 Reverence for the Church, He would not have obeyed him;" which his Majesty said, made him love him the better. Then He discourse 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.

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 under-
flood 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 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.
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.
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 expressly, 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; [45] 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.
Part II. Edward Earl of Clarendon.

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

Which by the King's Command is printed.
found Means to discover most other Secrets to them, but in this could do them no Service.

A's 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 prefered two of his Friends, it was Time to give him some Testimony of his Favour; and therefor 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 surprized, 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 Argument that Gentleman thought(46) the other not fit for it, not that He believed 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 Conjunction to remove him; and when it should be, He did humbly advise his Majesty to make Choice of
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 Experience, 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 positively refused it; and assured both their Majesties, that He should be able to do much more Service in the Condition He was in.

Before the King left Whitehall He renewed his Commands to the three Persons mentioned before, the Lord Viscount Falkand, Sir John Colepepper, 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
had made a deep Impression upon them. And so
They met every Night late together; and commun-
icated their Observations, and Intelligence of the
Day; and so agreed what was to be done, or at-
tempted 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 Ac-
 commodation in the House where He lived in Westmin-
ster, 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 committed to Mr. Hyde; and
when the King had left the Town, He writ as free-
ly to the King as either of the other did; and some-
times when They would be excused, He went to
him in great Secret.

He had been from the Beginning very unbelov-
ed 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 Protestation, He was as much in their Detes-
tation 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 be-
lieve 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 Purpose 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 snap-pishly, "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.

The Lord Falkland, though He was a Man of a chearful Conversation, was of a severe Nature, and a Lover.
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 Diffimulation, that He chose sometimes the other Extreme, when it was not requisite. He had not the Court in great Reverence; and had a prefaging 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 forefaw 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 prevail-ed with to yield to what was press'd; 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 obstinate-ly adhered to many Conclusions, which did not na-turally res ult from good Premises, and did love to argue many Things, to which He would not so po-sitively adhere, He did not practise that Condescen-
fion; but contradicted him with more Bluntness, and
Part II. Edward Earl of Clarendon.

and by sharp Sentences; and in some Particulars (as of the Church) to which the King was in Con-

science 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.

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 Neigh-

bours, 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
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 commonly 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
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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 adverse; 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 Imagination; 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.

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 cheerfull, and open Nature, without any Diffimulation; and delivered his Opinion of Things or Persons, where it was convenient, without Referve, 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 moft, 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 leaft 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 it's 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 foever 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 it's Revenue, and applying it to secular Ufes, 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-
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 Circumstances 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 Employment; 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 Scleris 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

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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 Dispatch of the Bills, as soon as the (54) 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
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 Hand, 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 with 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.*

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.

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 contented to; and then his real (52) 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
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 Counfel; 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.

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 Mis-chief, 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 Affittance of very many towards the utter Ex- tirpation 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 wish-ed 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 imputuously, 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 Indifference, 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(53) 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 Remova
moval 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 the King 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 Dehlation upon his Eyes, and a Catarh. 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.
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 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
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 that 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 Dreses; 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 Harm; 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 Infolence 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 re-"port his Message to the Parliament till Monday "Morning; and that They might well attend upon "his Majesty again on Sunday, and receive his Plea-"sure; 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 be-"sought his Majesty that He would presently send "a Servant 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
"came to Greenwich; where He commanded them
"to attend him on Sunday, and that He would dif-
"patch them soon enough for them to be at London
"that Night." All which his Majesty was pleased
to content 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.

When his Majesty came to Greenwich, He found
the Prince there with his Governour, who though
indisposed in his Health, without returning any An-
swer 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 Wea-
ther, 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; (53)
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, say-
ing, “we will not now be disturbed, for there is no
Man-
"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 gotten 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,
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 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.

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("56) " 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 Ma-
jeftly 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.

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 ever; 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
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 stayed 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
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.

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 Privileges, 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 Jealousy:" 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 surprized 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
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 Suggesions 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 Suggesions; 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 oppo-site Consultations: And the King with a small Court, after two Days Stay at Theobalds, began his Progres towards Newmarket; and sometimes resting a Day in a Place, He advanced by easy Journies 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 like-
wife 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 stopp'd; 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.

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And
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.

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
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 prelented 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 absently 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 Ex-
pedition that was then used between York, and London, when Gentlemen undertook the Service, as enough were willing to do: Infomuch, 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 dispens'd 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 past, which being very long, He might carry with him; and prepare the Answer upon the Way, or after He came 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 immediately 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.

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 fix 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 Worsenbolme; who though He and his Family were at London, had given Order for his very good Reception; it having been before re-
solved 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.

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 said at Nofall at the House of Sir John Worftenbolme, from whence He sent every Day to the King, and received his Majesty's Commands; and He intended to have said 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 Majesty 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.
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, 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.
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 Modefty 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 Gentle-
The LIFFE of Part II.

Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod would come and take him out of his Chamber.

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 defired it: but that He found no Serenity in his Countenance; nor any Inclination 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, because 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 unwilling 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 disoblige to the highest
Part II. Edward Earl of Clarendon.

"highest Extremity, in the Presumption of Mr. El-""liot; and that his extravagant, and insolent Diff-
"courses should find Credit, without his Majesty's
"Reprehension, and Vindication, who knew the False-
"hood of them." And so put his Majesty in Mind
of all that had passed; and of the other Circumstanc-
es, 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 Lightning 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 Majes-
"ty." His Majesty concluded, that He should be
sure to receive all necessary Countenance, and Pro-
tecion 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 walk-
ed together.

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 answer-
able for the Safety of it; nor would trust any Ser-
vant of his own to look to it; which as it was wise-
ly 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

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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.

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 stayed 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 Excreations. 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
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 Splendour; 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-fore 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. Hodfbon, 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 stayed there.
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 ever 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 cheer-
fully 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 upon Credit, and without weighing
ing 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 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.

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 because 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
tical Clergy frequently, and ignorantly made, that the Bishops did not fit in Parliament, as the Representatives of the Clergy, and so could not be the Third Estate.

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 fame 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 honest Men at the Court, be- "cause 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 "Errand 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 Style than He had used to do, of the Power and Authority of the Parliament, and how much They were superior to any Opposition or Con- tradiction; so the other in the Debate was less re- served, 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 reforted to him, repeated with some Liberty and Sharpness, what had passed between them; and not without some Menaces what the Parliament would do. And (68)
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 Ac-
Part II. Edward Earl of Clarendon.

commodation that should be made between the King, and Parliament.

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 troubled 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 Governour’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 possessings 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(69) 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 natural Vivacity and Cheerfulness; that He knew
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"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 administer some Comfort to "his Friends, that might raise their Spirits, as well "as it supported his own." He answered, "that "He was in Truth beholden to his Constitution, "which did not incline him to Despair; otherwise, "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 melancholick as "He, and was known to be a Man of great Cou- "rage (as indeed He was of a very cheerful, and "a generous Nature, and confessedly Valiant) and "that They could not do the King better Service, "than by making it their Business to raise the de- "jected Minds of Men; and root out those Appre- "hensions which disturbed them, of Fear, and De- "spair, which could do no Good, and did really "much Mischief."

He replied smiling, "I will willingly join with "you the best I can, but I shall act it very scur- vily. My Condition, said He, is much worse than "your's, and different I believe from any other "Man's, and will very well justify the Melancho- "lick that, I confess to you, possessses 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 "with that the King would yield and consent to "what They desire; so that my Conscience is only "concerned in Honour, and in Gratitude to fol- "low my Master. I have eaten his Bread, and "served him near thirty Years, and will not do so "base a Thing, as to forsake him; and chuse ra- "ther to lose my Life (which I am sure I shall do)."
The LIFE of Part II.

"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 Gratitude, 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 Conversation and Friendship with him, was often deceived; and of-ten 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 lefs) of his Writing, but He would discover it to be his. The Lord Falkland told him it should be a Wager; but neither the one nor the other 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
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.

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 sat, He came
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 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.
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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 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 License, 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 the Truth is, I can trust no Body else. Which was a very envious Expression, and extended by
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 intercept ed, 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 like wise then make Master of the Wards.” Mr. Hyde told him, “He was indeed much surprized 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 “it, and his Majesty’s Resolution upon it, which “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
"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 Rebellion were ended; and that his Unskil-
"fulness 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 quick-
"ly." 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, "Nicholas was "an honest Man, and that his Change was by his "Desire:" and bade him speak with him of it; which He went presently to do, leaving his Ma-
Jesty unsatisfied with the Scruples He had made.

When He came to the Secretary's Lodging, He found him with a cheerful Countenance, and em-
bracing him, called him his Son. Mr. Hyde an-
swered him, that "it was not the Part of a good "Son to undo his Father, or to become his Son that "He might undo him:" And so They entered up-
on 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 Confe-
rence 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 Expec-
tation 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
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 exposed himself to such an Inconvenience.

Whilst this was in Suspence, Sir Charles Caesar, 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 Chancel- (73) "lorhip of the Exchequer was void by the Promo- "tion of Colepepper; and that He resolved to confer "it upon him;" with many gracious Expressions of the Satisfaction He had in his Service. - The other answered,
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 Fidelity."

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, 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 Felici-
"city." But His Majesty was therein mistaken; for He
He had great Envyers, 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 Gloucestershire; 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, surprised 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 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 LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON

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

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 to them; and that the "Parliament might as well have sent their Demands "to him by the common Carrier, as by Commis-"sioners so restrained." They had only twenty Days allowed them to finish the whole Treaty: whereof They might employ six Days in adjusting

* K 2 a Cessà-
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; alleging, that they had several Agitations in their Countries, for his Majesty's, and their own Conveniences, 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 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 publicly pursed 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 there-
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 infusing upon the General; and then Mr. Pierrepont (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 loft 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, that so many would be satisfied with it, that They would from hence 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 loft with him. In which He used very decent Expressions towards his Majesty; not without
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 whenever, 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 Disposel, 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.

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;
cholas; 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 remembering, 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 Virtues, towards the Support of his Fidelity to his Majesty, and his Animosity against the Parliament; if He were once re-ingratia
tiated 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 attend-
ed 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 itself 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 ungrateful Persons:" "but no Man was so inexcusable as the Earl of "Northumberland." 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 himfelf had conferred "great Favours upon him; but that it was as true, "He had frequently given him many Mortifica-
tions, which though He had deserved, He knew "had troubled him very much; that He had often-"er denied him, that any other Man of his Condi-
tion: and that He had but lately refused to gra-
tify him in a Suit He had made to him, of which "He had been very confident; and so might have "some Excuse (how ill foever) for being out of "Humour, which led him from one Ill to another; "but that He had lived always without Intermis-
tion, with the Earl of Northumberland at 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 for-
gotten."

And this Discourse He continued with more Commotion, and in a more pathetical Stile, than ever He used upon any other Argument. And though
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 expressly 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
Part III. Edward Earl of Crarendon.

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 Dicourse, to enlarge upon this fatal Rejection, and the true Cause and Ground thereof.

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 by 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 Pow-
er: 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 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 diserved 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 Hast 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,
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 Scotch 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 Invecrive 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, 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
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 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
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
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.

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 Scotch 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 publik Disputation. And so They returned to London, with manifest Disatisfaction, before the Commissioners of the Parliament; and with avow-ed 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 Los 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 Malmşbury; 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 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 Custom
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The King informed 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.

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 Money 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

*L 2* War
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 Managey. 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 Glocefter, 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 Glocefter—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 loft 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. 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;
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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 melancholy 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 magna Sapientium & C.
vium honorum Penuriâ, Vir egregius, conjunctissimusque
cum Confliorum omnium Societate, alienissimo Reipub-
lice Tempore extinctus, & Authoritatis, & Prudentiae
suum, 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 ve-
ry sensible, and terrible Loss, in the Judgment of
all good Men.

After the unhappy Death of the Lord Falk-
land, 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 se-
cond Time, as He had once before. And He had
so much more Reason now, by the coming of a ve-
ry 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 Se-
cretary 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 Chan-
cellor'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 be-
tween 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-Councilor, and consequently made of the
Junto, which the King at that Time created, con-
forming
filling 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 Sur

prize, 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 appoint-
ed 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.

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 Accomodation 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 left disposed some Persons to Peace than They had been, at London.

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 the Exchequer to prepare a Proclamation for dissolving the Parliament at Westminster."

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

"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, whither 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) therefore 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 Continuance 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 Soverainignty: 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 himself, 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 expressly forbidding them to meet, or any Body to own them, or submit to them, as a Parliament.

The Chancellor told him, that "He perceived by his Majesty's Discourse, 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 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 fevered themselves from them, upon the Guilt of their Actions; might return, and be reconciled to them, upon their Unity of Opinion. That it had been the first powerful Re-
wards his Majesty, that He intended to dissolve
this Parliament, notwithstanding the Act for con-
tinuance thereof; and if He had Power to do
that, He might likewise by the same Power, re-
peal all the other Acts made this Parliament; where-
of some were very precious to the People: And
as his Majesty had always disclaimed any such
Thought, so such a Proclamation as He now men-
tioned, would confirm all the Fears and Jealous-
ies, 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 Parliament itself, 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 foreever, would avow that Judg-
ment: 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
understand it, than the other Argument of Inva-
lidity; 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 thoroughly consult it, be-"fore 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 alleged: 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.

After a long Conference together, and many Circumlocutions (which was his natural Way of Dis- course) 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 up- on as a Parliament; and that They might be re- quired, to adjourn from Time, to Time, till all the Members might with Safety repair to, and fit with them;
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 laid 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
with an Account, as if all were agreed; but upon
Conference with the Chancellor, his Majesty won-
dered 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 pro-
posed 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 o-
therwise there would never be any Conclusion.

About two Days after, the Chancellor came in-
to 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 Amaze-
ment in his Life; that He had at last, not with-
out a very positive Command, obliged the Attor-
ney to bring him such a Draught in Writing, as
was agreeable to his own Sense; and that He had (89)
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 indeed;" and it was so rough,
perplexed, and insignificant, that no Man could
judge by it, or out of it, what the Writer proposed
to
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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.

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.

After the Treaty of Uxbridge, most of the Com-}
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 choose 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 Expedients 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 being 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.

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

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He
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 fright; 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 Weft 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 Secrecy, 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 Weft; 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
might not be the least Whisper of any Contingency, that might make it fit. For the Matter itself, 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 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 itself, 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 expressly 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,
solutions, 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
ticular 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.

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,
The LIFE of Part III.

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 fullen, 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.
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
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.

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 Disatisfaction 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;
cerned; 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 itself, He could have it when He would; and shortly after it was dispatch-
ed 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 consult-
ed; and that He found, all his Trouble proceeded from an Apprehension, that his Majesty had with-
drawn his Affection from him; at least that He, the Duke, had not the same Credit with his Majef-
ty, which He had formerly had; and that the Senfe, 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 be-
lieve, that the King was wholly governed by Ash-
burnham, 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,
Edward Earl of Clarendon.

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 Affection, or Imputation.

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
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 Governour; 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 therefore 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 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 "Unkind-
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 Pro-"mises 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 Paule, the Chancellor, out of Countenance, said, "He was very for-
"ry, that He had ever given his Majesty any Oc-
"casjon for such an Apprehension; but very glad, "that He had vouchsafed to inform him of it; be-
"cause He believed He should give his Majesty "such Assurance in that Particular, as would fully "satisfy him: He assured his Majesty, that He had "a great Esteem of the Lord Colepepper; and though "He might have at some Times Passions which "were inconvenient, He was so confident of him-
"self, that They should not provoke, or disturb "him, that He was well content, that his Majesty "should condemn, and think him in the Fault, if "any Thing should fall out, of Prejudice to his "Service, from a Difference between them two." With which his Majesty appeared abundantly satis-
fied, 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.

It was upon the 4th of March, in the Year 1644, The Chancellor "attends the "Prince into "the West; and is there fast "assaulted by the Gout; 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 "Bris-
tol;
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 Lame-ness; 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 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 Ruwignie, 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
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 Readiness at Scilly, upon the Fore-sight 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.

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 Scotch 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 Father's 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; 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 appearing 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.
Part IV. Edward Earl of Clarendon.

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 thoroughly 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 Strange-
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 inferred 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 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 Conven-
nience 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.

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: 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 Ambassadour from the King in Spain, had left that Court, and retired to Paris; from whence He short-ly after removed to Rouen, 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 Professions 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
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 cheerful 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.

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.

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;
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 Im-
portance, 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 Scotch 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 infalli-
ble, as He might discern by what He had com-
manded 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, said 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.

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 Sharpnesses reprehend-
ed 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 Parlia-
ment 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
Ma-
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. Hift. 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 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 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
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 desired 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 Rouen, 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 pasted by towards Calais, and Direction was sent, that the Chancellor, and the rest should stay at Rouen, 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 Rouen to Dieppe; from whence They might embark for Holland when required. Vid. Hift. 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
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 Hast 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 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 Rantzau 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;
Part V. Edward Earl of Clarendon.

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 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
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 failed, 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.

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,
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.

The Lord Cottington loft in Money, and Jewels, above one thousand Pounds; the Chancellor in Money about two hundred Pounds, and all his Cloaths and Linnen; 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.

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.

As soon as the Lords of the Admiralty were gone, the Governour, 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 treated; 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
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 Offend, 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
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 Governour, nor the Lords of the Admiralty cared to come near them: And They quickly found that the Reason of all the Governour'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
tent to receive one hundred Piftoles 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 Piftoles 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.

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冒险ed 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 Merchandize 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 dissuaded 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.

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
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.

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
about the End of August, and came thither within one Day after the Prince’s Arrival there.

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
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 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.

This
This was no sooner known, but all kind of People, who agreed in nothing else, murmured, and complained of this Council; 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 repose 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 Sphaeram Activity, 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 glad to have gone himself in the Employment, if He could have persuaded the Lord Cottington to have 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
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Perton 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.

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.


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 medling 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, resolve 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; stayed 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 though She was
was not confident of his Affection and Kindness towards her, yet She believed that He did with 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 among 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 two Ambassadors began their Journey from Paris, on Michaelmas Day; and continued it without one Day's Rest to Bourdeaux --- Hist. of the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 253.

They continued 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, left their good Reception in Spain might incense the Parliament --- After a Week's Stay in that little Town, They accepted of
of Sir Benjamin Wright's Invitation to his House at Madrid; They went privately thither, to reside incognito --- The Court knew of their Arrival, but took no Notice of it --- Lord Cottington de-<br>pired, and obtained a private Audience of Don Lewis de Haro --- Don Lewis excused the Omission 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 Re-<br>paration --- 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<br>the Reb. Folio, Vol. 3. P. 256, 257.

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
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.

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 Hogflieads 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
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.
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 Stander 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 Maltiffs, 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 Maltiffs, 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 Horsemens 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
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 Festivals 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.
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 Acknowledgements; 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 public Ministers took their Times to make their Visits, without attending the Audience.

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 Rospiglio, Nuntio for the Pope, was of Pistoja, and so a Subject to the Duke of Florence; a grave Man, and at that Time, saw 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
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.

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. Germain, 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.

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.
Of the Arch-Duke of Innspruck's Minister.

The Life of Part V.

Of the Resident of Denmark.

Courts. The Arch-Duke of Innspruck'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.

The Resident of Denmark was Don Henrique Williamson (He was afterwards called Rosewell) who came Secretary to Hannibal Zestied; 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 Condé, Prince of Conti, and the Duke of Longueville; and that Marshal 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
Joy of the Marriage of the King, and to give the Queen a cheerful Reception; They would not dishonour the Festival by appearing *in Lute*, which the King could not but take unkindly; which He said, He thought fit to advertife them of, out of Friendship, and without any Authority. Whereupon, as well to comply in an Affair which seemed to have something of Reason in it, as out of Apprehension, that from hence They might take Occafion to defer their Audience, They changed their Purpose, and caused new Cloaths to be made; and then sent to demand their Audience.

*Montpelier, 1st of March, 1670.*
HE 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
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 inform-
ing himself the best He could, of their Govern-
ment, and the Administration of their Justice: And
there began his Devotions upon the Psalms, which
He finished in another Banishment.

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 thi-
ther --- The News of a Fleet of the King of Eng-
land 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 grant-
ed; 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 Let-
ter 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 Ambassa-
dors, who in Reality disapproved of that Mea-
sure, notified it to the Court of Spain, as a hap-
py Turn in the King's Affairs; setting forth, that
his Majesty was now Master of that Kingdom;
and therefore might reasonably hope to be resto-
red to the Possession of the rest of his Dominions
--- The
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.


The other Ambassador made his Journey by Alcala; and stayed 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 Pampluna, 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 Pyrenees, 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.

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 expressly 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 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 entirely 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
but had received no Answer; and therefore She de-

fired 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 per-

mitted 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 Prote-

tants, in both Families; and now the Queen had

signified to Dr. Cofins (who was the Chaplain assign-
ed by the late King, to attend in her Majesty's Fa-
mily, for the Protestant Part of it) that He should

be no more permitted to have the Use of that

Room.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer took this Oc-
casion 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 allow-
ed to Dr. Cofins; 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

Conse-
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.

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 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,
Part VI. Edward Earl of Clarendon.

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.

He said, the House was the King of France's; who only permitted the Queen to live there; and that the Queen Regent thought herself 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
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 fame, assured him of all the Respects He could pay him, whilst He staid in those Parts; and thereupon He went 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 Refort 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
man 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.

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.

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 herself, 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 herself, certainly spent less upon her own Person, or in any Thing relating to herself, 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.
Part VI. Edward Earl of Crarendon.

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.

*Q 2*
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 itself would be glad of his Friendship; that He was very rich, and would not be only able to give the Duke good Counfel, 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,
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.

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 withdrew 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
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 stayed behind, as well to avoid the being inferior to another, which He always abhorred; as to prosecute an A-mour, 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 Matter; 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 cenfured 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 Family; 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 Cante-croix, 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 Duke himself was so young, that He was rather delighted with the Journeys 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.
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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 Invesgives 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 contempt 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 positive 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, and 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
ty 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 handfomer 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.

When He was exceedingly importunèd 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 something 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 Argumentation, that He would no more admit any Dif- course 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
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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 desir'd 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.

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
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rarely offered to the same Person; and They had now so much jufled, and reviled each other, that They were neither in so much Credit as They had been; and were not press'd, 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 skilful upon the Place could only inftuct 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 revolting 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 Distrefs; though when He had dispatched it, He lived not to enjoy the Repofe He desired; but died before He could return to Antwerp, and the Marquis ever after publicly 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 neceffary 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 fend his Secretary (a Man of Fidelity, and well known to the King) to inform his Majesty of all that had paffed; and to bring back
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 founds 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. 

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 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 acknowledge.
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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 herself 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 herself, and her Friends should believe, that She had undergone that Affront merely by the Malice, and Credit of the Chancellor.

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;
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 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

† 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. 256. l. 13. to p. 258, l. 17. and the Conclusion of it p. 262. l. 34. to p. 263. l. 7. are transcribed from the Manuscript of The Continuation, and therefore the whole Transaction is omitted in that Part of this Work.
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.

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
dence 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 apply the King's Fa- (131) "vour to such a Request; that He had but one "Daughter, who was all the Company, and Com- "fort her Mother had, in her melancholick Retire-
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ment; and therefore He was resolved not to separate 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 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 Sifter upon having seen his Daughter 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 Reason aforesaid, and to prevent any Displeasure from the Queen;"
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 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 advantageously 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 Conjunction 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, and 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.

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 provide, that She should bring no In- (132) convenience upon herself: That He had the Misfortune
fortune (with all the Innocence, and Integrity imagi-
nable) 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 Opin-
ion; 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 in-
crease 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 ne-
ever 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 Ac-
tion, to which She was inclined, out of Apprehen-
sion 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 doubt-
ed 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 High-
ness 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 con-
founded with the gracious and frank Discourse of
the Princefs 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 im- pertinent 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 Princefs 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 the Doctor concurred in the same.

The Chancellor looked upon the Matter itself, 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 Princefs, came herself 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 Princefs Royal; which the extreme Averseness in her Father, and Mother, from
Part VI. Edward Earl of Clarendon.

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 Rife 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 Cromwell 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.

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
The Life of &c. Part VI.

and was thought then to produce many good Effects. And so we conclude this Part.

Montpelier, 27th of May, 1670.

The Seventh and last Part of the Manuscript is dated at Montpelier, August the 1st, 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.
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THE CONTINUATION
Of the LIFE of
EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON,
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND,
AND
CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

Being a Continuation 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.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

OXFORD,
At the Clarendon Printing-House. M.DCC.LIX.
THE CONTINUATION
Of the LIFE of
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c.

Molins, 8th Day Reflections upon the most material of June, 1672. 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.

THE 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 thoroughly 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
according to the Motions He made and the Places He had resided in, were some Times with him, but others 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 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 les Env}y, 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 assign'd 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 insinced 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 biased by his own particular Benefit and Advantage.

(4) 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 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 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
diately 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 Parties 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 who-

(5)soever 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 Conjunction 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 Conjunction 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
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 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
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 Addressses 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.

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 Eloquence, He told him " that " He could not do him better Service, than by re-

"commending 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 re-

"ceive
"ceive 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 encountered 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 diserved 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.
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 surpris'd with the Paper He had received from the General, which at least recommended (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 Counsellors, 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 Judgment; 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 assur'd 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
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 Majesty 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 General, 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 flippery 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 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
tude 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 Cheerfulness. Shortly after, the Lord Mayor of London, the Sheriffs, and Body of the Aldermen, with the whole Militia of the City, appeared with great Luster; 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 cheerful 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 Condescensions 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
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.

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,
assured, that He should have nothing pressed upon him that should be ungrateful, with Reference to the Church or State.

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 con-"cerned the Defence of the King's Person, to take "up Arms if Need were on his Behalf, and to re-"store 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 Forma-""Perfectly of the Pres-""Perfectly in it.
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 Profelytes who were not so before; and the Refort 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 settled and remain according to the Covenant,” which had been practised many Years, and to 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 solicitious 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 President there, and had frequent Audiences of the King to persuade him to be of the same Opinion; from whom They received no other Condescensions than They had formerly had at the Hague, with the same gracious Affability and Expressions to their Persons.

That Party in the House that was in Truth devoted to the King, and to the old Principles of Church and
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 Subjects 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 Household,
Houfhold, 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.

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 Depend-
(11) Once 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 lift 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 melancholy 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 be put on.

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
Ground of many unhappy Attempts in the late Time, that if any present Force could be drawn together, and posseffed of any fuch 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 superior to all his Enemies; which Imagination was enough confuted, though not enough extinguifhed, by the dearbought Experience in the woful Enterprife at Worcester. However, it had been now a very justifiable Premption in the King, to believe as well as hope, that He could not be long in England without fuch an Apparency of his own Party that wished all that He himself defired, and fuch a Manifeflation of their Authority, Interest and Power, that would prevent or be fufficient to subdue any froward Disposition that might grow up in the Parliament, or more extravagant Demands in the Army itself. An Apparencie there was of that People, great enough, who had all the Wifhes for the King which He entertained for himself. But They were fo divided and difunited by private Quarrels, Factions and Animofities; or fo unacquainted with each other; or, which was worse, fo Jealous of each other; the Understandings and Faculties of many honeft Men were fo weak and shallow, that They could not be applied to any great Trust; and others who wished and meant very well had a Peevifhness, Frowardnefs and Opiniatrety, that They would be engaged only in what pleased themselves, nor would join in any Thing with fuch and fuch Men whom They disliked. The severe and tyrannical Government of Cromwell and the Parliament had fo often banifhed and imprifoned them upon mere Jealousies, that They were grown Strangers to one another, without any Communication between them: And there had been fo frequent Betrayings and Treacheries used, fo many Discoveries of Meetings privately contrived, and of Discourses accidentally entered into, and Words and Expressions rashly and unadvisedly
visedly 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 ever so good Affections for the King, durst confer with any Freedom together.

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 Class, 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 Esteimation 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-sequestrered 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
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 carried 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 Undertakings"
"takings, his Majesty upon Advertisement thereof "would first communicate 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 De- "sign should appear practicable to his Majesty, They "would cheerfully 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.

U N D E R 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 restles Apprehension of Crom- well, 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 (14) 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 Conduet, 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
ufual 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 Thurloe. 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 im-parted 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 Reputition 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 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 themselves to receive Orders from them, or to do all Things They should require which might advance his Majesty’s Service, “these
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c.

"these Gentlemen only wished them to take Heed " They were not destroyed, and positively refused to " meet or confer with any of the Officers of the " Army: And hereupon" They said "all the King's " Party was so incensed against them, that They no " more would have Recourse to them, or make any " Conjunction with them." They informed his Ma-

jesty at large of the Animosity that was grown be-
tween two of the principal Persons, and the origi-
nal 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 Readines, 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 Referved-
ness 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 principal-
ly 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 Circum-
stances of Infolence and Barbarity, are mentioned in their proper Places.

But these unhappy and fatal Miscarriages, and the sad Spectacles which ensued, made not those Impref-
sions 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 dissua-
ded
ded the Enterprize, and who were always imprisoned upon Suspicion, how innocent forever, 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 Combinations 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 Enterprizes, 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
State to fresh Persecutions of them who had given them no Offence: And the other stirring and enraged Party, with more Fiercenesse and publick Disdaine 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 with the fame 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 advisible, 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 ma-
king 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 Conferences 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 Tergiverstation; 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
from God. Almighty was too lazy and stupid a Confi-
dence, and that God no less required their Endeavours
and Activity, than They hoped for his Benediction in
their Success. New Hopes were entertained, and Coun-
fels 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 him-
s elf 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
Difficulties) which his Majesty was contented should
be generally reputed to be greater and in more Forward-
ness, than there was Cause for. He had likewise an-
other Advantage much superior and of more Impor-
tance 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 King-
doms, and to open many Doors to the King to enter
upon
The Continuation of the Life of

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 Concurrency 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 Conjunction 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 Independent 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
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 Gloucester, 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 Enterprizes, 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
The Continuation of the Life of

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 renewed 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 others, 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.

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,

The unhappy Constitution of the King's Friends at his Return farther exemplified.
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 Class 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 Trufi; 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 Noife, 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
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 them-

Those who
had done least
the most im-
portunate.

T h o u g h it was very evident (humanly speaking)
that the late Combination entered into, and the brave
Attempt and Engagement of Sir George Booth, how
unsuccessful forever 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 Li-
berty, and had a great Influence upon the Counsels
both in the Parliament and Army: Yet I say, not-
withstanding this was notorious, a greater Animosity
had been kindled in the Royal Party, and was still
pursued and improved amongst them from that Com-
bination 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 re-
petited Offices and Services, which, being of a later
Date, might be thought to cloud and eclipse the Luzt-
re of those Actions, which had before been performed by
the
the more ancient Cavaliers, especially of those, who had been observed to be remiss on 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 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 Enterprise; " but that thereby the King's Friends were so weaken-" ed, and more compleatly undone, that They were " disabled to appear in that Conjuncture, when the " Army was divided, and in which They might other-" wise have been considerable enough to have given " the Law to all Parties."

Mr. Mordaunt, whom the King had created a Vic-" count before his Return into England, and had been most eminent in the other Contrivances, in a Time when a general Confternation had feized upon the Spi-" rits of those, who wished best to his Majesty; for when He resumed his former Resolutions, so soon af-" ter 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 bro-" ken, before Cromwell's Death, and afterwards prevail-" ed 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 Relations; 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 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
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pose 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 Negotiations; the Time itself; and the young People thereof of either Sex having been educated in all the Liberty of Vice, without Reproof 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 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 in that wicked Time, from the Beginning of the Rebellion to the King's Return; of which the Families of Hotbam, 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 Leaven, 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,
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orders, 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 Thrift, Sordidness, and affected ill Breeding of the Independants, 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 sordid 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 Remissness of applying Remedies
medies to some, and the Unwariness in giving a Kind of Countenance to others, too much of that Poison infinuated 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 wholesome 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 others, 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,
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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 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 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 whole 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 foever, 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 sat 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
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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 that his Return appeared in View, firmly resolved to reform those Excesses, which were known to be in great Offices, especially in those of his Household, 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 inferior 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 reasonable. 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

(The General)
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 Hufwifery 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 Re- compenses 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 Murmurs 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 settling this great Officer in the Stables, made it necessary to appoint a Lord Steward of the Household, 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 their old Models, and all those Excellencies, 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.

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 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 born Arms against the King, both in the Gentlenefs and Justice of his Nature, in the Sweetness and Evennefs of his Conversation, and in his real Principles for Monarchy, the moft worthy to be received into the Trust
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Trufi and Confidence, in which He was placed. With his, the two other white Staves were disposed of to those, to whom they were designed, when the King was Prince of Wales, by his Father: And all other inferior Officers were made, who were to take Care of the Expences of the House, and were a great Part of it.

And thus the King's House quickly appeared in its full Lusitre, the Eating and Drinking very grateful to all Men, and the Charge and Expence of it much exceeding the Precedents of the most luxurious Times; and all this before there was any Provision of ready Money, or any Affignation 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 Cufomts 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
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 (27) Desire of the Earl conferred that Office upon 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, the Marquis of Ormond, and 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 public Debate; and in which there could not be a more united Concurrence of Judgments and Affections.

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 E Majesty,
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 Affairs, 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 Ac- cess, and that Imbecillitas Frontis which kept him from denying, together with rescuing himself from the most troublesome Importunities by sending Men to the Chan- cellor, could not but in a short Time make him be looked upon as the Man that obstructed all their Pre- tences; 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 de- nied 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 first Matter of general and publick Impor- tance, 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 Prin- cess Royal of Orange, and of a Contract of Marriage between them: With which Nobody was so surprised and
and confounded as the Chancellor himself, who being of a Nature free from any Jealousye, 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 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 Discomfit 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
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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 Rife 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 publickly 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 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 inform 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 re- "quired the Advice of them and of him what He "was to do."

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
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 Lordships 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 propose it." And whoever knew the Man, will believe that He said all this very heartily.

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
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c. 55

jefty looking upon him with a wonderful Benignity, (29) said, "Chancellor, I knew this Business would trouble you; and therefore I appointed 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 the 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 Expressions He had often used, "that He was not capable of having any other 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 De-
testation, 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 submit and bear it with all Humility, than that it should be re-
paired by making 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 be-
seech you to pursue it, as the only Expedient that "can free you from the Evils that this Business will "otherwise bring upon you." And observing by the King's Countenance, that He was not pleased with his Advice, He continued and said, "I am the dullest "Creature alive, if, having been with your Majesty "so many Years, I do not know your Infirmities bet-
"The Continuation of the Life of

"...ter than other Men. You are of too easy and gen-
"tle 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 Presumption all Kinds of Men have
"upon your Temper is too notorious to all Men, and
"lamented by all who wish you well: And, trust me,
"an Example of the highest Severity in a Cause that so
"nearly concerns you, and that relates to the Person
"who is nearest to you, will be so reasonable, that
"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; whereupon 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 com-
mand his Daughter to keep her Chamber, and not to
admit any Visitors; whereas before She had always been
at Dinner and Supper, and had much Company re-
porting 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 re-
quired 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 discharg-
ed the Duty of a Daughter ought not to deprive
"him of the Authority of a Father; and therefore He(31)
"must humbly beg his Majesty not to interpose his
"Commands, against his doing any Thing that his
"own Dignity required: 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 be- " come him:" Nor did He take off any of the Re- straint 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 Subject was quickly the Matter of all Mens This Affair 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 scan- dalized at it. The Chancellor received the same Re- respects from all Men, which He had been accustomed to. And the Duke himself, in the House of Peers, frequently sat 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 Chan- cellor 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 in- tended. And He saw no other Remedy could be ap- plied,
plied, 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 whisper'd the Chancellor in the Ear, because there where 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 Satisfaction: 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 Indignation, 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 fate unconcerned in all the Rumours.
Rumours which were spread, "that the Queen was coming with a Purpose to complain to the Parliament against the Chancellor, and to apply the highest Remedies to prevent so great a Mischief."

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 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
"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, whom 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 would then see it sealed himself: (33) "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 Bar- "onry." 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
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 ta- "king 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 confirm- ed 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 Wo- man 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 pre- vail to the utter Overthrow of the Chancellor; the King
The continuation of the Life of

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.

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 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.

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 Ormond, the Countess of "Sunderland, and other Ladies of known Honour and "Fide—
"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 incense 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
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 Lodg-
ing," whither He was then going. The other im-
mEDIATELY 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 Parlia-
ment 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 convinc-
ing 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 pur-
"sued his Intention of appealing to the Parliament."

As soon as the Duke discontinued his Discourse,
the Chancellor told him, "that He hoped He would
"disover 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 informed. 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
"and Aspersions: She had disoblighed 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 depend, 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 Gloucester 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 Diversifications 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;
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 presumed could not but produce the Effect He wished; which He now confessed to be false, and without the least Ground; and that He was very confident of her Virtue." And therefore besought his Highness "to pardon 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, 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 suffer 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."

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
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 Confeffion, as a Thing that pleased him. They about her and who had moft inflamed and provoked her to the sharpest Refentment, appeared more calm in their Discourfes, and either kept Silence, or fpake to another Tune than They had done formerly, and wished that the Bufliness was well compos'd; all which mightily increafed the Queen's Passion. And having come to know, that the Duke had made a Vifit at the Place She moft abhorred, She brake into great Passion, and publickly declared, "that whenever that Woman " should be brought into Whitehall by one Door, her "Majefly would go out of it by another Door, and "never come into it again." And for feveral Days her Majefly would not fuffer the Duke to be in her Presence; at leaft, 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 moft Credit with her, speak to her with any Acceptation; though They were all weary of the Diftances They had kept, and difcerned well enough where the Matter muft end. And many defired to find fome Expedient, how the Work might be facilitated, by fome Application and Address from the Chancellor to the Queen: But He absolutely refufed to make the leaft Advance towards it, or to contribute to her Indignation by putting himfelf into her Majefty's Presence. He declared, "that "the Queen had great Reafon for the Passion She ex-" preffed for the Indignity that had been done to her, "and which He would never endeavour to excufe; "and that as far as his low Quality was capable of "receiving an Injury from fo great a Prince, He had "himfelf to complain of a Tranfgreffion, that exceed-"ed all Justice, divine and human,"
upon this Occasion, to prevent a Mischief She had
great Reason to deprecate. And so, upon her Arri-
val, 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 Or-
ders were sent for the Ships to attend her Embarkation
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 Interdict of a
Mother. When on a sudden, of which Nobody then
knew the Reason, her Majesty's Countenance and Dis-
course was changed; She treated the Duke with her
usual Kindness, and confessed to him, " that the Bu-
tiness that had offended her so much She perceived
was proceeded so far, that no Remedy could be ap-
plied 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 them-
selves the most disoblighingly, expected to be compre-
hended 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
Diffimulation was the Soul, did not believe that those
Changes, for which He saw no reasonable Motive,
could be real; until Abbot Mountague (who had fo
far
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 related 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 to the Queen's Inclinations to have a good Intelligence with him."

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 implore; 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
caft Himfelf, with all the Acknowledgment and Pe-
nitence He could express; and She, according to the
Command of the Duke, accepted his Submiffion, and
promifed to forget the Offence. He came likewise to
the Chancellor with those Profeflions which He could
easily make: and the other was obliged to receive him civilly. And then his Uncle, the Lord Berkley,
waited upon the Dutchefs; and afterwards visited her
Father, like a Man (which He could not avoid) who
had done very much towards the bringing fo difficult
a Matter to fo good an End, and expected Thanks
from all; having that Talent in fome Perfection,
that after He had croffed 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 Obftructions.

The Satisfadtion the King and the Duke had in
this Disposition of the Queen, was visible to all Men.
And They Both thought the Chancellor too referved in
contributing his Part towards, or in meeting, the
Queen's Favour, which He could not but difcern was
approaching towards him; and that He did not en-
tertain any Discourfes, which had been by many en-
tered upon to him upon that Subject, with that Cheer-
fulnefs and Serenity of Mind, that might juftly be ex-
pected. And of this the Duke made an Obfervation,
and a Kind of Complaint, to the King, who there-
upon came one Day to the Chancellor's Houfe; and
being alone with him, his Majefty told him many
Particulars which had pafted between him and the
Queen, and the good Humour her Majefty was in:
"That the next Day the Earl of St. Albans would visit
him, and offer him his Service in accompanying
him to the Queen, which He conjured him to re-
ceive with all Civility, and Expreffions of the Joy
He took in it; in which," He told him, "He
was observed to be too fullen, 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 natu-
ral to him."

The Chancellor answered, "that He did not know,
that He had failed in any Thing, that in good Man-
ers or Decency could be required from him: But
He confessed, that lately his Thoughts were more
perplexed, and troublesome to himself, than they
had ever been before; and therefore it was no Won-
der, if his Looks were not the same they had used
to be. That though He had been surprized to A-
amazement, upon the first Notice of that Businefs;
yet He had been shortly able to recollect himself,
and, upon the Testimony of his own Confcience,
to compose his Mind and Spirits, and without any
Reluctancy to abandon any Thought of his Daugh-
ter, and to leave her to that Mifery She had de-
served and brought upon herself. Nor did the Vi-
cissitudes which occurred after in that Tranfaftion,
or the Displeafure and Menaces of the Duke, make
any other Impreffion upon him, than to know how un-
able He was to enter into any Conteff in that Mat-
ter (which in all Refpefts was too difficult and su-
perior to his Understanding and Faculties,) and to
leave it entirely to the Direction and Dispofal of
God Almighty: And in this Acquiefcence He had
enjoyed a Repofe with much Tranquillity of Mind,
being prepared to undergo any Miffortune that
might befal him from thence. But that now He
was awakened by other Thoughts and Reflections,
which He could les range and govern. He faw
those Difficulties removed, which He had thought
insuperable; that his own Condition muft be thought
exalted above what He thought poifible; and that
He was far les able to bear the Envy that was un-
avoidable, 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,
"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 Relation, He could not but foresee; together with the Jealousies, which artificial 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 forever his Majesty's Grace and Favour was to him at present (of which He had lately given such lively Testimony,) and how resolved forever He was to continue it, his Majesty himself could not know how far some Jealousies, cunningly suggested by some Men, might by Degrees be entertained by him. And therefore that, upon all the Revolvings He had with himself, He could not think of any Thing, that could contribute equally to his Majesty's Service and his Quiet, and to the Happiness and Security 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 Retirement 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 Effect, He fell on his Knees; and with all possible Earnestness desired the King, "that He would consent to his Retirement as a Thing most necessary 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
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 Reason to be very well assured, that it could never be in any Man's Power, to lessen his Kindness towards 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 never 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 confident, 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 Compliments, 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 hopeful Condition, in which the Queen..."
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"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 Afternoon 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 Whitehall, 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 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 contriving 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
"his Daughter as her Daughter, and heartily forgave the Duke and her, and was resolved ever after to live with 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 Mistres, 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 Pleasure, turned
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 Di- gression 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 Caufe 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 Bofoh-Friends, the Mar- quis of Ormond and the Earl of Southampton, who con- stantly adhered to him with all the Integrity of true Friendship.

The Greatness and Power of the Chancellor, by this Marriage of his Daughter with all the Circum- stances 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 leaft Degree exalted by it. He knew well upon how slippery Ground He stood, and how naturally averse the Nation was from approving an ex- orbitant Power in any Subject. He saw that the King grew every Day more inclined to his Pleasures, which involved him in Expence, and Company that did not desire that He should intend his Bufinefs or be conver- sant 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 foever, 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 Expences, it was the Chan- "cellor'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 ad- ministered, as if their End was to raise a Confidence in him of the Chancellor, not to weaken it; though He knew
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 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 always 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.

And here it may be reasonable 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
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.

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 Good-
" ness, that it might be fit for him, and wished the " Marquis to propose it to him."
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c.

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 Contract, 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 Ap-
"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 Hatred. 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 Convenience 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 towards himself. And therefore, that He would never receive any Crown Lands from the King's Gift, and did not wish to have any 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 serv'd 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.
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c.

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 afterwards given to the Duke, yet there were such Estates granted for Years to many particular Persons, most whereof had never merited by any Service, that Half the Va- lue thereof never came to his Highness.

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 vacant. Upon which the Duke desired him "to no- minate 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 turned." 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 ima- gine but that such an Honour would please him." The Chancellor, after a Million of humble Acknowl- edgedgments of the Duke's Grace and the King's Con- descension, 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 ad- "vanced 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 Per- sons
fons very eminent: The Chancellor said, \textquoteleft{}no Man could \textquoteleft{}except against the King's Choice; many would justly, \textquoteleft{}if He were added to the Number.'\textquoteright{} He desired his Highness \textquoteleft{}to put the King in Mind of the Earl of \textquoteright{}Lindsey, Lord High Chamberlain of England,' (with whom He was known to have no Friendship, on the contrary, that there had been Disquiets between them in the last King's Time); \textquoteleft{}that his Father had left his Life with the \textquoteleft{}Garter\textquoteright{} 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 \textquoteleft{}Garter\textquoteright{} 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 \textquoteleft{}to receive his Favour towards him for some other Occasion, and excuse him to the King for the declining this Honour, which He could not support.' The Duke replied with an offended Countenance, \textquoteleft{}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 \textquoteleft{}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.

\textbf{AND when the Chancellor afterwards complained to his Majesty \textquoteleft{}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, \textquoteleft{}who can stand against Envy?\textquoteright{} the King said no more, than \textquoteleft{}that He did real-\textquoteleft{}ly}
ly believe when He sent his Brother, that He would "refuse it;" and added, "I tell you, Chancellor, that "You are too strict and apprehensive 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 ancienéer 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.

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 Congratulations to the King, and desired to renew all Treaties with this Crown, and the Parliament proceeded, how slowly
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Jfbever, 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 con-tinue in the Office of Chancellor, which took up most of his Time, especially all the Mornings, in Businesfs 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 himself 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 Businesfs of his Office, which was not of that Moment. That the King every Day took les 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 those Men would by Degrees have the Presumption (which yet They had not, nor would He in Truth then suffer it) to enter into his Business, and by administering to those Excesses, to which his Nature and Constitution most inclined him, would not only powerfully foment those In-clinations, but intermeddle and obstruct his most weighty Counsels. That, for the Prevention of all
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...this Mischief, and the preserving the excellent Nature and Understanding of the King from being corrupted by such lewd Instruments, who had only a lewd and insolent Wit to procure 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 betaking 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 thoroughly 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 Licence from spreading farther, which in Time it would do, to the robbing 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 acceptable 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.
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 surprized 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 Experience 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 superior 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 unlimited 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 Surprisal 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
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three Kingdoms by the dead title of his Descent and Right, which had been so notoriously baffled 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 Favourite, nor any one Man, who should out of his Ambition engross to himself the Disposal of the publick Affairs."

But this He absolutely refused. 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." 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 Pleasures, that the People generally began to take Notice of it; that there was little Care taken to regulate Expences, 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 Industry, proceeded more from his Aversion to be troubled with the Intricacies 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
any one Person: 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 Ma-
jefty'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 ex-
traordinary Pension out of the Exchequer, under no
other Title 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 Suspicion whereof He
doeth exceedingly abhor) at the Price and Charge of
the Man, who had been raised by him to that in-
convenient 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
Eafe to receive an Account of his Business from him,
than to be present at the whole Debate of it; and
He well knew, the Chancellor had too much Business
to desire Audiences from his Majesty without neces-
Jhe Continuation of the Life of

fary 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 Sea-
sions; 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
acceptable, and by Degrees make him appear grie-
vous 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 mar-
rried, He made no Doubt, He would decline many
of those Delights to which He was yet expos'd, and
which expos'd him too much; and till that Time
He could not think that his best Servants could en-
joy any pleasant Lives. That He presumed the
Parliament would, after They had rais'd 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 incredible
and insupportable Charge) "settle such a Revenue
upon the Crown, as the King might conform his
Expence 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 Pleasure 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
pro-
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 acceptable at all Hours, He would obstruct the Operation of that ill Company, which neither knew "how to behave themselves, nor could reasonably "propose so much Benefit to themselves, as by the "Propagation of their Follies and Villanies, and by "Degrees induce his Majesty more proportionably 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 con-
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 Tranquility 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.

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 Common-wealth 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
ceed by martial 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 Expence, 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 Subje&ion. 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 Dependence 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 Dependence was the more
more upon him, because He still commanded those
Garrifions 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 assured 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 distin-
guished.

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 Douglas,
who had been known to the King in France, where He
had been bred a Roman Catholick, which was the Re-
ligion 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 inherit-
ed the Title of Dutchess, with the fair Seat of Hamil-
ton, and all the Lands which belonged to her Father. (51)
And her Husband now, according to the Cus tom of
Scotland, assumed the same Title with her, and ap-
ppeared in the Head of the Commissioners under the
Style of Duke Hamilton, with the Merit of having
never
never dissembled his loyalty to the King, and with the advantage of whatever claims he had by the death of his father, which deserved to wipe out the memory of whatever was 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 conduct 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 favored 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.

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 "many sharp Expressions formerly used by the Chancellor, which He confessed 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 Rebels," 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 Jefts. In Sum, all his Discourses were such as pleased
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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 Desire 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 to 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 inferior Offices upon Men most notable for their Affection to the old Government of Church and State.

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 reside near his Person, the Chancellor and Treasurer of England, the General, 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 Lauterdale had with the King, who They knew...
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 Madmesses 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 Lauderdale, 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.

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.

He was a Man like Drances in Virgil.

Largus
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 In dignities (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 despair 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 Addressses, 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
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patched 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 forever the Earl of Lauderdale 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.

The Lords of the English Council, who were appointed to fit 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, according to the ancient Institution.” And with him Glencarne, Rothes, and all the rest (Lauderdale 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 Bishops; and that there would be enough found

The Earl of...
Continuation of the Life of

"of the Scots Clergy, very worthy and very willing to "upply those Charges."

Laughterdale, with a Passion superior to the rest, inveighed against the Covenant, called "it a wick-
ed, traiterous Combination of Rebels against their "lawful Sovereign, and expressly against the Laws of "their own Country; protested his own hearty Re-
pentance for the Part He had acted in the Promo-
tion thereof, and that He was confident that God, "who was Witness of his Repentance, 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 Go-
vernment was again established 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 ne-
cessary to be warm (for at other Times He could be as calm as any Man, though not so naturally) He de-
"ired "that the Commissioner might have no Instruc-
tion for the present to make any Approach towards "either; on the contrary, that He might be restrain-
ed from it by his Majesty's special Direction: For "though his own Prudence, upon the Observation He "should 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 Understanding, 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 Pur-
"suance of what had been first mentioned, the vindicating
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eating their Country from all Things which related
to the Murder of the late King, which would com-
prehend the Delivery up of his Person, the ascerting
the King's Royal Power, by which all future At-
ttempts towards Rebellion would be prevented, and
the Trial of the Marquis of Argyle; all which would
take up more Time than Parliaments in that King-
dom, till the late ill Times, had used to continue
together. That after the Expiration of the first
Session, in which a good Judgment might be made
of the Temper of that Kingdom, and the Commis-
"sioner'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 desired, 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 Cove-
"nant, that They would with equal Patience hear of
"the Rejection of the four Evangelists, who yet, by
"Conversation and other Information and Applica-
"tion, might in Time be wrought upon." He fre-
quently appealed to the King's own Memory, and Ob-
servation when He was in that Kingdom, "how su-
"perstitious They, who were most devoted to do him

H 4 "Ser-
"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 Season 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 Ministers confidently urged at present as an Argument (56) for his Indulgence towards them. And," He said, "though He well knew, that his Majesty 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 People 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 somewhat against his Majesty's Dignity, suddenly and with Precipitation to begin and attempt such an Alteration in Scotland, against a Government that had more Antiquity there, and was more
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c. 105

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 King-
dom; which He presumed He would shortly do,
and which would be the best Introduction to the
same in Scotland, where all the King's Actions and
Determinations would be looked upon with the high-
est Veneration."

He concluded, "that if the other more vigorous
Course should be resolved 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 dis-
cern that They must be deprived of that, They
would rather desire to preserve Both. And there-
fore," He said, "his Advice still was, that He
should be first out of the Way, who was looked
upon as the Upholder 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 ridicu-
lous Instances of the Use made of the Covenant, with Reference to the Power of the Preachers in the do-

cestic Affairs of other Men, and the like, (which
though it made it the more odious, was still an Argu-
ment of the Reverence that was generally paid to it,
all which Instances were well remembered by the King,
who commonly added others of the same Standard from
his own Memory) made his Majesty in Suspend, or
rather inclined that Nothing should be attempted that
concerned the Kirk till the next Session of Parliament,
when Lauderdale himself confessed it might be securely
effectuated.
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 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 Launderdale, 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 up-" on 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 Safe-"ty." 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 Par-"liament most inclined to do that now, which every "Body confessed necessary to be done at some Time. "He
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c.

"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 Covenant 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 Conjunction, 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.

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 Connaught; Both equally depending upon the Lieutenant: And They more depended upon him and courted his Protection, by
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 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 Restoration, 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
the Presbyterian Humour, until the General was declared Lieutenant of Ireland, who then sent Commissioners 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.

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 Performance 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 ordering 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
make their Friends, most of them had many Pretences of Merit, and many Expedients by which the King might 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. 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
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 Government 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 Schifms and wild Fac- "tions 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 Crofs, 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 He was of a generous and a jovial Nature, and complied in all Designs which might advance the King's Interest or Service.
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 disturbed, 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, and 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."

And this Proposition being embraced, an Act was prepared to that Purpose; in which it was provided, "that the forfeited Lands in Leinster, Munster, Connaught, "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
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 informed, 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 advanced by them. The King was to be restrained from making any Peace with the Irish Rebels, or Cession, or from granting Pardon to any of them; but such Peace, Cession, 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
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, nor 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 Catholics, and whoever 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 assign'd 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 assign'd 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 foever, 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 assign'd 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 assign'd to him, They had found a Way to have the Consent of many to their own
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 Connaught, 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
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 Assignment 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 Concaught 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 Delinquences 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 Tipperary) Cromwell had reserved to himself, as a Desmesne (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 assign-
ed to them as Adventurers. Ireland was the great Ca-
pital, 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 rais'd for
Beauty as well as Use, orderly and regular Plantations
of Trees, and Fences and Enclosures rais'd through-
out the Kingdom, Purchases made by one from the
other at very valuable Rates, and Jointures made up-
on Marriages, and all other Conveyances and Settle-
ments executed, as in a Kingdom at Peace within its-
self, and where no Doubt could be made of the Va-
lidity 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 com-
plain " 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 assign'd to him as tenanta-
" ble, 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 restor'd to the true Owner.

And this Agitation rais'd another Party of Advent-
turers, 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 subscrib'd several good
Sums
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, left 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 Claffis 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. 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 Independants, Anabaptists, and Levelers, 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 Satisfaction 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. The Satisfaction that the Officers and Soldiers had received in Land, and the Demand of the present Army, had caused another Committe 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 Infolence 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 Assassina-
tion; 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 reform’d 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 Committee 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; alledging “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,
urged, "the Peace They had made with the Mar-
quis 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
unskillfully, pressed "that the Benefit of all those Ar-
ticles 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 Ser-
vice 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 lifted 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 Mas-
facres and Servitude They had undergone, such De-
struction 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
defoliated, and their Sufferings of all Kinds had been
to such an Extent, that They hoped had satiated
their moft 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 Laugh-
ter, 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 imme-
diate Act." Amongst these, with the same Con-
fidence, They who had been transplanted into Con-
aught appeared, related the Circumstances of the Per-
secution They had undergone, and "how impossi-
ble 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 Opportunity to repair their Condition according to their several Degrees and Merit.

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,
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 infist 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
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 Lift 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
been General of that Army, and received for the Ar-
rears 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 Annun, which He
thought He could best preserve in the supreme Go-
vernment; 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. What-
soever his Reason was, as Profit was the highest Rea-
son always with him, whoever was to be Deputy muft
be subordinate to him, which no Man of the greatest
Quality would be, though He was to have his Com-
mission 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 un-
dertake it; and many who were willing to undertake
it, but were not fit.

Upon the View of those of all Sorts, the King
moft inclined to the Lord Roberts, who was a Man of
more than ordinary Parts, well versed in the Know-
ledge of the Laws, and esteemed of Integrity not to
be corrupted by Money. But then He was a fullen
morose Man, intolerably proud, and had some Hu-
mours 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 af-
ter the Defeat of the Earl of Essex his Army in Cornwall,
which was imputed to his Positiveness and Undertak-
ing 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 moft with those who were known
to wish well to the King, and who gave him a great
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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 superior 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 reasonable 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 bore to use those Exercises and Recreations, which He used to do all the Week besides." 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 Deputy 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
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priority 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 better able to advise his Majesty upon the whole Matter, and to prescribe, for the entering upon it by Parts, such a Method, that his Majesty might with less Perplexity give his own Determination 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.

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 fouleste Offenders, had done him some Courtefy 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
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by any infamous Guilt, and who had disoblige\d 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 fate 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.

The Parliament published a Proclamation, "that all who did not render themselves by a Day named, should be judged as guilty, and attainted 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
was the same Thing, since the Guilt of all was equally notorious 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 Clasfs 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 Houfe 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 nor 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 dispassionated 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 Purpose ever to consent to the "Act of Indemnity," which was looked upon as 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 inferted, 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 Houfe to him, to dispose them to fall upon many Persons, who were Men of another Claffis to those He desired might be excepted (and of which Prospect there could be no End, every Man having Caufe 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.

And this was the Reason that the King used his Authority, and They who were trusted by him their Credit and Interet, for the suppressing those Animo-
fities, 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 disbanning the
Army and Payment of the Navy, as fast as Money
came in, for which several Acts of Parliament were for-
merly passed. And by the former Delays, the intole-
rable 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.

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 unravelled 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 o-
ther Acts) the Parliament was willing to adjourn for
some Time; that their Members, who were appointed
to attend the disbanning 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 even in
the Middle of the disbanning, there happened a very
strange Accident, that was Evidence enough of the
Temper or Dis temperament of the Time.

The Trial of those infamous Persons who were in
Prison for the Murder of the King (and who were ap-
pointed 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 exe-
cuted with some of the same Crew, who being in Hol-
lant and Flanders were, by the Permission and Conniv-
ance
rance 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 affaminating the General, "who," They said, "had betrayed them, and " was the only Perfon who kept the Army together."

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 Exclamations, "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
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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 Number to be very " great, and that They killed all who opposed them." (73)

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 others 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 Philistians, 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.
felves 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.

There is no Occasion for 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,
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liament, 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 superior 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
"They had offered him no Advice towards the com-
posing the Diffentions in Religion, and therefore he
would try in that short Adjournment of the Par-
liament, what He could do towards it himself.

And thereupon he was himself present many Days,
and for many Hours each Day, at a Conference be-
tween many of the London Ministers, who were the
Heads of the Presbyterian Party, with an equal Num-
ber 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 Chan-
cellor'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 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 discon-
" tinuing 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 De-
claration was published in his Majesty's Name before
the Return of the Parliament.
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 Resolution 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 Degrees accustom "the People to it: Which" they said "would have a "better Effect, than if the Clause were in the Decla- "ration; for They should be thought in their Per- "suasions to comply only with the King's Recom- "mendation, and to merit from his Majesty, and not "to be moved from the Conscience of the Duty; and "to
"so they should take that Occasion to manifest 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 Minifters had desired; which They again enlarged upon with the fame 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 ob-
serving that the People were generally satisfied with it, They sent their Emiffaries abroad: And many of their Letters were intercepted, and particulary a Let-
ter from Mr. Calamy to a leading Minifter in Somerfet-
shire, whereby He advised and entreated him, "that "He and his Friends would continue and perfift in "the Use of The Directory, and by no Means admit "The Common Prayer in their Churches; for that He "made no Queftion but that They should prevail "farther with the King, than he had yet confented "to in his Declaration."

The other Instance was, that as soon as the De-
claration was printed, the King received a Petition in the Name of the Minifters of London and many others of the fame Opinion with them, who had subfcribed 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 vouchfaed to fhew in his De-
claration, which They received as an Earneft of his "future Goodnefs and Condefcenfion in granting all "those other Concessions, which were abfolutely ne-
cessary for the Liberty of their Conience;" and desired with much Importunity and ill Manners, "that the wearing the Surplice, and the using the "Crofs
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 Class of Men to conform to Government.

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 Ingenuity, 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
We come to that Time, some particular Occurences of Moment must be first inserted.

When the King arrived in England, Monfieur 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 Successor, 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 Ma-
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c. 145

"jefty's Honour to receive him as Ambassador, 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 Ambassador, 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 Soifsons, the most illustrious Person in France, very nobly accompanied and bravely attended, as his Ambassador, to congratulate his Majesty's happy Restoration, with all the Compliments of Friendship and Esteem that can be imagined.

There was another Ambassador 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 Ambassador of Portugal, who had been sent by that Crown to finish a Treaty that had been begun by another Ambassador with
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 sub-
mit 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 Ma-
jefty's Fleet in Lisbon, and so preserving them from a
Fleet much superior in Number and Goodness of the
Ships, that pursued him by Commission from Crom-
well: 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 Per-
secution, 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.

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 forever 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 Rea-
on to be ashamed of it) and that He did nothing be-
fore, in, or after that Treaty, but what was necessary
for a Man in his Condition, and what very well be-
came 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 Recon-
ciliation upon that Affair, the Chancellor was very
folicitous 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.

One Day the King came to the Chancellor's House
in the Afternoon; and being alone with him, his Ma-
jefty 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 Ambassador 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 Majesty to think of Mar-
"riage; which Nothing could keep him from, but the 
"Difficulty of finding a fit Confort 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 affec-
"ting 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 her-
"self in what others professed. That He had Authority to 
"make the Proposition to the King, with such Particular-
"ties as included many Advantages above any, He thought,
"which could accompany any Overture of that Kind from 
"another Prince. To which the Chamberlain had add-
"ed, that there could be no Question, but that a Pro-
"testant 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 Prin-
"cess 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 in-
"duced Cromwell to make that Peace, when He had 
"upon the Matter forsown 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 Ambassa-
dour of Portugal had been with him, and without any
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 Portion 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 Brazil 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 Majesty'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 Bombay, 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 Ambassador 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 Ambassador 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 to that End." And observing the Chancellor
celior to look fixedly upon him, He said, "that he (so) 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 resolved never to entertain that Thought again. And that he saw no Objection 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 No thing 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 Inconvenience in it, when He should dissuade him not to embrace such an Opportunity. That He would be ready to confer with the Portugal Ambassadour 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 concerning 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 presuming 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
"one Man, how agreeable soever it should be to his " own Inclination and Judgment." 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 con- " sult it very maturely with them, before he enter- " tained 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 wor- " thy of Entertainment and Acceptation, it would " still require the same Secrecy; till the Value and " Consequence of all the Particulars proposed by the " Ambassadour might be fully examined and weighed, " and a more particular and substantial Assurance " given for the Accomplishment, than the bare Word " of the Ambassadour."

The King appointed that the Lord Treasurer, the " Marquis of Ormond, the Lord Chamberlain, and Se- " cretary Nicholas, should be together at the Chancellor's " House, where his Majesty would likewise be and pro- " pose 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 de- " liver their Opinions, and to consider whether there " was any other Prince 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 Importance, 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
The Continuation of the Life of

"could not ride there in such a Wind," which his Maj-
"tefy 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 Mediterranean." With which Discourse his Majesty seemed very much affected. After many Quest-
tions 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 eldest 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 un-
"answerable 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 Ad-
"vantage 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 Mar-
"riage. And the Places seemed to be situated very
"usefully for Trade, the Increase whereof his Ma-
"jesty was to endeavour with all possible Solicitude,
"which could only make this Nation flourish, and re-
"cover the Interest They had loft, especially in the
"Indies and in the Mediterranean, by the late Troubles
"and Disfractions, 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 Am-
"bassador; 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
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 as-"signed to the Merchants to satisfy the Damages they had sustained by Prince Rupert; and the Release where-"of 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 Word of Disobligations, his Resident at Madrid Sir Harry Bennett, 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 ob-"served; 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 Hu-"mours in his three Kingdoms and all his other Domi-

ions; 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 Re-

solution very prudently made; and if it had been ad-
nered 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 Ambassador 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 would 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 "and do as much Damage as He could to Spain; and "then that He would apply such Assistance to Portugal, "as should be most advantageous 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
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 Barcelona 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 unquestionable 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 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 promised 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 assinged two Ships to attend the Ambassadour, who immediately, and with some Appearance or Pre-
tence 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
the Chancellor had never mentioned any particular Advice of his own to the King, more than his Concourse 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 Ambassador upon it, than any of the Lords had done, and of some Particulars which They were never acquainted with.

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 Catholic, 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.*

The Noise and Scandal of this Defection and Apostasy in a sworn Counsellor of the King and one of
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 surprized 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
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 forfaken, 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
den 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 Lignes with a very splendid Ambassadage to congratulate with his Majesty, about the Time that the Count of Soiffons 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 surprized him, was wary and cunning in his Negotiation. He lived with less Refervation and more Jollity than the Ministers of that Crown used to do; and drew such of the Court to his Table 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 Majesty was entertained in that King's Dominions with all Courtefy 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
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 Conjunction. 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 Ambassador finding, He made himself a Domestic, 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 Inconveniences 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 Ambassador, 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 Subject with a Liberty not ingrateful, to have it believed that He was
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 therefore He was surprized 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 for "taken 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 "fure of a great Party in Portugal itself, that was "weary of that Government: So that that miserable "Family had no Hope, but by transporting themelves and their poor Party in their Ships to Brazil, "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 Inconvenience 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 Counsell "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,
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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 ex-
ceedingly disliked, the more because it was generally "known, that that Princess could not have any Chil-
dren." The King himself had informed the Chancel-
ero 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 him-
selv to have been moved with any Thing that the Am-
lassadour or the Earl had said to him: So that when
They Both came afterwards to him, not together but
evcrally, 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.

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 Argu-
ments He had naturally a very luxurious Style, un-
limited 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 with "that the Ambassa-
dour had not gone, and that He would quickly re-
turn without Commission to give his Majesty Satis-
faction." 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 conceiv-
ing that the Ambassador'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 Ambassador 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 Jealousies in
"France, with whom He desired so to live, that He
"might
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"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 like-wise 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 Secret, 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 Ambassador," but denied that...
Continuation of the Life of

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 Persuation, 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 Arguments 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 surprized 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 advertised of any new Occurrences." And his Majesty did write the same Night to him "to return, because it was necessary to have some more Conference 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
upon the Borders or Confinns of Italy; in which He had not the good Fortune to be believed.

The Ambassador 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 Ambassador exceeding exalted with the Pride of having put an insolent Affront upon the Ambassador 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 Ambassador 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 Mar- "riage 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 Mar-
" riage." Upon which the Ambassadour seemed to think He had gone too far; and the next Day desired another Audience, wherein He said, "He had re-
" ceived 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 Daugh-
ter 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 multiplying these and many other Extrava-
gancies made the King reflect upon all the Ambassa-
dour'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 unhandsome." And by Degrees con-
sidering the many Things allledged by the Ambassa-
dour, 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 Free-
dom, and received both the Letters and Information He brought with him, and declared "that He was " fully satisfied in all the Particulars."
Nor did the Carriage of the Spanish Ambassadors 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 forthwith 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 Ambassadors received this Message with exceeding Trouble and Grief, even to Tears, and desired, "to be admitted to see the King, and to make his humble 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.

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 Ambassador, 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 ad- " mitted 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
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the Treaty with Portugal; and that it would be a very generous Thing in his Majesty to undertake into the Protection 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 Kingdom, who is a Lady of great Beauty and admirable Endowments; but that his Mother and his then Minifter, 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 defer Portugal for the present; and was obliged to send no Kind of Assistance thither, nor to receive any Ambassador 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 Opportunity 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 Expences, 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."

(2.) A second Part was, "That there were now in France Ambassadors 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
"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 fen-"sible 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 com-"municate 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 with-"out communicating it to the other: So that Both "Treaties might be concluded together."

(3.) "That those Particulars, and whatsoever passed "between M. Fouquet 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 de-"fired, 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 a wise Man, that He would not invite or "enter into such a Correspondence, without the Pri-
"vity and Approbation of his Master: And He pre-
"fumed that He had likewise so good an Opinion 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 (92) "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 af-
signed to the Chancellor's House. And when He heard the Gentleman was come, his Majesty vouchsafed him-
self to go into that Backroom; and (the Chancellor telling
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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 No-
"thing 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 extinguishted. 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 Ambassadors before
the King left the Hague, did not send them in near
fix 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 Chancellor's Hand; because M. Fouquet de-
"sired for Preservation of the Secret, that the Chan-
cellor would always write with his own Hand in
"English, directed in such a Manner as He should
"propose;
"propose; which would always bring the Letters safe to the Hands of him, La Bafteede, who was appointed by the King to keep that Cipher, and to maintain that Correspondence."

There was another Circumstance that attended this private Negotiation, that may not be unfitly inserted here, and is a sufficient Manifesteration 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 Bafteede came again, and desired an Audience with the Chancellor. He said "He had somewhat 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 Importance 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 much Honour, and in great Trust with his Master; yet He did suppose He might be some Time without those Furnitures of Household Stuff and Plate, which the Grandeur of his Office and Place required. And therefore 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
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"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 Gentleman 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 for ever, 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
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against his Master; or that it was with his Majesty's
Approval, 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 Enem-

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 Correspond-
ence, which" He said "might be useful to him,
"and could produce no Inconveniency." And so,
when La Bajeide (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 Ma-
"jesty'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 Let-
ters which had passed, and the Cipher, to the Chan-
cellor; and writ to him, "from that Time to com-
municate with all Freedom with his Ambaffador,"
which He was before restrained from.

After the King: had himself conferred at large
with the Portugal Ambaffador, He referred him again
to give the Lords, with whom he had formerly treated
an Account how all Particulars were adjusted in Por-
tugal; 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 Monfaeries. 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

The Measures
in Portugal
relative to the
Treaty of
Marriage.
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Edward Earl of Clarendon, (who had lived there long, and was humourous) on 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 Queens, 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 an 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 repose 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 chuse 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
receive an Ambassadour or other Minister from him: So that They now foresaw, that if They should in what Manner forever 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.

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 Objections 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 Propositions, which were of great Advantage"
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vantage 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."

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 Principles; and that They would pull up those Principles by the Roots. But," his Majesty said, "He should never think him a wife Man,
"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 with 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 suf-pect any Attempts of that Kind by any Men of Merit and Virtue."

And this Warmth of his Majesty upon this Subject was not then more than needed: For the Armies being now disbanded, there were great Combinations 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
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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.

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 Forethought 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 Resolution 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
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 concluded with the Ambassador of Portugal, who was departing (97) ing 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 Ambassador to Portugal, and appointed to receive the Queen, and to conduct her into England.

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
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.

The old Bishops who remained alive, and such Deans and Chapters as were numerous enough for the Corporation, who had been long kept falling, had now Appetites proportionable. Most of them were very poor, and had undergone great Extremities; some
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 Leaves 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 Leaves 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 Leaf, 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...
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 should be continued Tenants to the Church, without any Regard to those who had fold 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.

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.
pected 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 sroward again, and all Degrees of Men were hard to be pleased; especially when They saw one Class 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 Lustrae 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
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c. received to be due to their Persons, or the Offices of which They were possesfed, in the Ceremony of the Coronation; which were allowed or rejected as their Right appeared.

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 Expence, 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, 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
on either Side at Tables provided for them: And all other Ceremonies were performed with great Order and Magnificence.

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 was always a great Man, and was now the Duke of Albermarle, 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 surprized 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 sat 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 Offory, 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 Ormond had no Place in the Ceremony of that Day, as Duke, but only as Earl of Brecknock, and so the eldest Sons of all ancient 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 Offory by the Lord Chamberlain, "that He should desist from his Pretence." This, and the public 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 Superiors; 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,
The Continuation of the Life of

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 cenfured 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 Westminister; 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 public 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 compos'd the Minds of the People, it would not be prudent to renew the Memory of that Parricide, by the Spectacle of a solemn Funeral; left it might cause such Comotions of the Vulgar in all Places, as might pro-
duce 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 tyrannized 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 Expence would be so vast, that there would be neither Money found nor Credit for the Charge thereof.

These were the Reasons alledged 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 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
The Continuation of the Life of

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 Earl 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
King gave over all farther Thought of Enquiry: And those other Reasons were cast abroad upon any occasional Enquiry or Discourse of that Subject.

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.

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 pedantic 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 Antiquity, 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...
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.

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 thither, 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 Person in his View but himself for that Service, if He were disposed to undertake it vigorously; but that the King had forborne 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 Author-
ity 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
Consequence whereof would be imputed to his Ma-
jefty's Want of Care and Providence. That his
Majesty had yet forborne to think of that Expedi-
ent, till He might do it with his Consent and Ad-
vice, 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 impossible 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 tot-
tering Condition of Ireland." The Lord's dark
Countenance presently cleared up, having no Doubt
expected to be deprived of his Title to Ireland, with-
out 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 Treas-
urer, 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;
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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.

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.

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

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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 Class, 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 forever 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.

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.

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
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 Refort 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 controlling 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 feasible.

The Plea 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 Transportaion of vast Multitudes of Men into "the Parts beyond the Seas, whereof many had the "Honour
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"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 Judg-
"ments having raged over the Kingdom for two or
"three Years; and at last, as a Persecution unheard
"of, the transplanting the small Remainder of the
"Nation into one Corner of the Province of Connaught,

(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 indemnified for all Acts done by
"them in the Rebellion; and insisted upon their In-
"nocence 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
"Service 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 be-
came them in that Conjuncture, "the Unworthiness
"and Incapacity of those, who for so many Years
"had possessed themselves of their Estates, and fought
"now
now a Confirmation of their rebellious Title from his Majesty.

(3.) "That their Rebellion had been more in famious and of a greater Magnitude than that of the Irish, who had risen in Arms to free themselves 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 withdrawing themselves from his Majesty's Obedience, or declining his Government:

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 Defolation, which had involved the
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c.

three Nations for so many Years. And therefore
that They hoped, that when all his Majesty's other
Subjects (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 Lamentation,
and be sacrificed without Redemption to the Avar-
crice 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 Infolence imaginable,
to destroy the King himself and his Posterity, and
who now returned to their Obedience, and sub-
mitt'd 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 insifted obstinately upon Demands
unreasonable, and which They hoped could not con-
sift with his Majesty's Honour to grant: And so
concluded with those pathetical Applications and Ap-
peals 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 cer-
tainly 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 Rebel-
lion, the murdering of above a hundred thousand
Persons in cold Blood, and with all the Barbarity
imaginable;
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imaginable; which Murders and Barbarities had been always excepted from Pardon. And they told them, "that if there were not some amongst them - <Continuation>

f elves 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 possess'd, many of whom had constantly served the King; yet They would be contented, that all those, who in Truth had preserv'd 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."

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 surpris
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 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 thereupon 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 Confererate 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
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"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 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 their 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 together; and upon the Matter forbade 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 them-"
felves; They who were trusted with the keeping of
towns and forts, either gave them up by treachery
to cromwell, or left them through cowardice to
him upon very feeble attacks: and their general,
Owen O Neile, made a formal contract and stipu-
lation with the parliament. 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
voucheded to petition him that he would depart
out of the kingdom (to the necessity whereof They
had already compelled him); and that he would
leave his majesty's authority in the hands of one
of his catholic 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 de-
gree 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 catholic, They would have
been able to preserve those towns which still re-
mained 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 command: hereupon
the marquis resolved to gratify them, and to place
the command in the hands of such a person,
whose zeal for the catholic religion was unques-
tionable, and whose fidelity to the king was un-
blemished;
blemished. And so He made Choice of the Marquis of Clanrickard, 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 Satisfaction and Joy in this Election; acknowledged it as a great Obligation upon them and their Posterity to the Lord Lieutenant, for making so worthy 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 Government 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 Lieutenant
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c.

"Lieutenant embarked himself, with some few Friends and Servants, upon a little 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 Pafs, 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 himself 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 contradicted all his Commands and Desires, and violated all their own Promises, 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 themselves: 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 Clergy-men, the Privilege of the Church was insisted upon, and so They were rescued from the secular Prosecution till their Escape was contrived. That peridious 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 neglect-
ed: 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 Eng-lish
exercised upon them, who, by the wonderful Judg-
ment of God Almighty, always put those Men to
Death, who put themselves and those Towns into
their Hands; finding still that They had some bar-
barous 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 Galway, that they deserve
to be collected and mentioned in a Discourse by
itself, to observe and magnify the wonderful Pro-
vidence 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 Perpetration 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 ma-
ilicioufly 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 Tran-
gressors did by some Act of Treachery endeav-
our to merit from the English Rebels, and so put
themselves into their Hands, and were by them
publicly and reproachfully executed and put to
Death."

"This
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"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 Ambassador, 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 Diseases, 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 England, where his Wife and Family were; and where He died before He could procure Means to carry himself to the King, which He always intended 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 appeared, 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, render..."
"dered 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.

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.

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
cumstances of Tyranny and Cruelty, that their own
Consents obtained afterwards with that Force, could
not reasonably be thought any Confirmation of
their unjust Title, who were in Possession of their
Lands."

To this it was answered, "that though it was acted
in an irregular Manner, and without lawful Author-
ity, it being in a Time of Usurpation; yet that
the Act itself was very prudent and necessary, and
an Act of Mercy, without which an utter Extir-
pation of the Nation must have followed, if the
Kingdom were to be preserved in Peace. That it
cannot be denied to be an Act of Mercy, since
there was not one Man transplanted, 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 fame. 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 ap-
peared no other Way to prevent an utter Extirpa-
tion of them, but to confine and restrain them with-
in such Limits and Bounds, that might keep them
P 3"
"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 assign'd to them,
"which They might plead in any Court of Justice,
"to require from them Releaves of what They had"
"forfeited; which, though to the Publick of no Use
"or Validity, were of Benefit and behooveful to
"many particular Persons, for the quieting their Poss-
"sessions against frivolous Suits and Claims which
"might start up. That this Transplantation had
"been acted, finished, and submitted to by all Par-
ties, who had enjoyed the Benefit thereof, quiet-
ly 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 Parlia-
"ment, and had laid out so much Money in building
"and planting; that the Consequence of such an Al-
teration, 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 reasonable to have reviewed
all that had been done, and taken those Advantages
upon former Miscarriages and Misapplications, as ac-
cording 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 In-
fluence and Impression upon the Peace and Quiet of
England.
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(4) England itself. For the Memory of the Beginning of the Rebellion in Ireland (how many other Rebellions foever 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.

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 Settlements at Law should be destroyed, whether upon Consideration of Marriage, 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 Statute 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 compre-
" hended 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 infallibly find " against the English, let the Evidence be what it " could be; and there was too much Reason to ap- " prehend that the English, whose Animosity was not " less, would be as unjust in bringing in their Ver- " dict 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 fo- " ever, 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 third Particular, and which much affected the King, was; " that in this universal Joy for his " Restoratiun without Blood, and with the Indemnity " 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 Restoratiun, but (115) " remain robbed and spoile of all They had, and be " as it were again sacrificial to the Avarice and Cruelty " of
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 Transgressions 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."

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 Conjunction in his Majesty's Restitution.

And
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 by Time: And so He passed that which is called The first Act of (116) 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.

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
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 Majest 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 Expence (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.

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 transmitt 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..."
"Administration 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 Serjeant 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.

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
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.

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 Adventurers, and that there would be a very great Proportion left for the Accommodation 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.

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
rity to act. And They who took the most dispassionated 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 Commission 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.

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." Up-
on 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 re-
solved, and there remained Nothing to be done "but preparing the Instructions, which He must "think upon."

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 Eng-
"land, that He would never be able to take the "Pains, which that most laborious Province 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(119) "Reputation, and of unquestionable Interest in his "Majesty, and the King himself was more feared and "reverenced than presumed 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 Sub-
mision and Acknowledgment. But now the Duke, "besides his withdrawing himself from all Business "as much as He could, had let himself fall to Fa-
miliarities 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 ex-" posed
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"poised to all Manner of Importunities, received all "Mens Addresses, and heard all They would say, "made many Promises without Deliberation, and ap- "peared 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 remove him; the Lieutenant of Ireland would "be able to do him little Service, and would be him- "self continually exposed to Scorn and Affronts."

And afterwards the Chancellor expostulated warm- ly 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 con- "fident, 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 ab- "sent, 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 impossible to grant, and a "Desire to please every Body, which whosoever affect- "ed 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
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 completed, that He might have Ease and Recreation for the other Part of his Life.” And He confessed, “that He did the more willingly enter upon that Province, that He might have the Opportunity to settle his own Fortune, which how great soever in Extent of Lands did not yet, by Reason of the general Unfettlement, 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 Providence 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 (with the seven Commissioners who were appointed for that Act of Settlement, and all other Persons who attended that Interest) entered upon his Journey.
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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 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 set, 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.

But after They had adjuted 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
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 their 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.

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 Execution of their Com-"mission, until They could receive his Majesty's far-"ther 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 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 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.

Q.4

And
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 Connaught 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.

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 Fomentors 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
And that many others, 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.

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.

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
demned 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 in 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 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
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 Catholicick, 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 fate 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
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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 design-ed 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 Evi-

dence," They without any Pause declared him no-
cent, 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 over-favouring 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, 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.
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 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
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"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 Execu-
tion thereof: Which was all the Providence They
could use. And though They met with many Rea-
sions oftentimes to doubt the Integrity of the Pro-
ceedings, and in their own private Consciences to
apprehend there might be great Corruption; yet
that They were obliged judicially to determine ac-
cording to the Testimony of the Witnesses, and the
Evidence of those Deeds in Law against which no
Proofs were made. That They had constantly
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 re-
jected many Witnesses, and disallowed some Con-
veyances: 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 Per-
jury, 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 frighten "dead too much in Time: And that in-
deed 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 believed necessary for the Work in Hand.
And therefore the Commissioners having before pre-
scribed a Method and Rule to themselves for their
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Proceedings, 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 Title; 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 appeared very clearly: But as They had no Power by the Act of Parliament to punish either Forgery or Perjury, but must leave the Examination 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 Understandings; and if through the Defect of that They had erred 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 Their Defence not perfectly satisfactory.
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 amidst, 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 surprized, 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 Adver-
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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.

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.

Whilst his Majesty was in foreign Parts, He received frequent Advertisements from England and from Ireland, "that the Marquis of Antrim behaved "himself very undutifully towards him; and that "He had made himself 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 employed 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 Author-
ity, 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 Ma-
jefty 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

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the first Opportunity He was sent Prisoner to Dublin, where He was committed to the Castle; the King having given his 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 deserved 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 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 Licence 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 remark-
able. 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 Montrose 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 together 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 Antrim" (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 Montrose would be enabled the more powerfully to proceed in his Undertaking." 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 Mar-
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 with 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 O'Neile 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 stayed 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
venture 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 into 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 "reassumehis Majesty's Government in that King- "dom;" 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 Under- "standing 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 Majesty's "Grace and Favour, He did hope his Majesty would "redeem him from that Misery, and that the For- "feiture 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 such 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 suf- fered, raised great Compassion towards him in the Royal Breast of his Majesty. And He though 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
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 Particulars 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, left 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
towards him by his Majesty, than He might in Truth very reasonably pretend to, what Noise forever was raised, and what Glosses forever 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 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
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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 ths 3) Arts of 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

This done without the Chancellor's Knowledge.
Grants were prepared there, and passed under the Great Seal of Ireland.

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 reprimed 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.

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
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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 Measure be 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.

In Conclusion, They brought a Proposition to the King, raised and digested between themselves, "that " all
The different Parties at last agree upon an Expedition for a Settlement.

Hereupon the King passes the 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 Expedition might have been sooner found, and so prevented many of those Disorders and Inconveniences which intervened. But They who knew that Time, and the Perverse-ness and Obstinacy that possesed 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 resort 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
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 Overtures 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 publicly and privately, “that He would neither have Lands in Ireland 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 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.

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
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 Anglesey's and the Lord "Massarens" (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 surprized, than the Chancellor was at the Re- ceipt 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 Enquiry, what the Meaning of it was."

Before He had an Answer from the Lord Lieu- tenant, or indeed before his Letter could come to the Lord Lieutenant's Hands, He received a second Let- ter 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
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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 Orrery 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 Approbation, 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 Lieutenant, and of which till that Time He had not the least Notice or Imagination, He desired
fired 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 Non-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
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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 compelled 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 papishly 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
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raising and settling a Revenue proportionable to his Dignity and necessary Expence, over and above the Confirmation of all that had been done or granted in the last Convention. They entered upon all the Expendients which could occur to them, and were willing to receive Propositions or Advice from any Body that might contribute thereunto. In all these publick Matters, no Man could wish a more active Spirit to be in them, than They were in Truth possessed with.

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 necessary 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 Declaration published by themselves about

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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 Memo-
ry 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 forth-
with dispatched that Bill; and the King as soon con-
firmed it, and would not stay a few Days, till other
important Bills should be likewise ready to be presented
to him.

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 them-
\selves (as I said before) upon their too much good
Husbandry in granting Leaves, and though the Pre-
fbyterian 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 Gent-
\leman, 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 know-
ing, 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.

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 Disco-
very 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 39) 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.

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
"to contradict and oppose whatsoever should look like Favour or Connivance towards the Catholicks:
"And therefore, if his Majesty continued his former gracious Inclination 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 fanguinary Laws in Matters of Religion, and to present them to the House that it might consider farther of them. The King surprized 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 Hast 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 Leisur; 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
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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 Catholics; 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 Woolfack, 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.

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
“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 miserable Events; “and therefore He did again thank them for repea-“ing it: And that They had thereby restored Parlia-“ments to their primitive Institutions.” This was upon the thirtieth of July 1661, when the Parlia-ment was adjourned to the twentieth of November following.

Because We have mentioned the gracious Pur-poses the King had to his Roman Catholick Subjects, of which afterwards much Use was made to his Diff-service, 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.

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 mag-nifying 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 Huf-band’s Injunctions, in not suffering any Body to en-deavour to pervert the Prince her Son in his Reli-gion, and when He came afterwards into France after (He was King, continued the same Reservation) used much
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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 Mafs 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 Mafs, 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 Eng-
“land.” 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 excommunicated 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 con-
"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 Par-
"liament: 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 Penalties, 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 Pro-
"tection." 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 endeav-
voured to have diffuaded him from entertaining that
Candour in his Heart.

With this gracious Disposition his Majesty re-
turned into England; and received his Catholick Sub-
jects 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
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 referred 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 Catholics, 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 Catholic, 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 Catholic 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 Catholics never afterwards being solicitous for it.

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 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,
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 Ecclesiastics 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 dispens’d 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
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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.

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.
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him. And so we return to the Parliament after its Adjournment.

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 Spir- "itual 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 En-

"land. Nor did He think, that what He had to "say to them did alone, or did most concern him- "self: 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."

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 insupportable Weight that lay upon it, "the Obligations it lay under to provide for the In-

"terest, Honour and Security of the Nation, in ano-

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ther Proportion 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 Pre-
parations 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 Neceffities which
He mentioned were real or imaginary, or whether
they were fallen upon him by his own Fault, his
own ill Managery, or Excesses, and provide for them accordingly. He was very willing that They
should make a full Inspection into his Revenue, as
well the Disburfements 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 Affections of the Nation were
not so well composed, as He hoped they would
have been, after so signal Blessings from God Al-
mighty upon them all, and after so great Indul-
gence and Condescensions from him towards all
Interests. But that there were many wicked In-
struments
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"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 provide 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 Expence, 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 Expences 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 practiced before.

Let no Man wonder, that within so little Time as the Reasons why the King's Debts were so great disturb
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 Expence 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
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 Ordinance, 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
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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 reasonable 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 extinguisht 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; 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 fit 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.

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
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, 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
rude and rebellious Behaviour of the late Times, whicb had been regulated and conducted by that Clergy: And so both Additions and Alterations were made.

But the Truth is, what Show of Reason foever 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 Liturgy, They cried aloud for the same They had before, though They had inveighed against it for near a hundred Years together.

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 (what-
(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 Transmision 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 Defects 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."

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
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 afterwards 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 Faetions 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 Faetions 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 Admiffion of all Persons to resort to his Presence, and his Condefcenfion to confer with them, had raised their Spirits to an Infolence insupportable; and that Nothing could reduce them to the
the Temper of good Subjects, but the highest Severity.

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 Fractions, 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 Fractions 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 their should be some Law made to punishe them; and therefore He still called upon the Bishops, to cause the Liturgy to be expeditred 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 sat 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.

The King sends for the House of Commons to attend him at Whitehall.
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lation and Reprehension than They had been accus-
tomed to.

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 desirous and soli-
citous to gratify their King, than They were to
oblige him; 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
Service, 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 pafs, but for many
Weeks past, even since their last Adjournment, pri-
ivate 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 Christmas. 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 Ufe and Benefit;
and if They considered it well, They would find
that They were the richer by what They gave,
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c. 285

"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 support itself, and to secure his People; which He was sure was all He desired, 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 Expences He was at for the Peace and Benefit and Honour of the Kingdom; that They who looked for Troubles 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 Expedition enough used in that Affair: He thanked them for it, since He presumed 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
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"Luck in the World, if after all the Reproaches of
"being a Papist while He was abroad, He was sus-
"pected 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 Com-
"mon 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 set-
tled, as any Man amongst them. He prayed them
"to trust him in that Affair, and promised them to
"haften the Dispatch of it with all convenient Speed;
"They might rely upon him in it." He said, "He
"had transmitted the Book of Common Prayer, with
"those Alterations and Additions which had been
"presented to him by the Convocation, to the House
"of Peers with his Approbation, that the Act of Uni-
"formity 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 himself great Fruits from that Con-
"versation 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 Con-
"cernments to Heart, and were ready to do whatso-
"ever He desired for the Peace and Welfare of the
"Kingdom."

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
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c.

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 without any Alteration or Addition, and then the same Act of Uniformity, that had been in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, would be likewise applied 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 general Approbation, and prevented much Sharpness and Animosity, which had since arisen 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 Convocations of Both the Provinces of Canterbury and York, called and assembled 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 Bishops, 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 Majesty had already ratified...
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"tified and confirmed: It could not but be under-
stood 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 sub-
mitted to.

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 some-
what 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."

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 Ordi-
nation, which had been always held unlawful in the
Church, or by this Act of Parliament must be de-
prived of their Livelihood, which They enjoyed in
the most flourishing and peaceable Times 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
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c.

"no Churches: For that it was well known the
Church of England did not allow Reordination, as
the ancient Church never admitted it; insomuch as
if any Priest of the Church of Rome renounces the
Communion thereof, his Ordination is not question-
ed, 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 im-
prudent to do it now."

To this it was answer'd, "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 Ne-
cessity 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 sub-
ject 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 bap-
tized or no, or if it hath been baptized by a Mid-
wife or lay Person; without determining the Vali-
U
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dity or Invalidity of such Baptifm, there is an hy-
pothetical Form, If thou haft not been already baptized,
I do baptize, &c. So in this Case of Ordination,
the Form may be the fame, If Thou haft not been
already ordained, then I do ordain, &c. If his for-
mer 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 Parfonage 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 Sub-
scription that every Man was to make, who had re-
ceived, or before He received, any Benefice or Pre-
ferment in the Church; which comprehended all the
Governours, Superiours and Fellows, in all the Col-
leges and Halls of either University, and all School-
masters and the like, who are subfervient towards
Learning. Every fuch Perfon was to declare “his
unfeigned Affent 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 confift with their Confciences.” 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
con-
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c.

"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 perswaded 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.

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 superior 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 Bene- fice or Ecclesiastical Promotion, or to be a Governor or Fellow in either of the Universities. He must first declare, " that it is 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, or against

The Bill passed by the Lords.
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 established." And He doth declare, "that He doth hold there lies no Obligation 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 itself 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. 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
not only provided against Indictments and Suits at Law and Penalties, but against Reproaches 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 Religion: And therefore to say that there lies no Obligation from it, would never 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 Conscience 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.

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 succeed-ed; 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
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,
untill 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 Opor-
tunity, 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.

And in Truth there were not any more importu-
nate 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
forefaw it would make Divisions, and keep up the
several Factions, which would have been much weak-
ened, 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 Re-
proach 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 Con-
sequence 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 al-
ready 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.

By this Act of Uniformity there was an End put to all the Liberty and Licenfe, which had been practisef 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 foever 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 againft 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 Declaration from Breda," which was urged with great Un- ingenuity, 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 con- tinuing 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 Decla-
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 foreever this Truth is, They would not acknowledge it; but armed their Prophets with confident Affertions, 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 foreever 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 therefore that They were all resolved to quit their Livings, and to depend upon Providence for their Subsistence.”

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 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
the Heart of all the Factions against the Church would have been broken, before the Parliament did so fully declare itself.

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
"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.

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 peaceful 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
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 irre- solute, 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 re- solved; an Infirmity that brought him many Trou- bl-es, 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 Hu- mour, than laughing at that People, and telling ridi- culous 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 unskillfully 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 ad- mitted into his Presence, who being without any Sense of Religion, thought all rather ought to be per- mitted, 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, nore disquieted the King. They enlarged with many Words "on the great Joy that They and all their " Friends
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 Conference 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 Acknowledgements to his Majesty, as "if it had produced 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
The King promises to suspend the Execution of the Act.

The Continuation of the Life of 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 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 In-" "conveniences 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
that He would perform what He had promised;" 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 re-"newed their Importunity with a Desire of such a "Declaration from him as is mentioned before, in "which He thought there was no Inconvenience, "and therefore 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 pre-"senting a Clerk where themselves were Patrons, or "deferring to give Institution upon the Presentation "of others: And that his Majesty's giving such a "Declaration or Recommendation would be the great-"est 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 Confor-" mity, 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 " contrary to their Inclinations, would be an Engage-" ment 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 do-" ing 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 Observation of the " Act for three Months," who answered, "that not-" withstanding any Thing He could do in their Fa-" vour, the Patrons might present 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 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 Con-
"science." And in Reports of this Kind, few of them ever observed any Rules of Ingenuity or Sin-
cerity.

When They saw that They were to expect and undergo the worst, They agreed upon a Method to be obeyed 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 them to be printed together, with every one of the Preachers Pictures before their Sermons; which in Truth contained all the Vanity and Ostenta-
tion with Reference to themselves, and all the In-
sinuations 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.

When the Time was expired, better Men were put into their Churches, though with much mur-
muring of some of their Parishes for a Time, in-
creased by their loud Clamour, "that They had been "betrayed by the King's Promise that They should "have
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"have three Months longer Time;" Which drew the like Clamour upon them by those, who had hearkened to their Advice in continuing their Obstinate 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.

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
follow (which the King by frequent Messages desired to hasten, having received News already of the Queen's having been 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 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 Addressses 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 discover'd 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
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 fell 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 Defcent, 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 hole extravagant Notions, which sometimes deprived Men
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

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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.

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 Example. 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 Conjunction 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 Set-
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c.

"Settlements which They make of their Estates shall be too easily unsettled when They are dead by the Power of 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 Husbandry He could, bring his own Expences 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 observe, 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 Expences, than They had used to do. He hoped it had only been the Excess of Joy after so long Sufferings, that had transported 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 him- self: 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, by the King's Command, enlarged upon "the general Murmurs upon the Expense, and that it should so much exceed all for-
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mer 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 forgave, 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 those in which They now " lived, and consequently of the Disproportion in the " Expence the Crown was now at, for the Protection " and Benefit of the Subject, to what it formerly un- " derwent. 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 Inconveniences " 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 ad- " vanced in Shipping, Power, and an immoderate " Desire to engrofs the whole Traffick of the Uni- " verse, was notorious enough; and that this unruly " Appetite would not be restrained or disappointed, " nor the Trade of the Nation be supported and main- " tained, with the fame Fleets and Forces which had " been maintained in the happy Times of Queen Eli- " zabeth, 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, domi- " neer 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
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c.

"and Traffick with them, than was expected" (for at that Time the Dutch had made a low and dishonourable Peace with the Pirates of Algiers and Tunis):
"Infomuch as They apprehend 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 Bombay, ought to be looked upon as Jewels of an immense Magnitude in the Royal Diadem; and though they were of present Expence, 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 Neighbours; nor was it an ill Ingredient towards the Firmness and Stability of that Peace and Amity which his Royal Ancestors 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.

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.
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The Earl of Sandwich takes Possession of Tangier.

The exception 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 Heretics, 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.

A Design of 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 con-
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convoyed the Remainder of the Garrison 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 failed 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 Ambassador to demand the Queen.

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 inflected their whole Trade, and was not strong enough long to have resifted 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 Ambassador 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
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 re- “solved to send back the fame Ambassadour, who “had brought so good a Work with God’s Blessing “to so good an End, with her Daughter to the “King.”

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 be obliged to pay the Money they were valued at, and to make up the whole Sum that should be
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.

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 Ambassador of the Dillservice they had formerly endeavoured to do her.

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 un-
derwent 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 expected another Kind of Return from "him, in the Purity of Mind and Integrity 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.

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 Uxoriousness, 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
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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 superior 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 Opinion, 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
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 instructing 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 Honour, to draw Reverence and Application to them from all the Court and all the Kingdom; raised the Children He had by them to the Reputation, 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 Extraction, 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 Object 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
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 Carefles, 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 Impresssion they made of several Kinds upon the King's Spirit and his Humour, exceedingly decomposed the Minds of the graveft and moft 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:

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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 adventure 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 more free from Malice. But by these Liberties, which at first only raised Laughter, They by Degrees got the Hardines of 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.

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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 plain-dealing 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.

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 Com- "mand 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 Ilnature, that "He could never be guilty of; and if ever He should be "guilty of having a Mistress after He had a Wife, which Y 3 "He
"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 majesty 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 men's 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 began 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 answered, 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 according "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 Reputation, 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 Father 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 succeeded not; but his own Honour would suffer so much, that He should become ridiculous to the World, and be thought too in "Pupilage
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"Pupilage under a Governour; and therefore He would expect and exact a Conformity 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 vouchsafed 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 Counfel: But that She hoped He would not wonder or blame her, if having greater Misfor-
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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 indeed to serve her;
of which He would not make great or many Pro-
testations, since She could not but believe it, ex-
cept 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 Information of the Follies and
Iniquities of Mankind, of which He presumed the
Climate from whence She came could have given
more Instances, than this cold Region would af-
ford;” 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 Affections to another Lady;” and then was
able to say no more: Which gave the Chancellor
Opportunity to say, “that He knew well, that She
had

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had been very little acquainted with or informed of the World; yet He could not believe that She was so utterly ignorant, as to expect that the King her Husband, 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 Affections.” 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 entertained 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 Appetites 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 Acknowledgments 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
"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 Resolution 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 acceptable 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 Refusal, that his Majesty might not be provoked to enter into the same Passion, which would be superiour to hers."
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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 trans-"ported 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 for-"bear 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 resptited 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 Manner 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 precario." 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 sat 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 Diversifications 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 sustaine.

The Chancellor came not to the Court in two or three Days; and when He did come thither, He forborne 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;
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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 Portuguese, 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 endeavour, by all the Ways He could devise, to persuade the Queen to submit to his Pleasure, because it is his Pleasure; and that He would urge some Arguments to her, which He could not himself answer; and therefore 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 endeavouring 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"
himself 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 arrantest 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 Incapacity 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 surprized her, and might be some Ex-"
cuse 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 Advice, 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 Proposition 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 In-
junction, not to be yielded to without some Reluc-
tancy:" 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 unreasonable in him, and so dis-
honourable 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 under-
stood in Conditions of that Nature, that as the
Husband would not impose a Servant, against whom
just
“just Exceptions could be made; so it was presumed, that no Wife would refuse to receive 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 without 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 dissimulate, 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 Apprehension, 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 frequent.”
at a Distance than by such a Relation, which Nothing but a resolved 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 Intenness 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 Importance: 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 consulted with, nor employed in an Affair in which He had been so 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 His Enda...
The Continuation of the Life of

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 Strangers;" 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 inferior 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
ing 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 loft 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 late 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 Confliét 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 Ceresses, 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 Ser-

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vants 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 leaft expected or suspected, the Queen on a sudden let herself fall first to Conversation and then to Familiarity, and even in the same Instance 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 Resolutions 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 Almighty, 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 un-
conversant 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 for ever the Friendship might be established. But this sudden Downfall 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 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
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 Modefty, 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 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.
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bly, 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 propone sometimes to conffent to what should be most necessary for the Publick; and by them to affign Parts to other Men, whom They found disposed and willing to concur in what was to be defired: And all this without any Noise, or bringing many together to defign, 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.

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.

The one was Sir Harry Bennet, who had procured himself to be fent 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 Fuentara- bia in the Clofe 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 profefled much Respect and Submission to him: Though whatever Orders He received, and how positive foever, in Particulars which highly concerned the King's Honour and Dignity, He observed them fo far and no farther than his own Humour disposed him; and in some Cases flatly dis-

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obeyed 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
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 O Neile of the Bedchamber, with whom He had a long Friendship. As soon as the King arrived in England, He trusted O Neile 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 O Neile, 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 higheft.

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
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.

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
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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 fullen, 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 Industry, 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 late 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
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 causelless 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,
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land 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 " caring: 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 Com- " mons." 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 sat 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
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 what-"soever they proposed: And that these Men com-"plained, 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 Confi-"dence 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 e-
ough 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
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 de-
sired, 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 pre-
sent, together with Sir Harry Bennet and Mr. Wil-
"l iam Coventry;" 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 noto-
rious Meetings and Cabals in Parliament had been
always odious in Parliament: And though they
might produce some Success in one or two Par-
ticulars 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 confpire against
the Parliament. That when his Majesty returned,
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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 ingratitude, that little Notice might be taken of them, which had good Success."

"THAT since this Parliament the Lord Treasurer and He had, by his Majesty'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 appointed 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. Attorney'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 particular 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
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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 Under-takers, 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.

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 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 chearful 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 Licence 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 Impostions upon the Kingdom, without having done any Thing for the Redress of any Grievance that lay upon
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. 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 Husbandry of his own; and by retrenching those very Expences, which in many Respects might be thought necessary enough. But They should see that He would much rather impose upon
upon himself, than upon his Subjects; and that if all Men would follow his Example in retrenching their Expences (which possibly They might do with much more Convenience than He could do his) the Kingdom would in a 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 prevent 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."

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 Contradictions 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 Licenses; 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 punish 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.

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"Kingdom." 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 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.

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

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The Continuation of the Life of Profelytes, "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 Cafe 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.

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 inferior 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 resolved 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
He was not without a Purpose of keeping such a Power over them, as might make them wholly depend upon him.

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 eas'd 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.

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,
ment, 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 Pre-
tences, there is not amongst them.

These moderate Men complained already, "that "the King was deceived by their Enemy the Chan-
cellor," 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 ne-
cessary 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 pre-
sented 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 Infinu-
Insinuations and Allegations, that none of those Inconveniences could ensue to them, if He refrained 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 Majesty’s happy Re- turn 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 forever “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 De- struction: And therefore They hoped, that what- ever Bitterness the Parliament might express against “them when They came together, They should re- ceive no Invitation or Encouragement by any Jeal- “ousy 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 farther 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.

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 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.
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 Expences of the Court, and of all who depended upon it, grew still higher, and the King himself let's intent upon his Business, and more loved his Pleasures, to which he prescribed no Limits, nor to the Expences which could not but accompany them.

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
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 Trou-
bles.

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 Com-
pany 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 rendered
"useless for the future, whereas They were yet un-
"suspected and admitted 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 posses 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 contract-
ing above twenty Years, and became almost incorpo-
rated into the Nature of the Nation.

There happened about this Time an Alteration in
the Court, that produced afterwards many other Al-
terations 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
more fit for that Province than for any other to which He could be applied, did not think himself yet prefered 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. O Neile, 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 Advance-ment; 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.

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
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.

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 disproved the General as He was capable of being disproved; 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, which concern all the Northern Parts, He was ready, and treated with those Ambassadors fluently and elegantly; and for all domestic 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 Bennett, 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
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. Abbotburnham, 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
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 O' Neile, "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 Bucking-ham, 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 Chil- "dren, He would make no Scruple to persuade him "to quit his Employment." O' Neile 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 (19) "presume, that before any Resolution was taken in "it, his Majesty would speak of it to the Chan- "cellor."

Within a Day or two the King sent for Ashburn-ham 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 Father 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 thou- "sand Pounds, or any other Recompense He should "choose," implying a Title of Honour: But inti-mated, though He referred all to his own Will, "that "He wished, and that it would be acceptable to him, "that
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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 Succession to him, who had already much Credit with him, if He should seem fullen 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 Dis grace 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 mentioned, 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. Abburnham cultivated their Impatience so skilfully, that it cost the King, in present Money and Land or Lease, very little less than twenty
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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.

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 them, being no Privy Counsellor, made great Professions and Addresss 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 with that the Chancellor's Power should be lessened: And the other made all the Professions imaginal 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.

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 con-
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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 otherwise, 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 Jeftr; but now they were often taken into Debate, and cenfured 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 laft by Importunity would have passed. Laftly, 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.

There was another Mischiefe contrived about this Time, that had a much worse Influence upon the Publick, except We shall call it the fame, because it did in Truth proceed from it. Though the publick State of Affairs, in Respect of the Diftempers and Discomposures which are mentioned before, and that the Expences 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 Confe-
quences: 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 Expences 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 Opportunity 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."

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 Warehouse, under which the Ships lay; and
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 Governor 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
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 Jealously 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 Expedients 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
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 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 Extirpation 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, after Cromwell had compelled them to pay a great Sum of Money for the Damages which the English had sustained at Amboyna, when all the Demands and Threats
"Threats from King James could never procure any "Satisfaction for that foul Action."

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 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
feem 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 "Differences and Jealousies in Point of Trade, which "did every Day fall out and would every Day in- "crease between the Engliſh and the Dutch, who had "in the late Distractions gotten great Advantages, "would unavoidably produce a War between them; "and then that the Question only was, whether it "were not better for us to begin it now, when They "do not expect 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 pro- "voke 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."

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 Kind-
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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, 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 Discontents 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 domestic Divisions, especially those in Religion, would give him more Trouble than He could well struggle 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 Discontents 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 engaged 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 Expence 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
of Europe, and the two Crowns would strive who should gain him: But if He engaged 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 suggested 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 allledged 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 Notice;" 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 pursue it, and He could not but be sorry"
and displeased, that every Body should see how little
Credit He had with him."

The Chancellor told him, "that He had no Ap-
prehension that any sober Man in England, or his
Highness himself, should believe that He 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 any Advice,
or consent to it whoever gave it, which in his Judg-
ment 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 de-
nied not, "that He had taken all Opportunities to
confirm him in that Judgment by Arguments that
He thought could not be answer'd; 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 in London, were not the City of Lon-
don, which had War enough, and could only be-
come 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 Parlia-
ment did advise, and upon the Matter compel, his
Grandfather King James to enter into a War with
Spain,
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c.

"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 Diftresses, 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.

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 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 Expence 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.
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digious an Expence as could never be supported; had put his Majesty to frequent Consultations how He might lessen and save any Part of it. But no Expe-

dient 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 Expence 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 fane, 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 De-

bate
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c. 385

bate was entered into in this Method, after enough was said of the Straights the Crown was in, and what the yearly Expence was.

(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, because 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 Licence 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 refraining 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 Particulars of much more Importance unprovided for." And this was not
not lightly or cursorily urged; but the State of the Revenue, and the constant and indispenfable Issues, were at the fame 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 Ambaffadour had already demanded Restitution of it in Point of Justice, it having been taken from his Master by the late Ufurper, in a Time when there was not only a Peace between his Majesty and the King of Spain, but when his Majesty refided, and was entertained by the Catholic King, in Flanders: And at this Time both France and Spain inhibited their Subjects from paying those small Contributions to the Garrison at Dunkirk, and endeavoured to refrain the Governour himfelf from enjoying fome 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 Reafons then conceived, "that as it would be very hard for the King to preferve a Neutrality towards Both Crowns, even during the Time of the War between them" (which Temper was thought very neceffary 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 remain firm and unshaken."

Upon these Reafons, urged and agreed upon by those who could not but be thought very competent Judges, in Respect of their feveral Professions and great Experience, the King resolved to eafe himfelf of the infupportable Burden of maintaining Dunkirk, and to part with it in fuch a Manner as might be moft for his Advantage and Benefit. There remained then no other Question, than into what Hand to put it: And the Meafure of that was only who would give moft Money for it, there being no Inclination to
to prefer one before another. It was enough under-
stood, 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 re-
ceive, 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 Know-
ledge of the Court of Spain, and of the Scarcity of
Money there and in Flanders; that how large Offers
foever 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 Ma-
jefty's Hands would in the Expence disappoint him of
a good Part of the End in parting with it. Besides
that it seemed at that Time probable, that the Spa-
niard 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 between"
"England and Spain," and refused so much as to
enter upon a Treaty of Alliance with the King, be-
fore He should promise to make such a Restitution.
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 ma-
ifest, that though They had rather that Dunkirk
should be put into the Hands of the Spaniard than
C c 2 delivered
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 the Hostility of Both the Kings.

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 laid 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.

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.

The King sent M. D'Estrades privately to London to Monfieur D'Estrades comes over 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 Mardyke 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
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 Neceffities 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 Dun-
"kirk 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 foever; 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 prefling Accident, as an In-
surrection or the like," which was reasonably enough apprehended.

Nor was there the least Murmur at this Bargain in all the Sessions of the Parliament which fate after, until it fell out to some Mens Purposes to reproach the
the Chancellor: And then they charged him "with " advising the Sale of Dunkirk, and that the very Ar-" tillery, 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 Commission-ers 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 delib-erated 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 him-self beholden to him.

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 about ten or a dozen Years of Age, who was called by the Name of Mr. Crofts, be-cause 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 Welshwoman of no good Fame, but handsome, who had transport-ed 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 Lauderdale 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 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 Fa-
miliarity. And that there was another Circum-
fstance 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 publicly owned
or declared him to be such, till He had given some
notable Evidence of his inheriting or having ac-
quired 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.

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 confer-
red 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 Marriage, He had never heard either of the
other Particulars mentioned;" the King said, "He
had
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"had Reason to ask the Question, because many of " those Things which He had said had been spoken " to him by the Queen his Mother, who was entirely " of his Opinion, which She used not to be;" and concluded, "that He would confer with them toget-" ther," 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 Manifefitation 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 dif-" cult Cases was usually consulted) pressed it as the only Way to make the King's Friendship valuable.

Since the Earl of Bristol is mentioned upon this Occasion, it will not be unfeafonable 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 accep-" table 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 Wimbledon 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 Mo-" ment. And whereas He made no Doubt of draw-" ing the whole Dependance of the Roman Catholicks upon
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 Expences, 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 withdrawing his Favour from him; that it proceeded only from the Chancellor, 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 surprized 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 expected, 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 lamented 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 En-
The Continuation of the Life of

quiry 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 Chan-
cellor: And therefore He was resolved, for the
Good of his Country, to accuse the Lord Chan-
cellor 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.'

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 Al-
moner to the Queen." The rest contained "his
assuming to himself the Government of all publick
Affairs, which He had administered unskilfully,
corruptly and traiterously; which He was ready to
prove."

The Chancellor, without any Trouble in his Coun-
tenance, told the Lords, "that He had had the Ho-
nour 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 be-
lieve 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 Cardinal's Cap for a Ca-
tholick 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 Office 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 al-
"ledged 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 ordered 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 mentioned so presumptuously "in them;" which was likewise agreed; and the Ar-
ticles were delivered to the Lord Chamberlain to pre-
fent to the King.

(210) 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 ap-
"pointed, 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 Majesty; 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 Articles "to him;" and to let them know, "that He looked "upon
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 dis\-countenanced, 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 Indignity." 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 important 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 Lauderdale who was then in Scotland, and must desire Commissioners to that Purpose."

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
ceive them. But in the End his Majesty was pre-
vailed 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 Apprehen-
sion: So that He appeared not publicly 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.

We shall in the next Place take a View of Scotland, The Affairs of
whither We left Middleton sent the King's Commis-
sioner, who performed his Part with wonderful Dexte-

11) of his Countrymen were pleased with. We have re-
membered before the Debate upon his Instructions,
and the earnest Advice and Caution given by Lauther-
dale against any hafty 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 Exclama-
tion, and the King's Authority as cheerfully submit-
ted 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 Glen-
carne 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 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
D d He
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 signallv, 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 Lauderdale; 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 full 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,
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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 Lauderdale, 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 Lauderdale 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.

As soon as the Parliament was convened at Edin-...
formed 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.

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
make Choice of such grave Divines, 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.

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 possesed 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 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.

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 Launderdale, 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.

The Commissioner, the Chancellor, the Earl of Rothes and others, with the Lord Lauderdale, 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 Majesty 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 Fidelity 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 returning to their Allegiance."

This was proposed in the Presence of those of the English Council, who had been formally admitted to
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 between the Nations, which could "not be to the King's Profit and Convenience." 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 Commit-"tee 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. 
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 flourished out of their Gar-"ritions 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 Ma-"jesty would not be thought to possess that King-"dom in Peace, which otherwise He would unques-
"tionably do."

And this Consideration was improved by the Re-
flexion 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, es-
pecially 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 Resolu-
tions in the North. And which was of no small Im-
portance, there was at this very Time an Opportu-
nity to transport all those Forces (the very disbanding whereof would not be without Danger for the Reasons afore-
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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, contrived, 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 Burgesies 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 'foever." His Majesty upon the Debate of this Business declared, "that He did not only think it good Husbandry in Respect of the Expence, and good Policy, that He might keep Scotland entirely at his Devotion, whilst Ire-
Continuation of the Life of

"land 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 Conscience, 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 consulted, 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 satisified 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 England; and the Innovation would be no less in remitting it to the Parliament, which had no Pretence of Jurisdiction over them." To Both which They were answered, "that the withdrawing the English Forces, and demolishing the English Fortifications, concerned England no less than the other Kingdom; and that his Majesty did not intend it should be proposed 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 Murmurings or Censures, which otherwise might arise."

The English Lords desired, "that the King's Orders might be very positive, and that the Commissioner 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
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 with 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 Portugal;" 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 Condition of Scotland, of which They wished his Majesty much Joy; and hoped his other Dominions would in a short Time be in the same Tranquility:" 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.

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
and Barbarity, that He was much more odious to him than his Father; and in all the Letters which Lauderdale 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 Lauderdale 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.

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, 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.

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,
lution, 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 seditionious Purpose. But when the Intelligence was continued from several Parts, and so particular for the Time and Place of the Rendezvous, and for the feizing 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 surprized 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.

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
of the better Sort of Grand-Jurymen, and held a wife
Man, and was known to be trusted by the greatest
Men who had been in Rebellion: And He was dis-
covered by a Person of intimate Trust with him,
who had heretofore the same Affections with him,
but would venture no more. He was a fullen 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 Proba-
bility 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 Suspi-
cion; since in all Combinations of that Kind, it is a moft
usual Artifice to work upon weak Men, by persuad-
ing them that other Men, of whom They have great
Esteem, are engaged in it, who in Truth know No-
thing of it.

The Judges were returned from York little Time(2)
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 Conspi-
"racy was but a Branch of that which He had dis-
"covered 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 Contri-
"vers, and so secured them from doing the Mischief
"They intended."

His Majesty told them, "that They would won-
"der, (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
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c. 417

"the same Consultations: And it was evident that
"They had Correspondence with desperate Persons
"in most Counties, and a Standing Council in Lon-
"don itself, from which They received their Directions,
"and by whom They were advised to defer their last
"intended Insurrection. But those Orders served on-
"ly 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 Councils (as ap-
"peared 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 choose
"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

E e " con-
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 intended. 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 according to former Precedents, they do not now arise to Half the Proportion 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
nor could the Farmers be so vigilant for the Collection, 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 Officers, 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 Country 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:
rious: 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 Parliament had fate 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 Expence 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 Proroga-

\[\text{Some Acts passed.}\]
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c. 421

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 there-" in maintain the Honour of the Nation."

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 Transfation of their own Affairs: Yet be-cause 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 Atten-

E e 3 "dance,
"dance, except such Occasion should fall out." And so They were prorogued to a Day in August, but met not till November following.

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 unseasonable to speak of a War. However They made such an Approach towards it, as might make a farther Advance much more easy.

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 Commerce, 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 diminished. In Sum, that besides many intolerable 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
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ferred 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.

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 Ani-
miosity 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

"Eng-
"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 adjacent," 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 Honsdertike, "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 Promptness 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 Refort 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 suspected, "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 Re-
"lution 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 England or to Hol-""land."

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 Con-
dition 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 re-
stored, 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 em-
bark 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 No-
thing 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 in-
grateful 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 disoblige...
"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 used to do, but put the worst Commentaries upon all their Actions. And when He fate 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.

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 Particulars, they were like-wise 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 concluded," which was not many Months before, "that might occasion a Misunderstanding." 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, insisting 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 Circum- spection, 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
ference 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 Refults 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.

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 fortifie'd, 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 fhould 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 Cargaffon 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...
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 Orders which their Officers had published." To this Complaint and Demand They deferred to make Answer, till their Abassador had presented a Grievance to the King.

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 Abassador 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 Abassador, 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 Abassador, "that the Captain, if He had done any such Thing, had not the least Commission 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 Offence 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 pre-
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. 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 fail 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 Pre- sumption of the Dutch.” And hereupon a Fleet was likewise preparing for that Purpose, to be commanded by Prince Rupert.

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 Oppressions whatsoever, which He should meet with in the Removal of those Obstructions;” 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 November, 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
us and to provoke them, in all his Dispatches declared, "that all those Insolencies proceeded only "from the Malignity of the States of Holland, which "could vent itself no farther than in Words; but "that the States General, without whose Concurrence "no War could be made, abhorred 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 Justice "to be done upon Complaint, and not suffer the pub- "lick 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 Desires to the King by their Ambassadour, "that Prince Rupert's Fleet might stay in Harbour, as theirs like- "wise that was prepared for Guinea should do, till "some Means might be found for the Accommoda- "tion 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.

But it was quickly discovered, that They were the 
honester Men when They gave the worst Words. For
For before the States General sent to the King to stop Prince Rupert in Harbour, "and that their Fleets should likewise 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 Ambassadors had desired the King, "that his Majesty's Fleet that was then in those Parts might upon all Occasions join with De Ruyter, when Opportunity should be offered thereby to infest 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 Damages 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 with his Commission authorised him to do.

And in a very short Time after, the East-India Company complained and informed the King, "that when their Officer had demanded the Redelivery of the Ille 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 Ambassadors had given at London, to the Governor 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
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"that upon a better Perusal of the Orders which He had brought, He found that they were not sufficient; and therefore till He should receive 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.

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 Governor of Poleroone, and protested, "that the Not-delivery of the Place proceeded only from Want of an Order from the Governor 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"
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 Sup-
port of the War; though Nothing was more po-
positively spoken, than that the War would maintain
itself.

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 up-
on 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 there-
fore no more Time must be lost, without taking a
particular Resolution.

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 De-

bate now to be, War or no War: It was come upon us, and We were now only to contrive 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 sufficient 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 Michaelmas, 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
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 Expence, as They very well knew that a War at Sea would require. And They would be much confirmed 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 necessary, that the King should propose as much, that is, that his Friends should move for such a Sum, as might upon a reasonable Computation, 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 deliberately 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 Terror to his Enemies, that it would probably dispose them to Peace.

They told them, "the best Method to compute what the Expence might amount to in a Year, would be by reflecting upon the vast Disproportion 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 sufficient to beat all the Ships the Dutch
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c. 437.

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 Number than fifty could never be brought to fight orderly or usefully: And yet that there were at present no fewer than four-score 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 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 Parliament 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
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, unsuspected to have any Designs at Court; and if They were not enough acquainted with them, the Lords would find some Way by themselves or others to move them to it." Whereupon They named five or six Persons 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 undertake 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 Business 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 together." 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 Expence: 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 conduct-ed." They all consented to what had been said, and
and promised 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 surprized 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 pro- "digious 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 that He 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 [231] 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 Con- "science, that it would be very good for the King; "dom 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 Morn- "ing, 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 Gentleman 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 Pasion, 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 Supply 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 sat 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 were 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
raising this vast Sum, the Proportion whereof could no more be brought into Debate.

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.

2) 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 Hast 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
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 dis-commended 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 kifs his "Hand." To which He commonly consenting, every one of his Servants delivered some Message from him to a Parliament-Man, and 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 kifs 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.

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 careſ 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 Berkeley 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 re-
fuse 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, left 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 Pur-
pose 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 com-
plained 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 in-
formed of the whole Relation was very much troubled,
well knowing, that how acceptable soever those Kinds
of Courtships 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
Noble-
The Continuation of the Life of

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 Conjunction 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 Berkeley 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 Berkeley, 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
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 Ambassador, who remained still in England, new Orders to solicit it.

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 Zesied, who went Ambassador into France and made
England his Way, made many Complaints to the King " of the Oppression the Crown of Denmark un-
erwent 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 Al-
"liance 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 alledged, 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 Zefled 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;" im-
plying, " that if this were done, and thereby the " Fear of any further Attempt from Sweden were ex-
tinguished, Denmark would not be long without re-
deeming itself from the Vexation which it endured " from Holland, which, upon former Necessities and " ill Bargains, upon the Matter had an Exemption " 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 endeav-
our to do that Office between the two Crowns, and thereby to unite them Both to the King in this Con-
junction against the Dutch; at least that They might Both remain good Friends to his Majesty, and sup-
ply 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.
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c. 447

Upon this Ground He sent Mr. Henry Coventry of his Bedchamber to the Sweden, 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 Advance-ment 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 Gaskoigne 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
Continuation of the Life of

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 Brus-"sels till He received farther Orders."

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 disoblged 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,
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 Brusseis, 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 whatsoever 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.

Gg
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 thousand 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 Arnheim, 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 disadvantageous 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..."
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c.

against the Dutch as his Master was, and would all
engage with him against them; and that many of
the Army that is design'd 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 Com-
mission." 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 disappoynt it by sending Aid to Holland." He
answered, "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 Monfieur
de Lionne bade him assure the Bishop, that his
Christian Majesty would do Nothing to his Pre-
judice."

This being the State of that Affair, the King con-
sidered 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 auxi-
liary Army that was to be rais'd for the King's Ser-
vice, whose Conquests were to be appli'd to his Be-
nefit, but an Army rais'd to revenge the Injuries
which himself had received, and what He should get
must be to his own Account; and his Majesty's Hos-
tility 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.

G g 2.
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 receive it from thence."

In Conclusion, the King gave his Answer in Writing, what Sum of Money He would cause to be paid
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c. 453

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 defired, “that the King would appoint some Person of Experience to confer with him; and They might together inform themselves of the best Expedients to return Money into Germany, since his Majesty 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 necessary 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.

It cannot be denied and may very truly be avered, that from the Hour of the King's Return and being possesfed 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 Admiralty, 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 superior 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 fate 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 under-valuing the Privy Council, as if it shadowed the King too much, and usurped too much of his Authority, and too often superceded 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 Gloucester, and two Princes 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
Money as would arise upon such Place upon Sir Charles Berkley, for another to another, and for some to be divided between 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 lesfer 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 Officers 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
fence or Excuse, "that He had paid so dear for his
" Place, that He could not maintain himself and Fa-
"mily without practising such Shifts:" And none of
those Fellows were ever brought to exemplary Ju-
tice, and most of them were restored to their Em-
ployments.

The three superior 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 de-
pended not enough upon him, but especially out of
Animosity against Sir George Carteret, who besides be-
ing Treasurer of the Navy was Vice-Chamberlain of
the King’s Household, and to 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 Per-
"sons always to fit 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 Assheue, 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 Gen-
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.

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 or done, gave discerning Men an unhappy Presage of what would follow. There was no Difcourse 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 Impostion 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.

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 Lutkerdale, the Lord Ashby, 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 for ever, 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 Ambassadors 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 forever 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.

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 forever 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
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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 for ever 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 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 Striftness 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 Expence 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 plentifully do all the rest: Besides the great Sum that the Dutch would give to pur-" chase 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 di-"gested 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 appoint-"ing 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 Recom-"mendation of those Officers to the King, had a Lift 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.

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 Treasurer 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 next Morning He waited upon the King, and informed him "of the Bill that was brought to him, and doubted that He had been surprized: "That it was not only such an Original as was without any Precedent, 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 Computation 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
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gatory to the Lord Treasurer, but did really de-
grade him, there being another Treasurer made
more absolute than himself, and without Depen-
dence upon him." And therefore He befought 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 Inconveni-
ences upon his Person and his Estate."

He quickly found that the King had not been sur-
prised 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 provided 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 re-
ceive much Prejudice by it; another, that it would
not consist with the Respect He owed to the Lord
Treasurer, who was much affronted 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 Respect, and by whose Fa-
vour and powerful Interposition He enjoyed the
Office He held, nor his own true Interest, in sub-
mitting his Estate to those Incumbrances which such
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a Receipt would inevitably expose it to. And that
the Exemption from making any Account but to
the King himself would deceive him: And as it was
an unusual and unnatural Privilege, 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 Money 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 Affront 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 Beahavi-
our of his Nephew (for the Lord Ashley had married
his Niece), who He well knew had by new Friend-
ships cancelled all the Obligations to him, would not
appear to oppose what the King resolved, but made
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 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 re-
concile 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 Ene-
mies, 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.

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 consults 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; how-
"ever He could not deny that it was generally be-
"lieved abroad, that his Majesty was entirely and "implicitly governed by the Chancellor." Which often put the King to declare in some Passion, "that
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"the Chancellor had served him long, and underftood his Busines, in which He trusted him:
"But in any other Matter than his Busines, He had no other Credit with him than any other Man;" which They reported with great Joy in other Companies.

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 moft 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 Cafe the Profection of People at Home for their several Opinions in Religion would be very inconvenient, and might prove mischievous." The other was, "that the Fright Men were in by Reafon of the late Bill against Conventicles, and the Warmth the Parliament expressed with Reference to the Church, had so prepared all Sorts of Non-Conformifts, that They would gladly compound for Liberty at any reasonable Rates: And by this Means a good yearly Revenue might be raised to the King, and a firm Concord and Tranquillity be eftablished in the Kingdom, if Power were granted by the Parliament to the King to grant Dispensations to fuch whom He knew to be peaceably affected, for their Exercife 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 Exercife of his Religion, and fo of every other Sect; which, upon the Estimate They made, would indeed have amounted to a very great Sum of Money yearly.

The King liked the Arguments and the Project very well, and wished them to prepare fuch a Bill; which
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 en-
tire Reference to the King's own Judgment 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 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 No-
"body would doubt that He would use his Power,
"when granted to him, otherwise than should be for
"the Good and Benefit of the Church and State."
The Chancellor and the Treasurer, as had been
preshaged, were very warm against it, and used many
Arguments to dissuade the King from prosecuting
it, "as a Thing that could never find the Concur-
"rence of either or Both Houses, and which would
"raise a Jealousy in Both, and in the People gene-
"rally, 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 Opin-
ion, 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
"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 ac-
"cording to their Conscience and Judgment, which
"They could not forbear 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.

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 Countenance of
"another Reading in the House, being a Design
"against the Protestant Religion and in Favour of
"the Papists," with many sharp Reflections upon
those who had spoken for it; and many of the Bi-
shops spake to the same Purpose, and urged many
weighty Arguments against it. However it was
moved, "that since it was averred that it was with
"the King's Privity, 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 per-
suade 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 Obstinance They would re-
"pent it;" to which They made such Answers as in
Honesty and Wisdom They ought to do, without be-
ing shaken in their Resolution. It was rather insinu-
ated than declared, "that the Bill had been perused,"
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c.

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 imposed upon others who meant well.”

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 Enterprize, had given over the Game the first Day, and now spake not at all: But the Lord Ashley adhered firmly to this 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 Firmness 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.”

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The Chancellor, having not been present at the former Debate upon the first Day, thought it fit to fit 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 Constitu- "tion and Foundation of the Church of England, "than He; no Man had been Witness to more Af- "faults which He had sustained than He had been, "and of many Victories; and therefore if the Que- "tion 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 con- "founded all Notions of Religion, and erected a "Chaos of Policy to overthrow all Religion and Go- "vernment: So that the Question was not, whether (248) "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 un- "reasonable 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 ungrate- "ful to him as to be obliged to deny."

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
Edward Earl of Clarendon, 

"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 Bishop or " Archbishop here, all Oaths and Statutes and Sub- " scriptions being dispensed with:" Which were thought two envious Instances, and gave his Enemies Opportunities to make Glosses and Reflections upon to his Disadvantage. 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 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 Counte-
The Continuation of the Life of

nance 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 Dis-" satisfaction 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 de-" served 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 Opinion from himself, which it(24 " seemed was of no Authority with him if it differed " 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 af-" fected 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 Con-" stitution 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 Coun-" sellor." 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 Im-pression. 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 him-" self 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 fpake 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 fpake of them too slightily; 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
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.

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 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 proposed...
rogued the Parliament in April (which was in 1665) till September following; his Majesty declaring, "that if it pleased God to extinguish or allay the Fiercenes 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 Proclamation that they might not hazard themselves."

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.

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 Ayfcue 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
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 Expence, which Mr. Coventry was solicitous by all the Ways possible to contrive. To those Consultations the Duke always brought the Sea-Officers, and Mr.
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 Yester-day 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.

By this Means the Fleet that was now ready to put to Sea amounted to four-score Sail; and the King willingly contented, 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 Readines. 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.

The Duke of Buckingham had from the first Mention, 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.
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

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 Fitzbarding, 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, left it should raise the Appetites of others to make Suits, which He had hitherto defended himself.
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.

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.

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. Frescheville, 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.

The other was Mr. Richard Arundel of Trelise 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
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.

When Sir Nicholas Slaming, 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 Embarkation 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 comeback 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 Expence in his Way of Living. And as soon as
He found himself at Eafe 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 Obliga-
tions, 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 leffened;” 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 Reso-
lution 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 im-
mediately to the King and near his Person, yet He
thought himself obliged not to be from the Duke when
He was engaged in so much Danger; and He was con-
fessed by all Men to abound in a most fearless Courage.

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 Counfel.

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 at-
tended, according to Custom, by the Company of
Vintners,
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 Ambassador 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 Christians 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 Com-
"modities 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 "of their Commodities either in Pieces of Eight, or "such other Merchandises as had been brought thi-
"ther from the Indies, and upon which They received "great
great Profit. On the contrary, that the Trade was
now wholly driven by ready Money; that the Com-
modities 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 Proport-
ion; 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 Ex-
change 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 Imposi-
tions upon the Merchants than the English Nation
had been ever accustomed to." They said, "all
these Inconveniences proceeded 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 contending who
shall get the most, and so raising the Price upon
one another, and making the Spaniards themselves
the Judges what the Merchants shall pay."

The Lords, upon Consultation between themselves,
found the Matter too hard for them, and that the Re-
formation 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 Wifdoms 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 Proport-
tion upon the Places of their Growth. They declared
therefore
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 fold 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
The Continuation of the Life of "the Proclamation, 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 render "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,
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 Penalty was very severe, and easily disco-
vered 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 pre-
sent 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 con-
sented between themselves not to suffer the Prices to
be raised upon them; but that they found it ine-
factual, and that though they should give over
their Trades, it would produce 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: Infomuch 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 ima-
gine 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 Licence,
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 necessary to set
reasonable
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 the 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
had been resolved upon by the Lords would be the best
Preface to this Reformation, though it might be at-
tended 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 Propo-
sitions 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.

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 Con-
"stitutions 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 Concer-
nment) 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 Ob-
jections 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 Ma-
jefty 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
in the Busines, and the Damage and Dishonour the
Nation underwent in the carrying on that Trade:
That many Merchants had presented a Petition to
him, containing an Expedient to bring it into bet-
ter 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 them-
selves 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 Ma-
jefty 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 Regula-
tion. 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 conceived no other Way
to redeem that Trade, and the Nation from the In-
folence 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 con-
firmed in the former Opinion He had of it.

But there remained yet an Objection, which was
principally insisted on by the Ministers of the Revenue,
who alledged very reasonably, "that this new-model-
ing 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 alleging an Order made a Year or two before by the King in Council, upon a Com-
plaint 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 va-
luable and substantial Men and of great Estates, an-
swered, "that They had traded very many Years "without finding any Reason to take out their Free-
dom, which They might do or not do as They "thought best for themselves; that They had al-
ways paid Scot and Lot in the several Parishes "where They lived with the highest of the Inhabi-
tants, 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."

Besides the Rules which the King gave upon the Difference then in Question, He was pleased to de-
clare, 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
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c. 495

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 Consulitation 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.

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 Com-

"mons
"mons to put a Stop to it." The Chancellor informed them of the whole Progress it had passed, and told them, "He believed 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 press'd very importantly that it might be sealed, alledging with Reason "that the deferring it so long had been very much "to their Prejudice." Whereupon the Chancellor conceived that it would not confit 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 Dis-
orders 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 a publick Act by the Governor 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

Which are referred to the King.
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."

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 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
the Day was well enough known to them long be-
fore 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 ne-
glect the giving Direction in their own Concern-
ments; but that They knew likewise, that the
Day was enlarged to a Day desired by themselves,
that there might be no Pretence for Discontent:"
And thereupon the Order of the Court to that Pur-
pose 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; 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 Turns to make it after-
wards 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 Coun-
sellor, 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 Mo-
ney 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 Opin-
ion: 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 Com-
munity 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 Par-
liament, 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 Ge-
neral and other learned Lawyers, that the Lords
would not give Judgment against it: But the Go-
vernour and the Corporation durst not dispute it far-
ther with the House of Commons, but chose to sur-
render their Charter into the King's Hands.

The French had their Ambaffadour, Monfieur Com-
inge, remaining still in England, who pretended to
be
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 Ambassadors, 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 quickeft Man of the three, and upon whose Parts and Address most of the Business depended. The former Ambassador 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 re-"quire or what would be grateful to him, He did "not doubt but that He should persuade the States "to submit to it."

And with this general Discourse, and without delivering any Memorial in Writing, the Ambassadors acquiesced...
The Continuation of the Life of

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 Embassay would be concluded in the Denunciation of a War against him. Nor is it probable that the Ambassadors 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 in-"tent upon and had much advanced the Treaty," as appeared by the Ambassador'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.

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 Expence till its Return; whereas every Day added new Expence 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 Expence, 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.
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 disoblige 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 Haz- "ards 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 Expence "of the War would be insupportable;" and con- cluded, "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
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.

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 funk 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 seconed 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
defired to preserve him.

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 hoisted up all
their Sails, and intended Nothing but their Escape.

When there was no more to be done by the Ap-
proach 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 Seamen,
direct and positive Charge " to bear up in that Man-
ner 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 outfail him of
Courte, 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 counsell-
able for the great Ships to pursue 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
other Ships, that it was necessary to retire into Port, where they might be repaired.

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 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.

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
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.

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 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
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.

He was indeed of all the Men of that Time, and of that Extraction and Education, incomparably the modestest and 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.

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
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 Lawfon, 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, left 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 Lawfon, who continued still in his Command, and could not refuse to be commanded by Mountague, who had always been his superior 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 Lawfon 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.
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It looked like some Prefage 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 leaft Suit or Pretence for Money. Now He told them, “that He was going upon an Expedition in which many noble 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 World 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
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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 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 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
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 posseffed 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 Haffe 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.

And now the Whisper began in the Duke's Family of the Reason, why the Victory after so great Advantages had not been pursu'ed 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 . . . . . .) pursu'd 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 Bed-chamber, who with wonderful Confusion had sustaineJ the Terrour of the Day, resolved to prevent the like on the Day succeeding. He firft went to Sir William Pen, who commanded the Ship, and told him, "that "He knew well how miraculously the Duke was pre"served 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 ad- vised 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 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
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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 dishonourable 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 Chefs, which preferred him more than the most virtuous Qualities could have done.

With this Victory a new vast Charge and Expence (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 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 Expences 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.

And if at this Time the French Ambassadors 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 Merchant Ships, the Factions were irreconcilable in the Fleet: There were many Officers who had behaved themselves very basely.
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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 Pri-
"vity, which was directly contrary to the Form and " Constitution 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 compoing it, and the Duke, since He was kept from bearing a Part in it, would not have opposed it. But the Ambassadors 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.

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 Resigna-

The Fleet a-
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tion 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 fair 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 Command of the Fleet;" with which the Prince was wonderfully surprized.
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 Superiors to come by the North, that They might avoid the English Fleet, that was Master of the Sea.

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 Mischiefes 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

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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.

In the Morning, when every Body believed that the King and Queen and Duke and Dutchefs, with
Both their Families, were to go together one Way, Mr. Coventry found a Way to break that Resolution. Mr. W. Coventry 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 Presence of their own Persons would easily do: That the Fleet would probably 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."

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
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.

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 mult not be discovered: For on the sudden it was, therehaving 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.

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 Dominions."
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adians." 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.

The indefatigable Industry and Dexterity of the De Wit persuaded the Dutch to prepare another Fleet.

The indefatigable Industry and Dexterity of the De Wit persuaded the States to believe, "that He thought a Peace to be necessary for their Affairs, and desired Nothing but that it might be upon honourable and safe Conditions, and that France was very real in the endeavouring it: But that the Enemy was so insolent upon their late Successes, 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 inferior 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 Voyage, and could not be far from their Coasts in a short Time; all which would inevitably fall
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"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 begun 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.

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 Zeeland, 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.

But that which DeWit'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 inferior 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 worth
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 foever, 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 King had been few Days at *Salisbury* before the French and Spanish Ambassadors arrived there, and then They made some Instance with the King, that there might be a Treaty for Peace; and the French “Ambassadors 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 honourable 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
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 Commo-
dities 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 Conditions They
"expected."

The Ambassadors seemed to be much offended
with the insolent Behaviour of the Dutch; and con-
fessed "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 De-
mands, 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 Peace as He, it would not become
"him to make any Propositions." And in this Man-
ner 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 re-
pair the Mischief and the Damage that the Plague had
produced to the Affairs of the King. It hath been
mentioned 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 Ma-
jefty's Behalf, Both of them being enough disobliged
and provoked by the Dutch.

Mr.
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 Ambassadour 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 Opportunity 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.
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 Zefied 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
were put on, was to engage the King to endeavour to persuade the Swede to give up and restore Elfenore and 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.

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 resolved 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 re- "ceived 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 Opportunity 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 vigor- "ously 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 surprize all those "Ships in the Port, since They should receive no "Opposition 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 re- "ceive 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 expect Half "of the Value that the Whole would amount to; which "He would rely upon the King’s Honour and Justice "for,
The Continuation of the Life of

"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 Particu- " lars," 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 failed 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 a Squadron of fifteen or sixteen good Ships (of Strength sufficient for the Business) into the Harbour of Bergen with a Letter to the Governor. And with it He sent in 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 in- structed in all the Transactions which had been at Co- penhagen. 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 surprized with the Messengers of 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 " infallibly 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: And so the Fleet entered; which the Dutch perceived with great Conternation, 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 posseffed 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 Enterprife, 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 Governor 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 Governor continued all the next Day as desirous and importunate that the Enterprise might be longer deferred; upon which there were some choleric Words between the Governor and a Gentleman of Quality who was a Volunteer on Board the Ships, which many thought in some Degree irreconciled the Governor to the Affair.

In Conclusion: The Commander of the Squadron was willing to think that the Governor 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 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 Broad-sides 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
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 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.
Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c.

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 Governor, 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 Governor at the Place whither Mr. Clifford was to come, and there he spake with them together.

The Governor with many Protestations excused himself for shooting from the Castle, after the Town was assaulted, and many of the Burguers 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 Enterprize." The Vice-King seemed very much troubled for what had been done, and earnestly desired "that the same or "another
"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 Assis-"tance 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 re- returned to the Fleet, and They to the Town and ex-pected an Answer.

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 unsafe, 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 mak ing 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 Gover-
nour 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.

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 Governor 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 Governor 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 stayed not altogether so long at Salisbury as He had intended to have done: For besides a little accidental
accidental Indisposition which made him dislike the Air, some inferior 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
of that Prince, which He was not willing to do till He first knew what that King would do.

In the next Place his Majesty was to resolve what Answer to make to the French Ambassadors, 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 affaulted by any Prince, He would assist them with Men, Money and Ships, which He had hitherto deferred to do out of Respect to the King, and in Hope that He would accept his Mediation, and make such Propositions towards Peace as He might press the others to consent to.” The Dutch Ambassador was likewise come to Town, rather to treat concerning the Prisoners and to observe what the French Ambassadors 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 Ambassadors 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 Ambassador 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 Ambassadors 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,
"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 Corfo in Guinea should be thrown "down and slighted, which They confessed was an in-"solent 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 re-"duced to great Streights by the terrible Effect 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 con-"senting 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 "Partiality." The King's Indignation was so pro-"voked by the Pride and Impudence of the Dutch De-"mands, that He gave the Ambassadors no other An-"swer, 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 Hollander, and "to expose him to their Insolence."

End of the First Volume of the Continuation.