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The Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England, and Chancellor of the University of Oxford

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The Continuation of the Life of Edward Earl of Clarendon, &c.

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THE

CONTINUATION

Of the LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON, &c.

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

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

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, showing more Animosity towards the severe Punishment of those, who having more Power in the

The Author's Preface.

late Times had exceeded them in Miſchief, than Care for their own Indemnity: This Temper ſufficiently evident, and the univerſal Joy of the People, which was equally viſible, for the total Suppreſſion of all thoſe who had ſo many Years exerciſed Tyranny over them, made moſt Men believe both abroad and at home, that God had not only reſtored the King miraculouſly to his Throne, but that He had, as He did in the Time of *Hezekiah*, *prepared the People, for the Thing was done ſuddenly*, (2 Chron. xxix. 36.) in ſuch a Manner that his Authority and Greatneſs would have been more illuſtrious, than it had been in any of his Anceſtors. And it is moſt true, and muſt never be denied, that the People were admirably diſpoſed and prepared to pay all the Subjection, Duty and Obedience, that a juſt and prudent King could expect from them, and had a very ſharp Averſion and Deteſtation of all thoſe who had formerly miſled and corrupted them; ſo that, except the General, who ſeemed to be poſſeſſed entirely of the Affection of the Army, and whoſe Fidelity was now above any Miſapprehenſion, there appeared no Man whoſe Power and Intereſt could in any Degree ſhake or endanger the Peace and Security the King was in; the Congratulations for his Return being ſo univerſal, from all the Counties of *England*, as well as from the Parliament and City; from all thoſe who had moſt ſignally diſſerved and diſclaimed him, as well as from thoſe of his own Party and thoſe who were deſcended from them: Inſomuch as the King was wont merrily to ſay, as hath been mentioned before, "that it could be "Nobody's Fault but his own that He had ſtayed ſo

" long abroad, when all Mankind wiſhed him ſo " heartily at home." It cannot therefore but be concluded by the Standers by, and the Spectators of this wonderful Change and Exclamation of all Degrees of Men, that there muſt be ſome wonderful Miſcarriages in the State, or ſome unheard of Defect of Underſtanding in thoſe who were truſted by the King in the Adminiſtration of his Affairs; that there could in ſo ſhort a Time be a new Revolution in the general Affections of the People, that They grew even weary of that Happineſs They were poſſeſſed of and had ſo much valued, and fell into the ſame Diſcontents and Murmurings which had naturally accompanied them in the worſt Times. From what fatal Cauſes theſe miſerable Effects were produced, is the Buſineſs of this preſent Diſquiſition to examine, and in ſome Degree to diſcover; and therefore muſt be of ſuch a Nature, as muſt be as tenderly handled, with Reference to Things and Perſons, as the Diſcovery of the Truth will permit; and cannot be preſumed to be intended ever for a public View, or for more than the Information of his Children of the true Source and Grounds from whence their Father's Misfortunes proceeded, in which nothing can be found that can make them aſhamed of his Memory.

The King brought with him from beyond the Seas that Council which had always attended him, and whoſe Advice He had always received in his Tranſactions of greateſt Importance; and his ſmall Family, that conſiſted of Gentlemen who had for the moſt Part been put about him by his Father, and

conſtantly waited upon his Perſon in all his Diſtreſs, with as much Submiſſion and Patience undergoing their Part in it, as could reaſonably be expected from ſuch a People; and therefore had the keener Appetites, and the ſtronger Preſumption, to puſh on their Fortunes (as They called it) in the Infancy of their Maſter's Reſtoration, that other Men might not be preferred before them, who had not *borne the Heat of the Day*, as They had done.

The King's Council at the Reſtoration.

Of the Council were the Chancellor, the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Colepepper*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, who lived in great Unity and Concurrence in the Communication of the moſt ſecret Counſels. There had been more of his Council abroad with him, who, according to the Motions He made and the Places He had reſided in, were ſome Times with him, but 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.

Lord Chancellor Hyde.

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 Deſpatches of Importance had paſſed through his Hands; which had hitherto been with the leſs Envy, becauſe the indefatigable Pains He took were very viſible, and it was as viſible that He gained Nothing by it. His Wants and Neceſſities were as great as any Man's, nor was the Allowance aſſigned to him by the King

in the leaſt Degree more, or better paid, than every one of the Council received. Beſides, the Friendſhip was ſo entire between the Marquis of *Ormond* and him, that no Arts that were uſed could diſſolve it; and it was enough known, that as He had an entire and full Confidence from the King and a greater Eſteem than any Man, ſo, that the Chancellor ſo entirely communicated all Particulars with him, that there was not the leaſt Reſolution taken without his Privity and Approbation. The Chancellor had been employed by the laſt King in all the Affairs of the greateſt Truſt and Secrecy; had been made Privy Counſellor and Chancellor of the Exchequer in the very Beginning of the Troubles; and had been ſent by that King into the *Weſt* with his Son, when He thought their Intereſt would be beſt preſerved and provided for by ſeparating their Perſons. A greater Teſtimony and Recommendation a Servant could not receive from his Maſter, than the King gave of him to the Prince, who from that Time treated him with as much Affection and Confidence as any Man, and which (notwithſtanding very powerful Oppoſition) He continued and improved to this Time of his Reſtoration; and even then rejected ſome Intimations rather than Propoſitions which were ſecretly made to him at the *Hague*, that the Chancellor was a Man very much in the Prejudice of the Preſbyterian Party, as in Truth He was, and therefore that his Majeſty would do beſt to leave him behind, till He ſhould be himſelf ſettled in *England*; Which the King received with that Indignation and Diſdain, and anſwered the Perſon, who privately preſumed to give the Advice, in ſuch

a Manner, that He was troubled no more with the Importunity, nor did any Man ever own the Advice. Yet the Chancellor had beſought the King, upon ſome Rumors which had been ſpread, that if any Exception or Prejudice to his Perſon ſhould be ſo inſiſted on, as might delay his Return one Hour, He would decline giving him any Protection, till He ſhould find it more in his Power, after his Arrival in *England*: Which Deſire of his, though it found no Reception with the King, proceeded from ſo much Sincerity, that it is well known, the Chancellor did poſitively reſolve, that if any ſuch Thing had been urged by any Authority, He would render the King's Indulgence and Grace of no Inconvenience to his Majeſty, by his ſecret and voluntary withdrawing himſelf, without his Privity, and without the Reach of his Diſcovery for ſome Time: So far He was from being biaſſed by his own particular Benefit and Advantage.

The Marquis of Ormond.

The Marquis of *Ormond* was the Perſon of the greateſt Quality, Eſtate, and Reputation, who had frankly engaged his Perſon and his Fortune in the King's Service from the firſt Hour of the Troubles, and purſued it with that Courage and Conſtancy, that when the King was murdered, and He deſerted by the *Iriſh*, contrary to the Articles of the Peace which they had made with him, and when He could make no longer Defence, He refuſed all the Conditions which *Cromwell* offered, who would have given him all his vaſt Eſtate, if He would have been contented to have lived quietly in ſome of his own Houſes, without farther concerning himſelf in the Quarrel;

and transported himself without so much as accepting as 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 Vigor. 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. The Lord Colepepper.

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 Secretary Nicholas.

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 Deſpatches and other Tranſactions, which more immediately related to his Office, and which indeed were always made with his Privity and Concurrence.

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

It will he convenient here, before We deſcend to thoſe Particulars which had an Influence upon the Minds of Men, to take a clear View of the Temper and Spirit of that Time; of the Nature and Inclination of the Army; of the Diſpoſition and Intereſt of the ſeveral Factions in Religion, all which appeared in their ſeveral Colors 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 Humor 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.

The Temper and Spirit of that Time.

And whoſoever takes a Proſpect of all thoſe ſeveral Paſſions and Appetites and Intereſts, together with the divided Affections, Jealouſies and Animoſities, of thoſe who had been always looked upon as the King's

Party, which if united would in that Conjuncture have been powerful enough to have balanced all the other: I say, whoever truly and ingenuously considers and reflects upon all this Composition of contradictory Wishes and Expectations, must confess that the King was not yet the Master of the Kingdom, nor his Authority and Security such as the general Noise and Acclamation, the Bells and the Bonfires, proclaimed it to be; and that there was in no Conjuncture more Need, that the Virtue and Wisdom and Industry of a Prince should be evident and made manifest in the Preservation of his Dignity, and in the Application of his Mind to the Government of his Affairs; and that all who were eminently trusted by him, should be Men of unquestionable Sincerity, who with Industry and Dexterity should first endeavour to compose the public 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 monarchic

Power in all the juſt Extents which the King could expect, or Men of any public or honeſt Affections could wiſh or ſubmit to.

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

The firſt Mortification the King met with was as ſoon as He arrived at *Canterbury*, which was within three Hours after He landed at *Dover;* and where He found many of thoſe who were juſtly looked upon, from their own Sufferings or thoſe of their Fathers, and their conſtant adhering to the ſame Principles, as of the King's Party, who with Joy waited to kiſs his Hand, and were received by him with thoſe open Arms and flowing Expreſſions of Grace, calling all thoſe by their Names who were known to him, that They eaſily aſſured themſelves of the Accompliſhment of all their Deſires from ſuch a generous Prince. And ſome of them, that They might not loſe the firſt Opportunity, forced him to give them preſent Audience, in which They reckoned up the inſupportable Loſſes undergone by themſelves or their Fathers, and ſome Services of their own; and thereupon demanded the preſent Grant or Promiſe of ſuch or ſuch an Office. Some, for the real ſmall Value of one though of the firſt *Claſſis*, preſſed for two or three with ſuch Confidence and Importunity, and with ſuch tedious Diſcourſes, that the King was extremely nauſeated with their Suits, though his Modeſty knew not how to break from them; that He no ſooner got into his Chamber, which for ſome Hours He was not able to do, than He lamented the Condition to which He found He muſt be ſubject: And did in Truth from that Minute contract ſuch a Prejudice againſt the Perſons of ſome of thoſe, though of the greateſt Quality,

for the Indecency and Incongruity of their Pretences, that He never afterwards received their Addreſſes with his uſual Grace or Patience, and rarely granted any Thing They deſired, though the Matter was more reaſonable, and the Manner of aſking much more modeſt.

Monk recommends a Liſt of Privy-Counſellors to the King.

But there was another Mortification which immediately ſucceeded this, that gave him much more Trouble, and in which He knew not how to comport himſelf. The General, after He had given all neceſſary Orders to his Troops, and ſent a ſhort Deſpatch to the Parliament of the King's being come to *Canterbury*, and of his Purpoſe to ſtay there two Days till the next *Sunday* was paſt, He came to the King in his Chamber, and in a ſhort ſecret Audience, and without any Preamble or Apology, as He was not a Man of a graceful Elocution, He told him "that "He could not do him better Service, than by 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 "receive his Advice, and willing to gratify him in "any Thing He ſhould deſire, and which would not "be prejudicial to his Service." The King, as ſoon as He could, took an Opportunity, when there remained no more in his Chamber, to inform the Chancellor of the firſt Aſſaults He had 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 diſſerved him in the Beginning of the Rebellion, and in the carrying it on with all Fierceneſs and Animoſity until the new Model, and diſmiſſing the Earl of *Eſſex:* Then indeed *Cromwell* had grown terrible to them, and diſpoſed them to wiſh the King were again poſſeſſed of his regal Power, and which They did but wiſh. There were then the Names of the principal Perſons of the Preſbyterian Party, to which the General was thought to be moſt inclined, at leaſt to ſatisfy the fooliſh and unruly Inclinations of his Wife. There were likewiſe the Names of ſome who were moſt notorious in all the other Factions; and of ſome who in Reſpect of their mean Qualities and meaner Qualifications, no Body could imagine how They could come to be named, except that, by the very odd Mixture, any ſober and wiſe Reſolutions and Concurrence might be prevented.

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 Oppor- "tunity to diſcourſe the Matter with the General" (whom He had not yet ſaluted) "or rather with Mr. "*Morrice* his moſt intimate Friend," whom He had newly preſented to the King, and "with Both whom "He preſumed He would ſhortly be acquainted," though for the preſent Both were equally unknown to him. Shortly after, when mutual Viſits had paſſed between them, and ſuch Profeſſions as naturally are made between Perſons who were like to have much to do with each other; and Mr. *Morrice* being in private with him, the Chancellor told him "how much "the King was ſurpriſed with the Paper He had re- "ceived from the General, which at leaſt recom- "mended (and which would have always great Au- "thority 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 Inclina- "tion and Power of the General, which would be

With which He is diſpleaſed.

" attended with as ill Effects." Mr. *Morrice* ſeemed much troubled at the Apprehenſion, and ſaid, " the " Paper was of his Hand-writing, by the General's " Order, who He was aſſured had no ſuch Intention; " but that He would preſently ſpeak with him and " return," which He did within leſs than an Hour, and expreſſed " the Trouble the General was in upon " the King's very juſt Exception; and that the Truth " was, *He had been obliged to have much Communica-* " *tion with Men of all Humors 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 Per-* " *ſons,*" 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.*"

But ſatisfied by Monk's Explanation.

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 ſlippery Humor would be eaſily reſtrained and fixed by the Uncle. All this was tranſacted during his Majeſty's Stay at *Canterbury*.

The King's triumphant Entry into London.

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 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 Luſtre; whom the King received with a moſt graceful and obliging Countenance, and knighted the Mayor and all the Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and the principal Officers of the Militia: an Honor 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 with-held that Happineſs from them, which They ſhould enjoy in the largeſt Meaſure They could deſire or wiſh. The Joy on all Sides was with the greateſt Exceſs, ſo that moſt Men thought, and had Reaſon enough to think, that the King was even already that great and glorious Prince, which the Parliament had wantonly and hypocritically promiſed to raiſe his Father to be.

Exceſſive Joy upon the Reſtoration.

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

Both Houſes of Parliament meet.

Ordinances

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

Particularly of the Presbyterian Party in it.

It is true, the *Presbyterians* were very numerous in the House, and many of them Men of good Parts, and had a great Party in the Army, and a greater in the City, and except with reference to Episcopacy were desirous to make themselves grateful to the King in the settling all his Interest, and especially in vindicating themselves from the odious Murder of the King by loud and passionate Inveighing against that monstrous Parricide, and with the highest Animosity denouncing the severest Judgments not only against those who were immediately guilty of it, but against those principal Persons who had most notoriously adhered to *Cromwell* in the Administration of his Government, that is, most eminently opposed them and their Faction. They took all Occasions to declare, "that the Power and Interest of the Party had been "the chief Means to bring home the King;" and used all possible Endeavours that the King might be persuaded to think so too, and that the very *Covenant* had at last done him Good and expedited his Return, by the causing it to be hung up in Churches, from whence *Cromwell* had cast it out, and their Ministers pressing upon the Conscience of all those who had taken it, "that They were bound by that Clause "which concerned the Defence of the King's Person, "to take up Arms if Need were on his Behalf, and "to restore him to his rightful Government;" when the very same Ministers had obliged them to take up Arms against the King his Father by Virtue of that *Covenant*, and to fight against him till They had taken him Prisoner, which produced his Murder. This Party was much displeased, that the King declared

himſelf ſo poſitively on Behalf of Epiſcopacy, and would hear no other Prayers in his Chapel than thoſe contained in the *Book of Common-Prayer*, and that all thoſe Formalities and Solemnities were now again reſumed and practiſed, which They had cauſed to be aboliſhed for ſo many Years paſt. Yet the King left all Churches to their Liberty, to uſe ſuch Forms of Devotion which They liked beſt; and ſuch of their chief Preachers who deſired it, or were deſired by their Friends, were admitted to preach before him, even without the Surplice, or any other Habit than They made choice of. But this Connivance would not do their Buſineſs: Their Preaching made no Proſelytes who were not ſo before; and the Reſort of the People to thoſe Churches, where the *Common-Prayer* was again introduced, was Evidence enough of their Inclinations; and They ſaw the King's Chapel always full of thoſe, who had uſed to poſſeſs the chief Benches in their Aſſemblies: So that it was manifeſt that Nothing but the ſupreme Authority would be able to ſettle their Diſcipline; and therefore with their uſual Confidence They were very importunate in the Houſe of Commons, "that the Eccleſiaſtical Government "might be ſettled and remain according to the *Cove-* "*nant*, which had been practiſed many Years, and "ſo the People generally well devoted to it, whereas "the introducing the *Common-Prayer* (with which "very few had ever been acquainted or heard it read) "would very much offend the People, and give "great Interruption to the compoſing the Peace of "the Kingdom." This was urged in the Houſe of Commons by eminent Men of the Party, who believed

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

They had the major Part of their Mind. And their Preachers were as ſolicitous and induſtrious to inculcate the ſame Doctrine to the principal Perſons who had returned with the King, and every Day reſorted to the Court as if They preſided there, and had frequent Audiences of the King to perſuade him to be of the ſame Opinion; from whom They received no other 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 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 public 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 deſpatched; 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, 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 ſhowly ſoever, with as much Expedition as from the Nature of the Affair, and the Crowd in which it was neceſſary to be agitated, could reaſonably be expected; and therefore his Majeſty was leſs troubled for thoſe Inconveniencies which He foreſaw muſt inevitably flow from thence.

The Nature and Inclination of the Army.

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

the late Powers; and after the Parliament had declared for and proclaimed the King, He caſhiered others, and gave their Offices to ſome eminent Commanders who had ſerved the King; and gave others of the loyal Nobility Leave to liſt Volunteers 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 melancholic 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 Humors, 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 melancholic 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 of many unhappy Attempts in the late Time, that if any present Force could be drawn together, and possessed of any such Place in which They might make a Stand without being over-run 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 extinguished, by the dear-bought Experience in the woful Enterprise at *Worcester*. However, it had been now a very justifiable Presumption in the King, to believe as well as hope, that He could not be long in *England* without such an Apparency of his own Party that wished all that He himself desired, and such a Manifestation of their Authority, Interest and Power, that would prevent or be sufficient to subdue any froward Disposition that might grow up in the Parliament, or more extravagant Demands in the Army itself. An Appearence there was of that People, great enough, who had all the Wishes for the King which He entertained for himself. But They were so divided and disunited by private Quarrels, Factions and Animosities; or so unacquainted with each other; or, which was worse,

Disunion of the King's Friends.

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

ſo jealous of each other; the Underſtandings and Faculties of many honeſt Men were ſo weak and ſhallow, that They could not be applied to any great Truſt; and others who wiſhed and meant very well had a Peeviſhneſs, Frowardneſs and Opiniatrety, that They would be engaged only in what pleaſed themſelves, nor would join in any Thing with ſuch and ſuch Men whom They diſliked. The ſevere and tyrannical Government of *Cromwell* and the Parliament had ſo often baniſhed and impriſoned them upon mere Jealouſies, that They were grown Strangers to one another, without any Communication between them: And there had been ſo frequent Betrayings and Treacheries uſed, ſo many Diſcoveries of Meetings privately contrived, and of Diſcourſes accidentally entered into, and Words and Expreſſions raſhly and unadviſedly uttered without any Deſign, upon which Multitudes were ſtill impriſoned and many put to Death, that the Jealouſy was ſo univerſal, that few Men who had 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 *Claſſis*, that is, of a powerful Intereſt and unſuſpected Integrity (for there were ſome very good Men, who were without any Cauſe ſuſpected then, becauſe They were not equally perſecuted upon all Occaſions) there were only two who ſurvived, the Marquis of *Hertford*

and Earl of *Southampton*; who were Both great and worthy Men, looked upon with great Eſtimation by all the moſt valuable Men who could contribute moſt to the King's Reſtoration, and with Reverence by their greateſt Enemy, and had been courted by *Cromwell* himſelf till He found it to no Purpoſe. And though the Marquis had been prevailed with once and no more to give him a Viſit, the other, the Earl, could never be perſuaded ſo much as to ſee him; and when *Cromwell* was in the *New-Foreſt* and reſolved one Day to viſit him, He being informed of it or ſuſpecting it, removed to another Houſe He had at ſuch a Diſtance as exempted him from that Viſitation. But theſe two great Perſons had for ſeveral Years withdrawn themſelves into the Country, lived retired, ſent ſometimes ſuch Money as They could raiſe out of their long-ſequeſtered and exhauſted Fortunes, by Meſſengers of their own Dependance, with Advice to the King, "to ſit ſtill and expect a reaſonable Re-"volution, without making any unadviſed Attempt;" and induſtriouſly declined any Converſation or Commerce with any who were known to correſpond with the King: So that now upon his Majeſty's Return, They were totally unacquainted with any of thoſe Perſons, who now looked as Men to be depended upon in any great Action and Attempt. And for themſelves, as the Marquis ſhortly after died, ſo the other with great Abilities ſerved him in his moſt ſecret and important Counſels, but had been never converſant in martial Affairs.

There had been ſix or eight Perſons of general good and confeſſed Reputation, and who of all who

were then left alive had had the moſt eminent Charges in the War, and executed them with great Courage and Diſcretion; ſo that few Men could with any reaſonable Pretence refuſe to receive Orders from them, or to ſerve under their Commands. They had great Affection for and Confidence in each other, and had frankly offered by an Expreſs of their own Number, whilſt the King remained in *France*, "that, if They "were approved and qualified by his Majeſty, They "would by joint Advice intend the Care of his Ma"jeſty's Service; and as They would not engage in "any abſurd and deſperate Attempt, but uſe all their "Credit and Authority to prevent and diſcounte"nance the ſame, ſo They would take the firſt rati"onal 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 Com"mands 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 par"ticular Perſons, who too frequently with great Zeal "and little Animadverſion embarked themſelves in "impoſſible Undertakings, his Majeſty upon Adver"tiſement thereof would firſt communicate the Mo-

" tives or Pretences which would be offered to him, " to them; and then They would find Opportunity " to confer with ſome ſober Man of that Fraternity" (as there was no well-affected Perſon in *England*, who at that Time would not willingly receive Advice and Direction from moſt of thoſe Perſons) " and " thereupon They would preſent their Opinion to " his Majeſty, and if the Deſign ſhould appear prac- " ticable 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.

Under this Conduct for ſome Years all Things ſucceeded well, many unſeaſonable Attempts were prevented, and thereby the Lives of many good Men preſerved: And though (upon the curſory Jealouſy of that Time, and the reſtleſs Apprehenſion of *Cromwell*, and the almoſt continual Commitments of all who had eminently ſerved the King and were able to do it again) theſe Perſons who were thus truſted, or the major Part of them, were ſeldom out of Priſon, or free from the Obligation of good Sureties for their peaceable Behaviour; yet all the Vigilance of *Cromwell* and his moſt diligent Inquiſitors could never diſcover this ſecret Intercourſe between thoſe Confidants and the King, which did always paſs and was maintained

by Expreſſes made Choice of by them, and ſupported at their Charge out of ſuch Monies as were privately collected for public 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 irreconcileable, 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 Account which the King uſed to receive from them. And the Cauſe growing more public and notorious, though not known in a long Time after to the King, exceedingly leſſened Both their Reputations with the moſt ſober Men; inſomuch as They withdrew all Confidence in their Conduct, and all inclination to embark in the Buſineſs which was intruſted in ſuch Hands. And which was worſe than all this, one Perſon amongſt them of as unblemiſhed a Reputation as either of them, and of much better Abilities and Faculties of Mind, either affected with this untoward Accident, or broken with frequent Impriſonments and Deſpair of any Reſurrection of the King's Intereſt, about this Time yielded to a foul Temptation; and for large Supplies of Money, which his Fortune ſtood in Need of, engaged to be a Spy to

Cromwell, with a Latitude which He did not allow to others of that ignominious Tribe, undertaking only to impart enough of any Deſign to prevent the Miſchief thereof, without expoſing any Man to the Loſs of his Life, or ever appearing himſelf to make good and juſtify any of his Diſcoveries. The reſt of his Aſſociates neither ſuſpected their Companion, nor leſſened their Affection or utmoſt Zeal for the King; though They remitted ſome of their Diligence in his Service, by the other unhappy Interruption.

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

venture themſelves upon dangerous or doubtful Enterpriſes. They complained, "that when They 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 Reputation for their Affections and Experience) "a "Deſign which had been well conſulted and delibe- "rated by thoſe who meant to venture their own "Lives in the Execution of it, They made ſo many "Excuſes and Arguments and Objections againſt it, "as if it were wholly unadviſable and unpracticable; "and when They propoſed the meeting and confer- "ring 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 Gentlemen only wiſhed them to take "Heed They were not deſtroyed, and poſitively re- "fuſed 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 Majeſty at large of the Animoſity that was grown between two of the principal Perſons, and the original Cauſe thereof, and therefore deſired "that ſome "Perſon might be ſent, to whom They might repair "for Orders, until the King himſelf diſcerned that all

Pre-

" Preparations were in ſuch a Readineſs, that He " might reaſonably venture his Royal Perſon with " them."

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

But theſe unhappy and fatal Miſcarriages, and the ſad Spectacles which enſued, made not thoſe Impreſſions upon the Affections and Spirits of the King's Friends, as they ought to have done; nor rendered the Warineſs and Diſcretion of thoſe who had diſſuaded the Enterpriſe, and who were always impriſoned upon ſuſpicion, how innocent ſoever, the more valued and eſteemed: On the contrary it increaſed the Reproaches againſt the *Knot*, as if their *Lacheté* and Want of Appearance and engaging had been the ſole

Cauſe of the Misfortune. And after ſome ſhort Fits of Dejection and Acquieſcence, upon the ſhedding ſo much Blood of their Friends and Confederates, and the notorious Diſcovery of being betrayed by thoſe, who had been truſted by them, of the Army; They began again to reſume Courage, to meet and enter upon new Counſels and Deſigns, imputing the former Want of Succeſs to the Want of Skill and Conduct in the Undertakers, not to the all-ſeeing Vigilance of *Cromwell* and his Inſtruments, or to the formed Strength of his Government not to be ſhaken by weak or ill-ſeconded Conſpiracies. Young Men were grown up, who inherited their Fathers Malignity, and were too impatient to revenge their Death, or to be even with their Oppreſſors, and ſo entered into new 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 Rigor increaſed the Reproaches and Animoſities in the King's Friends againſt each other: The wiſer and more ſober Part, who had moſt Experience, and knew how impoſſible it was to ſucceed in ſuch enterpriſes, and had yet preſerved or redeemed enough of their Fortunes to ſit ſtill and expect ſome hopeful Revolution, were unexpreſſibly offended, and

bitterly inveighed againſt thoſe, who without Reaſon diſturbed their Peace and Quiet, by provoking the State to freſh Perſecutions of them who had given them no Offence: And the other ſtirring and enraged Party, with more Fierceneſs and public Diſdain proteſted againſt and reviled thoſe, who refuſed to join with them, as Men who had ſpent all their Stock of Allegiance, and meant to acquieſce with what They had left under the Tyranny and in the Subjection of *Cromwell*. And thus, They who did really wiſh the ſame Things, and equally the Overthrow of that Government, which hindered the Reſtoration of the King, grew into more implacable Jealouſies and Virulencies againſt each other, than againſt that Power that oppreſſed them Both, and *poured out their Blood like Water*. And either Party conveyed their Apologies and Accuſations to the King: One inſiſting upon the Impertinency of all ſuch Attempts; and the other inſiſting that They were ready for a very ſolid and well grounded Enterpriſe, were ſure to be poſſeſſed of good Towns, if, by his Majeſty's poſitive Command, the reſt, who profeſſed ſuch Obedience to him, would join with them.

It was at this Time, and upon theſe Reaſons, that the King ſent the Marquis of *Ormond* into *England*, to find out and diſcover whether in Truth there were any ſober Preparations in 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 Con-

ference with the principal Perſons of the moſt contradictory Judgments, quickly found that They who were accuſed to be lazy and unactive, were in Truth diſcreet Men, and as ready vigorouſly to appear as the other, when the Seaſon ſhould be adviſable, which He clearly diſcerned it was not then; and that the Preſumption of the other, upon Perſons as well as Places, was in no Degree to be depended upon. And ſo, after He had done what was poſſible towards making a good Intelligence between Tempers and Underſtandings ſo different, the Marquis had the ſame good Fortune to retire from thence and bring himſelf ſafe to the King; which was the more wonderful Preſervation, in that, during the whole Time of his Abode in *London*, He had truſted no Man more, nor conferred with any Man ſo much, as with that Perſon of the *Select Knot*, who had been corrupted to give all Intelligence to *Cromwell:* And as He had now blaſted and diverted ſome ill-laid Deſigns, ſo He had diſcovered the Marquis his Arrival to him, but could not be prevailed with to inform him of his Lodging, which was particularly known to him upon every Change, or to contrive any Way for his Apprehenſion; on the contrary, as in all his 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 Tergiversation; his late Fidelity to the Marquis of *Ormond* weighing down with them all the Intimations, until the Evidence was so pregnant, that there was no Room for any Doubt.

After all these Endeavours by the King to discountenance and suppress all unseasonable Action amongst his Party, and to infuse into them a Spirit of Peace and Quiet till He himself could appear in the Head of some foreign Forces, which He looked upon as the only reasonable Encouragement that could animate his Friends to declare for him; the generous Distemper and Impatience of their Nature was incorrigible. They thought the Expectation of Miracles from God Almighty was too lazy and stupid a Confidence, and that God no less required their Endeavours and Activity, than They hoped for his Benediction in their Success. New Hopes were entertained, and Counsels suitable entered upon. Mr. *Mordaunt* the younger Son and Brother to the Earls of *Peterborough*, who was too young in the Time of the late War to act any Part in it, had lately undergone, after *Cromwell* himself had taken great Pains in the Examination of him, a severe Trial before the High-Court of Justice; where by his own singular Address and Behaviour, and his Friends having wrought by Money upon some of the Witnesses to absent themselves, He was by one single Voice acquitted; and after a longer Detention in Prison by the Indignation of *Cromwell*, who well knew his Guilt, and against the Rules and

Forms of their own Juſtice, He was diſcharged, after moſt of his Aſſociates were publicly and barbarouſly put to ſeveral Kinds of Death. And He no ſooner found himſelf at Liberty, than he engaged in new Intrigues, how He might deſtroy that Government that was ſo near deſtroying him. The State of the Kingdom was indeed altered, and He had Encouragement to hope well, which former Undertakers, and himſelf in his, had been without. *Cromwell* had entered into a War with *Spain*; and the King was received and permitted to live in *Flanders*, with ſome Exhibition from that King for his Support, and Aſſurance of an Army to embark for *England*, (which made a great Noiſe, and raiſed the broken Hearts of his Friends after ſo many Diſtreſſes) which his Majeſty was contented ſhould be generally reputed to be greater and in more Forwardneſs, than there was Cauſe for. He had likewiſe another Advantage much ſuperior and of more Importance than the other, by the Death of *Cromwell*, which fell out without or beyond Expectation, which ſeemed to put an End to all his Stratagems, and to diſſolve the whole Frame of Government in the three Kingdoms, and to open many Doors to the King to enter upon that which every Body knew to be his own. And though this reaſonable Hope was, ſooner than could be imagined, blaſted and extinguiſhed, by an univerſal Submiſſion to the Declaration that *Cromwell* had made at his Death, "that his "Son *Richard* ſhould ſucceed him;" upon which He was declared Protector by the Council, Army, Navy, with the Concurrence of the Forces of the three Kingdoms, and the Addreſſes of all the Counties in *Eng-*

land, with Vows of their Obedience; inſomuch as He appeared in the Eyes of all Men as formidably ſettled as his Father had been: Yet Mr. *Mordaunt* proceeded with Alacrity in his Deſign, contrary to the Opinion and Advice of thoſe with whom He was obliged to conſult, who thought the Conjuncture as unfavorable 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 Proſecution, which had been formerly practiſed againſt the Royal Party, in this Nonage of *Richard*'s Government, gave more Liberty to Communication; and the Preſbyterian Party grew more diſcontented and daring, and the Independant leſs concerned to prevent any Inconvenience or Trouble to the weak Son of *Oliver*, whom They reſolved not to obey. Mr. *Mordaunt*, who had gained much Reputation by his ſteady Carriage in his late Mortification, and by his ſo briſk Carriage ſo ſoon after, found Credit with many Perſons of great Fortune and Intereſt; as Sir *George Booth* and Sir *Thomas Middleton*, the greateſt Men in *Cheſhire* and *North-Wales*, who were reputed *Preſbyterians*, and had been Both very active againſt the King, and now reſolved to declare for him; Sir *Horatio Townſend*, who was newly become of Age, and the moſt powerful Perſon in *Norfolk*, where there were many gallant

Men ready to follow him; and many others the moſt conſiderable Men in moſt of the Counties of *England:* Who all agreed in ſo many ſeveral Counties of *England* to appear upon a Day, in ſuch Bodies as They could draw together; many conſiderable Places being prepared for their Reception, or too week to oppoſe them. And Mr. *Mordaunt* ſecretly tranſported himſelf and waited upon the King at *Bruſſels*, with that Warineſs that He was known to none, but to them with whom He was to conſult. The King received by him a full Information of the Engagement of all thoſe Perſons to do him Service with the utmoſt Hazard, and of the Method They meant to proceed in, and the Probability, moſt like Aſſurance, of their being to be poſſeſſed of *Gloceſter*, *Cheſter*, *Lynn*, *Yarmouth*, all *Kent*, and the moſt conſiderable Places in the *Weſt*, where indeed his own Friends were very conſiderable.

Upon the whole Matter the King thought it ſo reaſonable to approve the whole Deſign, that He appointed the Day, with a Promiſe to be himſelf, with his Brother the Duke of *York*, concealed at *Calais* or thereabout, that They might divide themſelves to thoſe Parts, which ſhould be thought moſt proper for the Work in Hand. Mr *Mordaunt* lamented the Warineſs, and Want of Confidence in thoſe Perſons, upon whom the King depended, and acknowledged them moſt worthy of that Truſt, and of much Reputation in the Nation; and imputed their much Reſervation to the Troubles, and Impriſonments, which They had been ſeldom free from, and their Obſervation how little Ground there had been for former

Enterprises, without the least Suspicion of Want of Affection and Resolution in any one of them, and less of Integrity. But the King was by this Time fully convinced where the Treachery was, without any Blemish to any one of the rest, who needed not to be ashamed of being deceived by a Man, whom all the Kingdom would have trusted. The ridiculous Dethroning of *Richard* by the Army, and the re-assembling 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 Rigor 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 treated; 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 Men's Mouths were opened wider to accuſe and defame each other, than to defend their own Integrity and their Lives.

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

I have thought myſelf obliged to renew the Memory of all theſe Particulars, that the ſeveral Viciſſitudes and Stages may be known, by which the Jealouſies, Murmurs and Diſaffections, in the Royal Party amongſt themſelves, and againſt each other, had mounted to that Height, which the King found them at when He returned; when in Truth very few Men of active Minds, and upon whom He could depend in any ſudden Occaſion, that might probably preſs him, can be named, who had any Confidence in each other. All Men were full of bitter Reflections upon the Actions, and Behaviour of others, or of Excuſes and Apologies for themſelves for what They thought might be charged upon them. The woful Vice of Drinking, from the Uneaſineſs of their Fortune, or the Neceſſity of frequent Meetings together, for which Taverns were the moſt ſecure Places, had ſpread itſelf very far in that *Claſſis* of Men, as well as upon other Parts of the Nation, in all Counties; and had exceedingly weakened the Parts, and broken the Underſtandings of many, who had formerly competent Judgments, and had been in all Reſpects fit for any Truſt; and had prevented the Growth of Parts in many young Men, who had good Affections, but had been from their Entering into the World ſo corrupted with that Exceſs, and other Licence of the

Many of them much addicted to Drinking.

Time, that They only made much Noiſe, and, by their extravagant and ſcandalous Debauches, brought many Calumnies and Diſeſtimation upon that Cauſe, which They pretended to advance. They who had ſuffered much in their Fortunes, and by frequent Impriſonments, and Sequeſtrations, and Compoſitions, expected large Recompences and Reparations in Honors, which They could not ſupport, or Offices, which They could not diſcharge, or Lands and Money, which the King had not to give; as all diſpaſſioned Men knew the Conditions, which the King was obliged to perform, and that the Act of Indemnity diſcharged all thoſe Forfeitures, which could have been applied to their Benefit: And therefore They, who had been without Compariſon the greateſt Sufferers in their Fortunes, and in all Reſpects had merited moſt, never made any inconvenient Suits to the King, but modeſtly left the Memory and Conſideration of all They had done, or undergone, to his Majeſty's own gracious Reflections. They were obſerved to be moſt importunate, who had deſerved leaſt, and were leaſt capable to perform any notable Service; and none had more Eſteem of themſelves, and believed Preferment to be more due to them, than a Sort of Men, who had moſt loudly began the King's Health in Taverns, eſpecially if for any Diſorders, which had accompanied it, They had ſuffered Impriſonment, without any other Pretence of Merit, or running any other Hazard.

Thoſe who had done leaſt the moſt importunate.

Though it was very evident (humanly ſpeaking) that the late Combination entered into, and the brave Attempt and Engagement of Sir *George Booth*, how

unſucceſsful ſoever in the Inſtant, had contributed very much to the wonderful Change, that had ſince enſued, by the Diſcovery of the general Affections and Diſpoſition of the Kingdom, and their Averſion from any kind of Government, that was not founded upon the old Principles; and the public or private Engagement of very many Perſons, who had never been before ſuſpected, whereof though many of the moſt conſiderable Perſons had been, by the Treachery heretofore mentioned, committed to ſeveral Priſons, yet many others of equal Intereſt remained ſtill in Liberty, and had a great Influence upon the Counſels both in the Parliament and Army: Yet I ſay, notwithſtanding this was notorious, a greater Animoſity had been kindled in the Royal Party, and was ſtill purſued and improved amongſt them from that Combination and Engagement, than from all the other Accidents and Occaſions, and gave the King more Trouble and Perplexity. It had introduced a great Number of Perſons, who had formerly no Pretence of Merit from the King, rather might have been the Objects of his Juſtice, to a juſt Title to the greateſt Favors the King could confer; and which, from that Time, They had continually improved by repeated Offices and Services, which, being of a later Date, might be thought to cloud and eclipſe the Luſtre of thoſe Actions, which had before been performed by the more ancient Cavaliers, eſpecially of thoſe, who had been obſerved to be remiſs 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 En- "terprise; but that thereby the King's Friends were "so weakened, and more completely undone, that "They were disabled to appear in that Conjunct- "ure, when the Army was divided, and in which "They might otherwise have been considerable "enough to have given the Law to all Parties." And undervalue the more eminent Services of others.

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

had moſt ſignally ſerved the King.

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 Honor 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 of 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 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 Deſpatch 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 Reprehenſion or Reſtraint. All Relations were confounded by the ſeveral Sects in Religion, which diſcountenanced all Forms of Reverence and Reſpect, as Reliques and Marks of Superſtition. Children aſked not Bleſſing of their Parents; nor did They

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

He gives himſelf up to his Pleaſures.

Wickedneſs of all Kinds introduced by the late Anarchy.

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 Expenſe. The young Women converſed without any Circumſpection or Modeſty, and frequently met at Taverns and common Eating-houſes; 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 chuſing 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 *Hotham*, and *Vane*, are ſufficient Inſtances; though other more illuſtrious Houſes may be named, where the ſame accurſed Fruit was too plentifully gathered, and too notorious to the World. The Relation between Maſters and Servants had

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 ſouleſt 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 public Hatred upon thoſe, who were notoriouſly guilty of them. But then He was well pleaſed with the moſt ſcandalous Lives of thoſe, who pretended to be for the King, and wiſhed that all his were ſuch, and took all the Pains He could that They might be generally thought to be ſuch; whereas in Truth the greateſt Part of thoſe, who were guilty of thoſe Diſorders, were young Men, who had never ſeen the King, and had been born and bred in thoſe corrupt Times, *when there was no King in Iſrael.* He was equally delighted with the Luxury and Voluptuouſneſs of the *Preſbyterians*, who in Contempt of the 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 Diſapidations and Ruins of the ancient Candor, 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 to ſome, and the Unwarineſs in giving a Kind of Countenance to others, too much of that Poiſon inſinuated itſelf into Minds not well fortified againſt ſuch Infection: So that, much of the Malignity was tranſplanted, inſtead of being extinguiſhed, to the Corruption of many 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

The old Courſe of Juſtice reſtored.

renewed, and the Names of thoſe Perſons inſerted therein, who had been moſt eminent Sufferers for the King, and were known to have entire Affections for his Majeſty, and the Laws; though it was not poſſible, but ſome would get and continue in, who were of more doubtful Inclinations, by their not being known to him, whoſe Province it was to depute them. Denied it cannot be, that there appeared, ſooner than was thought poſſible, a general Settlement in the civil Juſtice of the Kingdom; that no Man complained without Remedy, and *every Man dwelt again under the Shadow of his own Vine*, without any Complaint of Injuſtice and Oppreſſion.

The 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 favored 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 whoſe indefatigable Induſtry He and all Men had great Experience; but becauſe He ſaw thoſe Men, whom He was as willing to truſt, and who had at leaſt an equal Share in his Affections, more inclined to Eaſe and Pleaſure, and willing that the Weight of the Work ſhould lie on the Chancellor's Shoulders, with whom They had an entire Friendſhip, and knew well that They ſhould with more Eaſe be conſulted by him in all Matters of Importance. Nor was it poſſible for him, at the firſt Coming, to avoid the being engaged in all the Counſels, of how diſtinct a Nature ſoever, becauſe He had been beſt acquainted with all Tranſactions whilſt the King was abroad; and therefore Communication with him in all Things was thought neceſſary by thoſe, who were to have any Part in them. Beſides that, He continued ſtill Chancellor of the Exchequer by Virtue of the Grant formerly made to him by the laſt King, during whoſe Time He executed that Office, but reſolved to ſurrender it into the King's Hand as ſoon as his Majeſty ſhould reſolve on whom to confer it; He propoſing Nothing to himſelf, but to be left at Liberty to intend only the Diſcharge of his own Office, which He thought himſelf unequal to, and hoped only to improve his Talent that Way by a moſt diligent Application, well knowing the great Abilities

The Chancellor principally engaged in the public Tranſactions.

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 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 Expenſes 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 seasonable. The General, who was the sole Pillar of the King's Confidence, had by the Parliament been invested (before the King's Return) in all the Offices and Commands, which *Cromwell* had enjoyed. He was Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and General of all the Armies and Forces raised, or to be raised, in the three Kingdoms; and it was not fit that He should be degraded from either upon his Majesty's Arrival: Therefore all Diligence was used in dispatching Grants of all those Commands to him under the Great Seal of *England*. And that He might be obliged to be always near his Majesty's Person, He was presently sworn Gentleman of the Bedchamber; and might chuse what Office He liked best in the Court, whilst Titles of Honor were preparing by the Attorney, and Particulars of Lands inquired after by the Auditors and Receivers, which in all Respects might raise him to that Height, which would most please him. He made Choice to be Master of the Horse, and was immediately gratified with it; and thereby all those poor Gentlemen, who had Promises

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

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

and Warrants for ſeveral Places, depending upon that great Officer, were diſappointed, and offered the King's Sign Manual to no Purpoſe for their Admiſſion. The General in his own Nature was an immoderate Lover of Money, and yet would have gratified ſome of the Pretenders upon his Majeſty's Recommendation, if the vile good Huſwifery of his Wife had not engroſſed that Province, and preferred him, who offered moſt Money, before all other Conſiderations or Motives. And hereby, not only many honeſt Men who had ſeveral Ways ſerved the King, and ſpent the Fortunes They had been Maſters of, were denied the Recompences the King had deſigned to them; but ſuch Men, who had been moſt notorious in the Malice againſt the Crown from the Beginning of the Rebellion, or had been employed in all the active Offices to affront and oppreſs his Party, were for Money preferred and admitted into thoſe Offices, and became the King's Servants very much againſt his Will, and with his manifeſt Regret on the Behalf of the honeſt Men, who had been ſo unworthily rejected. And this occaſioned the firſt Murmur and Diſcontent, which appeared after the King's Return, amongſt thoſe, who were not inclined to it, yet found every Day freſh Occaſions to nouriſh and improve it.

The 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

The Marquis of Ormond

was then ſworn. And They had Both their Tables erected according to their old Models, and all thoſe Exceſſes, which the irregular Precedents of former Times had introduced, and which the King had ſo ſolemnly reſolved to reform, before it could be ſaid to trench upon the Rights of particular Perſons. But the good Humor 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.

made Lord Steward of the Houſehold.

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

The Earl of Manchester Lord Chamberlain.

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 differved 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 Gentleneſs and Juſtice of his Nature, in the Sweetneſs and Evenneſs of his Converſation, and in his real Principles for Monarchy, the moſt worthy to be received into the Truſt and Confidence, in which He was placed. With his, the two other white Staves were diſpoſed 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 Expenſes of the Houſe, and were a great Part of it.

And thus the King's Houſe quickly appeared in its full Luſtre, the Eating and Drinking very grateful to all Men, and the Charge and Expenſe of it much exceeding the Precedents of the moſt luxurious Times; and all this before there was any Proviſion of ready Money, or any Aſſignation of a futute 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 Honor or Office) Lord High-Treaſurer of *England;* but He deſired firſt to ſee ſome Revenue ſettled by the Parliament, and that Part of the old, which had been ſold and diſperſed by extravagant Grants and Sales, reduced into the old Channel, and regularly to be received and paid, and the Cuſtoms to be put in ſuch Order (which were not yet granted, and only continued by Orders as illegal, as the late Times had been accuſtomed to, and to the Authority whereof He had no Mind to adminiſter) before He was willing to receive the Staff. And ſo the Office of the Treaſury was by Commiſſion executed by ſeveral Lords of the Council, whereof the Chancellor, as well by the Dignity of his Place, as by his ſtill being Chancellor of the Exchequer, was one, and ſo engaged in the putting the Cuſtoms likewiſe into Commiſſioners Hands, and ſettling all the other Branches of the Revenue in ſuch Manner as was thought moſt reaſonable; in all Debates whereof his Majeſty himſelf was ſtill preſent, and approved the Concluſion. But after a Month or two ſpent in this Method, in the Crowd of ſo much Buſineſs of ſeveral Natures, the King found ſo little Expedition that He thought it beſt to determine that Commiſſion, and ſo gave the Staff to the Earl of *Southampton*, and made him Treaſurer. And the Chancellor at the ſame Time ſurrendering his Office of Chancellor of the

The Earl of Southampton made Treaſurer.

Exchequer into the King's Hands, his Majeſty upon the humble 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.

And Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Yet it was the Chancellor's Misfortune to be thought to have the greateſt Credit with the King, for the Reaſons mentioned before, and which for ſome Time ſeemed to be without Envy, by Reaſon of his many Years Service of the Crown, and conſtant Fidelity to the ſame, and his long Attendance upon the Perſon of his Majeſty, and the Friendſhip He had with the moſt eminent Perſons who had adhered to that Intereſt. Yet He foreſaw, and told many of his Friends,

" that the Credit He was thought to have with the " King, and which He knew was much leſs than it " was thought to be, and his being obliged by the " King to conduct many 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 Men's Impatience to get, and Immodeſty in aſking, when the King had Nothing to give, with his Majeſty's Eaſineſs of Acceſs, and that *Imbecillitas Frontis* which kept him from denying, together with reſcuing himſelf from the moſt troubleſome Importunities by ſending Men to the Chancellor, could not but in a ſhort Time make him be looked upon as the Man that obſtructed all their Pretences; in which They were confirmed by his own Carriage towards them, which though They could not deny to be full of Civility, yet He always diſſuaded them from purſuing the Suits They had made to the King, as unfit or unjuſt for his Majeſty to grant, how inclinable ſoever He had ſeemed to them. And ſo, inſtead of promiſing to aſſiſt them, He poſitively denied ſo much as to endeavour it, when the Matter would not bear it; but where He could do Courteſies, no Man proceeded more cheerfully and more unaſked, which very many of all Conditions knew to be true; nor did He ever receive Recompenſe or Reward for any ſuch Offices. Of which Temper of his there will be Occaſion to ſay more hereafter.

The Chancellor foreſees a Storm of Envy ariſing againſt him.

The firſt Matter of general and public Importance, and which reſulted not from any Debate in Parlia-

A Diſcovery of the Duke of

York's Marriage with the Chancellor's Daughter.

ment, was the Diſcovery of a great Affection that the Duke had for the Chancellor's Daughter, who was a Maid of Honor to the King's Siſter the Princeſs Royal of *Orange*, and of a Contract of Marriage between them: With which Nobody was ſo ſurpriſed and confounded as the Chancellor himſelf, who being of a Nature free from any Jealouſy, and very confident of an entire Affection and Obedience from all his Children, and particularly from that Daughter, whom He had always loved dearly, never had in the leaſt Degree ſuſpected any ſuch Thing; though He knew afterwards, that the Duke's Affection and Kindneſs had been much ſpoken of beyond the 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 Diſhonor would befal 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 Diſfavor, to which the Lord *Berkeley*, and moſt of his other Servants to pleaſe the Lord *Berkeley*, had contributed all They could; and the Queen's notorious Prejudice to him had make it Part of his Duty to her Majeſty, which had been a very great Diſcomfort to the Chancellor, in his whole Adminiſtration beyond the Seas. But now, upon this Diſcovery and the Conſequence thereof, He looked upon himſelf as a ruined Perſon, and that the King's Indignation ought to fall upon him as the Contriver

of that Indignity to the Crown, which as himſelf from his Soul abhorred, and would have had the Preſumption of his Daughter to be puniſhed with the utmoſt Severity, ſo He believed the whole Kingdom would be inflamed to the Puniſhment of it, and to prevent the Diſhonor which might reſult from it. And the leaſt Calamity that He expected upon himſelf and Family, how innocent ſoever, was an everlaſting Baniſhment out of the Kingdom, and to end his Days in foreign Parts in Poverty and Miſery. All which undoubtedly muſt have come to paſs upon that Occaſion, if the King had either had that Indignation, which had been juſt in him; or if He had withdrawn his Grace and Favor from him, and left him to be ſacrificed by the Envy and Rage of others; though at this Time He was not thought to have many Enemies, nor indeed any who were Friends to any other honeſt Men. But the King's own Knowledge of his Innocence, and thereupon his gracious Condeſcenſion and Interpoſition, diverting any rough Proceeding, and ſo, a contrary Effect to what hath been mentioned having been produced from thence; the Chancellor's Greatneſs ſeemed to be thereby confirmed, his Family eſtabliſhed above the Reach of common Envy, and his Fortune to be in a growing and proſperous Condition not like to be ſhaken. Yet after many Years Poſſeſſion of this Proſperity, an unexpected Guſt of Diſpleaſure took again its Riſe from this Original, and overwhelmed him with Variety and Succeſſion of Misfortunes.

The Chancellor, as ſoon as the King was at *Whitehall*, had ſent for his Daughter, having a Deſign

presently to marry her; to which Purpose He had an Overture from a noble Family, on the Behalf of a well-bred hopeful young Gentleman, who was the Heir of it. His Daughter quickly arrived at her Father's House, to his great Joy, having always had a great Affection for her; and She being his eldest Child, He had more Acquaintance with her, than with any of his Children; and being now of an Age fit for Marriage, He was well pleased that He had an Opportunity to place her in such a Condition, as with God's Blessing was like to yield her much Content.

The Duke's Declaration of it to the King.

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 publicly 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

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

The Manner of the Chancellor's receiving this Advertisement made it evident enough, that He was struck with it to the Heart, and had never had the least Jealousy or Apprehension of it. He broke out into a very immoderate Passion against the Wickedness of his Daughter, and said with all imaginable Earnestness, "that as soon as He came Home, He "would turn her out of his House, as a Strumpet, "to shift for herself, and would never see her again." They told him, "that his Passion was too violent to "administer good Counsel to him, that They thought "that the Duke was married to his Daughter, and "that there were other Measures to be taken, than "those which the Disorder He was in had suggested

The Chancellor struck with it to the Heart.

" to him." Whereupon He fell into new Commotions, and ſaid, " if that were true, He was well pre-
And breaks out into a very immoderate Paſſion.
" pared 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 No-" body 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 him-" ſelf 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 Dun-" geon, under ſo ſtrict a Guard, that no Perſon liv-" ing 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 ſat 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 Ma-" jeſty muſt conſult with ſoberer Men; that He" (pointing to the Chancellor) " was mad, and had pro-" poſed ſuch extravagant Things, that He was no

" more to be conſulted with." Whereupon his Majeſty looking upon him with a wonderful Benignity, ſaid, " Chancellor, I knew this Buſineſs would trou-
" ble you; and there 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 " beſeech 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 Infir- " mities better than other Men. You are of too eaſy " and gentle a Nature to contend with thoſe rough " Affronts, which the Iniquity and Licence of the " late Times is like to put upon you, before it be " ſubdued and reformed. The 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 Caſe that ſo nearly concerns you, and that re- " lates to the Perſon who is neareſt to you, will be ſo " ſeaſonable, that your Reign, during the remain- " ing 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 command his Daughter to keep her Chamber, and not to admit any Viſits; whereas before She had always been at Dinner and Supper, and had much Company reſorting to her: Which was all that He thought fit

to do, upon the firſt Aſſault, and till He had ſlept upon it, (which He did very unquietly) and reflected upon what was like to be the Effect of ſo extravagant a Cauſe. And this was quickly known to the Duke, who was exceedingly offended at it, and complained to the King, "as of an Indignity offered to him." And the next Morning the King chid the Chancellor for proceeding with ſo much Precipitation, and required him "to take off that Reſtraint, and to leave "her to the Liberty She had been accuſtomed to." To which He replied, "that her having not diſcharg-"ed the Duty of a Daughter ought not to deprive "him of the Authority of a Father; and therefore "He muſt humbly beg his Majeſty not to interpoſe "his Commands, againſt his doing any Thing that "his own Dignity 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 "become him:" Nor did He take off any of the Reſtraint He had impoſed. Yet He diſcovered after, that even in that Time the Duke had found Ways to come to her, and to ſtay whole Nights with her, by the Adminiſtration of thoſe who were not ſuſpected by him, and who had the Excuſe, "that They knew "that They were married."

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

This Subject was quickly the Matter of all Men's Diſcourſe, and did not produce thoſe Murmurs and diſcontented Reflections, which were expected. The Parliament was ſitting, and took not the leaſt Notice of it; nor could it be diſcerned, that many were ſcandalized at it. The Chancellor received the ſame Re-

ſpects 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 Chancellor had conferred with his Daughter, without any Thing of Indulgence, and not only diſcovered, that They were unqueſtionably married, but by whom, and who were preſent at it, who would be ready to avow it, which pleaſed him not, though it diverted him from uſing ſome of that Rigor, which He intended. And He ſaw no other Remedy could be applied, but that, which He had propoſed to the King, who thought of Nothing like it.

At this Time, there was News of the Princeſs Royal's Embarkation in *Holland*, which obliged the King and the Duke of *York* to make a Journey to *Dover* to receive her, who came for no other Reaſon, but to congratulate with the King, her Brother, and to have her Share in the public Joy. The Morning that They began their Journey, the King and the Duke came to the Chancellor's Houſe; and the King,

after He had ſpoken to him of ſome Buſineſs that was to be done in his Abſence, going out of the Room, the Duke ſtayed behind, and whiſpered the Chancellor in the Ear, becauſe there were others at a little Diſtance, "that He knew that He had heard of the "Buſineſs between him and his Daughter, and of "which He confeſſed He ought to have ſpoken with "him before; but that when He returned from *Dover*, "He would give him full 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 ſhowed 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 Diſhonor to the Crown;" and uſed many Threats and paſſionate Expreſſions upon the Subject. The Chancellor ſat unconcerned in all the Rumors which were ſpread, "that the Queen "was coming with a Purpoſe to complain to the "Parliament againſt the Chancellor, and to apply

The Queen-Mother greatly incenſed at it.

" the higheſt Remedies to prevent ſo great a Miſ-
" chief."

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 *Berkeley* 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 Diſhonor to the " Duke, than to any Body elſe."

The King carries himſelf with extraordinary Grace towards the Chancellor.

The Queen was now ready to embark, inflamed and haſtened by this Occaſion; and it was fit for the King and the Duke, to wait on her at the Shore. But before his Majeſty's Going, He reſolved of himſelf to do a Grace to the Chancellor, that ſhould publiſh, how far He was from being ſhaken in his Favor 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 Honor upon " him ſo ſoon; but that hereafter, when his Ma- " jeſty's Affairs ſhould be ſettled, and He, out of the " extraordinary Perquiſites of his Office, ſhould be " able to make ſome Addition to his ſmall Fortune, " He would, with that Humility that became him, " receive that Honor 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 melancholic 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 im- " part to the Chancellor;" and then gave him a Warrant ſigned for the Creating 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

Makes him a Preſent of 20,000 Pounds.

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

And creates him a Baron.

The Queen had expreſſed her Indignation to the King and Duke, with her natural Paſſion, from the Time of their Meeting; and the Duke had aſked her Pardon, " for having placed his Affection ſo unequal- " ly, of which He was ſure there was now an End; " that He was not married, and had now ſuch Evi- " dence of her Unworthineſs, that He ſhould no more " think of her." And it was now avowedly ſaid, that

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

Sir Charles Berkeley traduces the Dutcheſs of York's Reputation.

Upon which the Duke reſolves to deny his Marriage.

The next Day after the Queen's Arrival, all the

Privy-Council in a Body waited upon the Queen, to congratulate her Return into *England*; and the Chancellor was obliged to go in the Head of them, and was received with the ſame Countenance that the reſt were, which was very cheerful, and with many gracious Expreſſions. And from this Time He put not himſelf in her Majeſty's Preſence, nor appeared at all concerned at the ſcandalous Diſcourſes againſt his Daughter. The Earl of *St. Albans* and all who were near the Queen in any Truſt, and the Lord *Berkeley* 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 Berkeley* 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 Labor: 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 Honor and "Fidelity to the Crown, to be preſent with her:" Who all came, and were preſent till She was delivered of a Son. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, in the Interval of her greateſt Pangs, and ſometimes when they were

The Ducheſs delivered of a Son.

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 Labor," 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 mar-"ried 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 Day 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 meet his Siſter, finding the Chancellor one Day in the Privy-Lodgings, whiſpered him in the Ear, " that He would be glad to confer with him " in his Lodging," whither He was then going. The other immediately followed; and being come thither, the Duke ſent all his Servants out of Diſtance; and then told him with much Warmth, " what He had " been informed of his Purpoſe to complain to the " Parliament againſt him, which He did not value or " care for: However, if He ſhould proſecute any " ſuch Courſe, it ſhould be the worſe for him;" implying ſome Threats, " what He would do, before " He would bear ſuch an Affront;" adding then, " that for his Daughter, She had behaved herſelf ſo " foully (of which He had ſuch Evidence as was as " convincing as his own Eyes, and of which He " could make no Doubt) that Nobody could blame " him for his Behaviour towards her;" concluding with ſome other Threats, " that He ſhould repent it, " if He purſued his Intention of appealing to the " Parliament."

As ſoon as the Duke diſcontinued his Diſcourſe, the Chancellor told him, " that He hoped He would " diſover the Untruth of other Reports which had " been made to him by the Falſhood 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 Scan- " dals and Aſperſions: She had diſobliged and de- " ceived 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 Humor 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 Berkeley*, whoſe Teſtimony Nobody believed; not without ſome Cenſure of the Chancellor, for not enough appearing and proſecuting the Indignity: But He was not to be moved by any Inſtances, which He never

afterwards repented. The Queen's implacable Diſpleaſure continued in the full Height, doing all She could to keep the Duke firm to his Reſolution, and to give all Countenance to the Calumny. As before the Diſcovery of this Engagement of the Duke's Affection, the Duke of *Gloceſter* had died of the Small-pox, 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 grows melancholic.

The Duke himſelf grew melancholic and diſpirited, and cared not for Company, nor thoſe Divertiſements in which He formerly delighted: Which was obſerved by every Body, and which in the End wrought ſo far upon the Conſcience of the lewd Informer, that He, Sir *Charles Berkeley*, came to the Duke, and clearly declared to him; "that the general Diſcourſe of Men,

Sir Charles Berkeley confeſſes the Falſhood of his Charge againſt the Ducheſs.

"of what Inconvenience and Miſchief, if not abſo-
"lute 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

" 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 ab- " solutely 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 compre- " hended, that He should receive no Disadvantage."

The Duke greatly pleased with this Confession.

And now the Duke appeared with another Countenance, writ to her whom He had injured " that He " would speedily visit her," and gave her Charge " to have a Care of his Son." He gave the King a full Account of all, without concealing his Joy; and took most Pleasure in conferring with them, who had seemed least of his Mind when He had been most transported, and who had always argued against the Probability of the Testimony which had wrought upon him. The Queen was not pleased with this Change, though the Duke did not yet own to her, that He had altered his Resolution. She was always very angry at the King's Coldness, who had been so far from that Aversion which She expected, that He found Excuses for the Duke, and endeavoured to divert her Passions; and now pressed the Discovery of the Truth by Sir *Charles Berkeley*'s Confession, as a Thing that pleased him. They about her and who had most inflamed and provoked her to the sharpest Resentment, appeared more calm in their Discourses, and either kept Silence, or spake to another Tune

than They had done formerly, and wiſhed that the Buſineſs was well compoſed; all which mightily increaſed the Queen's Paſſion. And having come to know, that the Duke had made a Viſit at the Place She moſt abhorred, She brake into great Paſſion, and publicly declared, "that whenever that Woman "ſhould be brought into *Whitehall* by one Door, her "Majeſty would go out of it by another Door, and "never come into it again." And for ſeveral Days her Majeſty would not ſuffer the Duke to be in her Preſence; at leaſt, if He came with the King, She forbore to ſpeak to him, or to take any Notice of him. Nor could They, who had uſed to have moſt Credit with her, ſpeak to her with any Acceptation; though They were all weary of the Diſtances They had kept, and diſcerned well enough where the Matter muſt end. And many deſired to find ſome Expedient, how the Work might be facilitated, by ſome Application and Addreſs from the Chancellor to the Queen: But He abſolutely refuſed to make the leaſt Advance towards it, or to contribute to her Indignation by putting himſelf into her Majeſty's Preſence. He declared, "that the Queen had great Reaſon for the "Paſſion She expreſſed for the Indignity that had "been done to her, and which He would never en-"deavour to excuſe; and that as far as his low Qua-"lity was capable of receiving an Injury from ſo "great a Prince, He had himſelf to complain of a "Tranſgreſſion, that exceeded all Juſtice, divine "and human."

The Queen highly offended at this Change in the Duke.

The Queen had made this Journey out of *France* into *England* much ſooner than She intended, and

only, upon this Occaſion, to prevent a Miſchief She had great Reaſon to deprecate. And ſo, upon her Arrival, She had declared, "that She would ſtay a "very ſhort Time, being obliged to return into *France* "for her Health, and to uſe the Waters of *Bourbon*, "which had already done her much Good, that the "enſuing Seaſon would with God's Bleſſing make "perfect." And the Time was now come, that Orders were ſent for the Ships to attend her 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 Interdiction of a Mother. When on a ſudden, of which Nobody then knew the Reaſon, her Majeſty's Countenance and Diſcourſe was changed; She treated the Duke with her uſual Kindneſs, and confeſſed to him, "that the "Buſineſs that had offended her ſo much She pre- "ceived was proceeded ſo far, that no Remedy could "be applied to it; and therefore that She would "trouble herſelf no farther in it, but pray to God to "bleſs him, and that He might be happy:" So that the Duke had now Nothing to wiſh, but that the Queen would be reconciled to his Wife, who remained ſtill at her Father's, where the King had viſited her often; to which the Queen was not averſe, and ſpake graciouſly of the Chancellor, and ſaid, "She would "be good Friends with him." But Both theſe required ſome Formalities; and They who had behaved themſelves the moſt diſobligingly, expected to be comprehended in any Atonement that ſhould be

Her Majeſty ſuddenly alters her Behaviour.

made. And it was exceedingly labored, that the Chancellor would make the firſt Approach, by viſiting the Earl of *St. Albans;* which He abſolutely refuſed to do: And very well acquainted with the Arts of that Court, whereof Diſſimulation was the Soul, did not believe that thoſe Changes, for which He ſaw no reaſonable Motive, could be real; until Abbot *Mountague* (who had ſo far complied with the Faction of that Court, as not to converſe with an Enemy) viſited him with all Openneſs, and told him, "that this "Change in the Queen had proceeded from a Letter "She had newly received from the Cardinal, in "which He had plainly told her, *that She would not* "*receive a good Welcome in* France, *if She left her Sons* "*in her Diſpleaſure, and profeſſed an Animoſity againſt* "*thoſe Miniſters, who were moſt truſted by the King.* "*He extolled the Services done by the Chancellor, and* "*adviſed her to comply with what could not be avoided,* "*and to be perfectly reconciled to her Children, and to* "*thoſe who were nearly 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 Cauſe of this Change in the Queen.

The Chancellor had never looked upon the Abbot as his Enemy, and gave Credit to all He ſaid, though He did little underſtand from what Fountain that

Good-Will of the Cardinal had proceeded, who had never been propitious to him. He made all thoſe Profeſſions of Duty to the Queen that became him, and "how happy He ſhould think himſelf in her "Protection, which He had Need of, and did with "all Humility 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 Berkeley* to the Ducheſs, at whoſe Feet He had caſt Himſelf, with all the Acknowledgment and Penitence He could expreſs; and She, according to the Command of the Duke, accepted his Submiſſion, and promiſed to forget the Offence. He came likewiſe to the Chancellor with thoſe Profeſſions which He could eaſily make: and the other was obliged to receive him civilly. And then his Uncle, the Lord *Berkeley*, waited upon the Ducheſs; and afterwards viſited her Father, like a Man (which He could not avoid) who had done very much towards the bringing ſo difficult a Matter to ſo good an End, and expected Thanks from all; having that Talent in ſome Perfection, that after He had croſſed and puzzled any Buſineſs as much as was in his Power, He would be thought the only Man, who had untied all Knots, and made the Way ſmooth, and removed all Obſtructions.

The Satisfaction the King and the Duke had in The King and

Duke greatly pleaſed with this Change in the Queen.

this Diſpoſition of the Queen, was viſible to all Men. And They Both thought the Chancellor too reſerved in contributing his Part towards, or in meeting, the Queen's Favor, which He could not but diſcern was approaching towards him; and that He did not entertain any diſcourſes, which had been by many entered upon to him upon that Subject, with that Cheerfulneſs and Serenity of Mind, that might juſtly be expected. And of this the Duke made an Obſervation, and a Kind of Complaint, to the King, who thereupon came one Day to the Chancellor's Houſe; and being alone with him, his Majeſty told him many Particulars which had paſſed between him and the Queen, and the good Humor her Majeſty 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 Expreſſions of the Joy "He took in it; in which," He told him, "He was "obſerved to be too ſullen, and that when all other "Men's Minds appeared to be cheerful, his alone "appeared to be more cloudy than it had been, when "that Affair ſeemed moſt deſperate; which was the "more taken Notice of, becauſe it was not natural "to him."

The Chancellor anſwered, "that He did not know, "that He had failed in any Thing, that in good Man- "ners 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 "Wonder, if his Looks were not the ſame they had "uſed to be. That though He had been ſurpriſed to

" Amazement, upon the first Notice of that Business;
" yet He had been shortly able to recollect himself,
" and, upon the Testimony of his own Conscience,
" to compose his Mind and Spirits, and without any
" Reluctancy to abandon any Thought of his Daugh-
" ter, and to leave her to that Misery She had de-
" served and brought upon herself. Nor did the Vi-
" cissitudes which occurred after in that Transaction,
" or the Displeasure and Menaces of the Duke, make
" any other Impression upon him, than to know how
" unable He was to enter into any Contest in that
" Matter (which in all Respects was too difficult
" and superior to his Understanding and Faculties,)
" and to leave it entirely to the Direction and Dispo-
" sal of God Almighty: And in this Acquiescence
" He had enjoyed a Repose with much Tranquillity
" of Mind, being prepared to undergo any Misfor-
" tune that might befal him from thence. But that
" now He was awakened by other Thoughts and
" Reflections, which He could less range and govern.
" He saw those Difficulties removed, which He had
" thought insuperable; that his own Condition must
" be thought exalted above what He thought possi-
" ble; and that He was far less able to bear the Envy
" that was unavoidable, than the Indignation and
" Contempt, that alone had threatened him. That
" his Daughter was now received in the Royal Fa-
" mily, the Wife of the King's only Brother and the
" Heir Apparent of the Crown, whilst his Majesty
" himself remained unmarried. The great Trust his
" Majesty reposed in him, infinitely above and
" contrary to his Desire, was in itself liable to Envy;

" and how insupportable that Envy must be, upon " this new Relation, He could not but foresee; to- " gether 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 con- " stant soever his Majesty's Grace and Favor was to " him at present (of which He had lately given such " lively Testimony,) and how resolved soever He " was to continue it, his Majesty himself could not " know how far some Jealousies, cunningly suggest- " ed by some Men, might by Degrees be entertained " by him. And therefore that, upon all the Revolv- " ings 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 Happi- " ness 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 relat- " ing to the State: And which He thought could not " be so well, under any Retirement into the Coun- " try 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 Ser- " vice, and give his Pass to go and reside in any such " Place, beyond the Seas, as his Majesty would make " Choice of."

The King heard him patiently, yet with Evidence enough that He was not pleaſed with what He ſaid; and when He kneeled, took him up with ſome Paſſion; "He did not expect this from him, and that "He had ſo little Kindneſs for him, as to leave him "in a Time, when He could not but know that He "was very neceſſary for his Service. That He had "Reaſon to be very well aſſured, that it could never "be in any Man's Power, to leſſen his Kindneſs to-"wards him; and if any ſhould preſume to attempt it, "They would find Cauſe to repent their Preſump-"tion." He ſaid, "there were many Reaſons, why "He could never have deſigned or adviſed his Bro-"ther 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 cor-"rupt 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 unreaſon-"able Things, but to attend and proſecute his Buſi-"neſs 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 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 He 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 Queen reconciled to the Ducheſs of York.

The Duke of *York* had before preſented his Wife to his Mother, who received her without the leaſt Show 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 extraor-"dinary Succeſs. And therefore as She had received "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 ſhow too much Anger and Averſion, "and had too much forgotten her own Honor 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 Profeſ-

And to the Chancellor.

ſions of Duty to her which were due to her, and "that He ſhould always depend upon her Protection "as his moſt gracious Miſtreſs, and pay all Obe- "dience to her Commands." The Queen appeared well pleaſed, and ſaid "She ſhould remain very con- "ſident of his Affection," and ſo diſcourſed of ſome Particulars; and then opening a Paper that She had in her Hand, She recommended the Deſpatch 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 Diſhonor upon the Chancellor and his Family, was, by God's Pleaſure, turned to their Shame and Reproach, and to the Increaſe of the Chancellor's Greatneſs and Proſperity. And ſo We return to the Time from whence this Digreſſion led us, and ſhall take a particular View of all thoſe Accidents, which had an Influence upon the Quiet of the Kingdom, or which were the Cauſe of all the Chancellor's Misfortunes; which, though the Effect of them did not appear in many Years,

were discerned by himself as coming and unavoidable, and foretold by him to his two Bosom-Friends, the Marquis of *Ormond* and the Earl of *Southampton*, who constantly adhered to him with all the Integrity of true Friendship.

The Greatness and Power of the Chancellor, by this Marriage of his Daughter with all the Circumstances which had accompanied and attended it, seemed to all Men to have established his Fortune, and that of his Family: I say, to all Men but to himself, who was not in the least Degree exalted by it. He knew well upon how slippery Ground He stood, and how naturally averse the Nation was from approving an exorbitant Power in any Subject. He saw that the King grew every Day more inclined to his Pleasures, which involved him in Expense, and Company that did not desire that He should intend his Business or be conversant with sober Men. He knew well, that the Servants who were about the Duke were as much his Enemies as ever, and intended their own Profit only, by what Means soever, without considering his Honor; that They formed his Household, Officers and Equipage, by the Model of *France*, and against all the Rules and Precedents of *England* for a Brother of the Crown; and every Day put into his Head, "that if He were not supplied "for all those Expenses, it was the Chancellor's "Fault, who could effect it if He would." Nor was He able to prevent those Infusions, nor the Effects of them, because they were so artificially administered, as if their End was to raise a Confidence in him of the Chancellor, not to weaken it; though He knew

The Chancellor not elated with this Marriage of his Daughter.

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 Favorite, and which was never caſt on him by any Deſignation of the King, (who abhorred to be thought to be governed by any ſingle Perſon) but by his preferring his Pleaſures before his Buſineſs, and ſo ſending all Men to the Chancellor to receive Advice. And hereby the Secretaries of State, not finding a preſent Acceſs to him when the Occaſions preſſed, reſorted to the Chancellor, with whom his Majeſty ſpent moſt Time, to be reſolved by him; which Method exceedingly grieved him, and to which He endeavoured to apply a Remedy, by putting all Things in their proper Channel, and by prevailing with the King, when He ſhould be a little ſatiated with the

Divertiſements He affected, to be vacant to ſo much of his Buſineſs, as could not be managed and conducted by any Body elſe.

Some Inſtances of his Diſintereſtedneſs.

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

He refuſed a conſiderable Offer of Crown-Lands.

The King had not been many Weeks in *England*, when the Marquis of *Ormond* came to him with his uſual Friendſhip, and aſked him, "whether it would "not be now Time to think of making a Fortune, "that He might be able to leave to his Wife and "Children, if He ſhould die." And when He found that He was leſs ſenſible of what He propoſed than He expected, and that He only anſwered, "that He "knew not which Way to go about it;" the Marquis told him, "that He thought He could commend "a proper Suit for him to make to the King; and if "his Modeſty would not permit him to move the

" King for himſelf, He would undertake to move it " for him, and was confident that the King would " willingly grant it: " And thereupon ſhowed 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."

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 *Adventu-* " *rers* 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,

" could, to the carrying on and perfecting that great
" Work, which was of great Benefit as well as Honor
" to the Public, at the Charge of private Gentlemen,
" who had paid dear for the Land They had recover-
" 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 *Glocester* was yet alive) " who were without any
" Revenue; and towards whom his Bounty was to
" be firſt extended; and that this Land would be a
" good Ingredient towards an Appanage for them
" Both. And that till They were reaſonably provided
" for, no private Man in his Wits would be the Ob-
" ject 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 Favor 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 in- " formed 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 " Honor or any Advantage, but what his Office " brought him, till ſeven Years ſhould paſs; in which " all the Diſtractions of the Kingdom might be com- " poſed, and the Neceſſities thereof ſo provided for, " that the King might be able, without hurting " himſelf, to exerciſe ſome Liberality towards his " Servants who had ſerved him well." How He ſeemed to part from this Reſolution in ſome Particulars afterwards, and why He did ſo, may be collected out of what hath been truly ſet down before.

When the Marquis of *Ormond* had given the King a large Account of the Conference between him and the Chancellor, and " that He abſolutely refuſed " to receive that Grant;" his Majeſty ſaid, " He

" was a Fool for his Labor, 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 Value 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 nominate the Chancellor," which his Majeſty ſaid " He would willingly do, but He knew not " whether it would be grateful to him; for He had " refuſed ſo many Things, that He knew not what " He would take;" and therefore wiſhed him " to " take a Boat to *Worceſter-Houſe*, and propoſe it to " him, and He would not go to the Chapter till his " Highneſs returned." The Duke told the Chancellor what had paſſed between the King and him, and " that He was come only to know his Mind, " and could not imagine but that ſuch an Honor " would pleaſe him." The Chancellor, after a Mil- " lion of humble Acknowledgments of the Duke's Grace and the King's Condeſcenſion, ſaid, " that the " Honor was indeed too great by much for him to " ſuſtain; that there were very many worthy Men, " who well remembered him of their own Condi- " tion, when He firſt entered into his Father's Ser- " vice, and believed that He was advanced too much " before them." He beſought his Highneſs, " that

He declined being made Knight of the Garter.

" his Favors and Protection might not expoſe him " to Envy that would break him to Pieces." He aſked " what Knights the King meant to make;" the Duke named them, all Perſons very eminent: The Chancellor ſaid, " no Man could except againſt the " King's Choice; many would juſtly, if He were " added to the Number." He deſired his Highneſs " to put the King in Mind of the Earl of *Lindſey*, " Lord High-Chamberlain of *England*." (with whom He was known to have no Friendſhip, on the contrary, that there had been Diſguſts between them in the laſt King's Time); " that his Father had loſt " his Life with the *Garter* about his Neck, when " this Gentleman his Son, endeavouring to relieve " him, was taken Priſoner; that He had ſerved the " King to the End of the War with Courage and " Fidelity, being an excellent Officer: For all which, " the King his Father had admitted him a Gentleman " of his Bedchamber, which Office He was now " without; And not to have the *Garter* now upon " his Majeſty's Return, would in all Men's Eyes " look like a Degradation, and an Inſtance of his " Majeſty's Diſeſteem; eſpecially if the Chancellor " ſhould ſupply the Place, who was not thought " his Friend:" And, upon the whole Matter, entreated the Duke " to reſerve his Favor towards him " for ſome other Occaſion, and excuſe him to the " King for the declining this Honor, which He " could not ſupport." The Duke replied with an offended Countenance, " that He ſaw He would not " accept any Honor from the King, that proceeded " by his Mediation;" and ſo left him in apparent

Diſpleaſure. However, at that Chapter the Earl of *Lindſey* was created Knight of the *Garter*, with the reſt; and coming afterwards to hear by what Chance it was, He ever lived with great Civility towards the Chancellor to his Death.

And when the Chancellor afterwards complained to his Majeſty "of his Want of Care of him, in his "ſo eaſily gratifying his Brother in a Particular that "would be of ſo much Prejudice to him," and ſo enlarged upon the Subject, and put his Majeſty in Mind of *Solomon*'s Interrogation, "*who can ſtand againſt Envy?*" the King ſaid no more, than "that "He did really believe when He ſent his Brother, "that He would refuſe it;" and added, "I tell you, "Chancellor, that You are too ſtrict and appre-"henſive 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 Ducheſs 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 pro-

teſted to him, "that He ſo abſolutely and entirely "depended upon his Protection, that He would "never receive any Favor 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."

He refuſed to be made an Earl.

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 Honor; 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 Honors 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 diſco-"ver 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

But at length

ſo, the Day or two before the Coronation, He was

with the others created an Earl by the King in the *Banqueting-Houſe*; and, in the very Minute of his Creation, had an Earneſt of the Envy that would enſue, in the Murmurs of ſome, who were ancienter Barons, at the Precedence given to him before them, of which He was totally ignorant, it being reſolved by the King upon the Place, and the View of the Precedents of all Times; when any Officers of State were created with others. Yet one of the Lords concerned ſwore in the Ears of two or three of his Friends, at the ſame Time, "that He would "be revenged for that Affront," which related not to the Chancellor's Precedence, for the other was no Baron, but for the Precedence given to another, whom He thought his Inferior, 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. unwillingly conſented.

I will add one inſtance more, ſufficient, if the other were away, to convince all Men, how far He was from being tranſported with that Ambition, of which He was accuſed, and for which He was condemned. After the firm Conjunction in the Royal Family was notorious, and all the neighbour Princes had ſent their ſplendid Embaſſies of Congratulation to the King, and deſired to renew all Treaties with this Crown, and the Parliament proceeded, how ſlowly ſoever, with great Duty and Reverence towards the King; the Marquis of *Ormond* (whom the King had by this Time made Duke of *Ormond*) came one Day

to him, and being in private, ſaid, "He came to "ſpeak to him of himſelf, and to let him know not "only his own Opinion, but the Opinion of his "beſt Friends, with whom He had often conferred "upon the Argument: And that They all wondered, "that He ſo much affected the Poſt He was in, as to "continue in the Office of Chancellor, which took "up moſt of his Time, eſpecially all the Mornings, "in Buſineſs that many other Men could diſcharge "as well as He. Whereas He ought to leave that to "ſuch a Man as He thought fit for it, and to betake "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 Buſineſs of his Office, which "was not of that Moment. That the King every Day "took leſs Care of his Affairs, and affected thoſe "Pleaſures moſt, which made him averſe from the "other. That He ſpent moſt of his Time with con-"fident 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 Licence, that did yet only make the "King merry for the preſent, by Degrees would "grow acceptable to him; and that theſe Men "would by Degrees have the Preſumption (which "yet They had not, nor would He in Truth then "ſuffer it) to enter into his Buſineſs, and by admi-

He was ſtrongly urged to reſign his Office of Chancellor.

" niſtering to thoſe Exceſſes, to which his Nature
" and Conſtitution moſt inclined him, would not
" only powerfully foment thoſe Inclinations, but
" intermeddle and obſtruct his moſt weighty Coun-
" ſels. That, for the Prevention of all this Miſchief,
" and the preſerving the excellent Nature and Un-
" derſtanding of the King from being corrupted by
" ſuch lewd Inſtruments, who had only a ſcurrilous
" Kind of 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 ac-
" cuſtomed 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 underſtan-
" ding them, and by being thought to be negligent
" in the Duties of Religion and ſettling the Diſtrac-
" tions 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, re-
" ceived any Advertiſements and Animadverſions,
" and even ſuffered Reprehenſions, from him, better
" than from any other Man; therefore He would be

And to aſſume the Character of Prime Miniſter.

" 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 accept- " able to the King himſelf, who knew He could not " enough attend to the many Things, which, being " left undone, muſt much diſorder the whole Ma- " chine 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."

Which would be more beneficial to him.

He concluded, "That was the Deſire and Advice " of all his Friends, and that the Duke was ſo far of " the ſame Judgment, that He reſolved to be very " inſtant with him upon it, and only wiſhed, that He " ſhould firſt break the Matter to him, that He might " not be ſurpriſed when his Royal Highneſs entered " upon the Diſcourſe." And He added, "that this " Province muſt inevitably at laſt be committed to " ſome one Man, who probably would be without " that Affection to the King's Perſon, that Experi- " ence 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 them-
" ſelves 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 Know-
" ledge 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 Con-
" dition; *That He muſt not think now to recover his*
" *three Kingdoms by the dead title of his Deſcent and*
" *Right*, *which had been ſo notoriouſly baffled and*
" *diſhonored*, *but by the Reputation of his Virtue*,
" *Courage*, *Piety*, *and Induſtry*; *that all theſe Virtues*
" *muſt centre 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 Favorite*,
" *nor any one Man*, *who ſhould out of his Ambition*
" *engroſs to himſelf the Diſpoſal of the public Affairs*."
He ſaid, " He was more now of the ſame Mind, But this He

absolutely refused.

" and was confident that no honeſt Man, of a com-
" petent Underſtanding, would undertake that Pro-
" vince; 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 Expenſes,
" even when He was abſolutely without Supply;
" that He would on a ſudden be overwhelmed with
" ſuch Debts, as would diſquiet him, and diſhonor
" 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
" 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 Chan-
" cellor for the Managery of his Buſineſs, who had

" been so long acquainted with it; so He would, in " a short Time, be acquainted with many, who " would by finding Fault with all that was done " be thought much wiser Men, it being one of his " Majesty's greatest Infirmities, that He was apt to " think too well of Men at the first or second Sight."

He said, " whilst He kept the Office He had (which " could better bear the Envy of the Bulk of the " Affairs, than any other Qualification could) and " that it supported him in the Execution of it, the " King felt not the Burden of it; because little of " the Profit of it proceeded out of his own Purse, " and, if He were dead to morrow, the Place still " must be conferred upon another. Whereas, if He " gave over that Administration, and had Nothing " to rely upon for the Support of himself and Family, " but an extraordinary Pension out of the Exche- " quer, 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 immode- " rately 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 doth ex- " ceedingly abhor) at the Price and Charge of the " Man, who had been raised by him to that incon- " venient Height above other Men. That whilst " He had that Seal, He could have Admission to " his Majesty as often as He desired, because it was

" more Eaſe to receive an Account of his Buſineſs " from him, than to be preſent at the whole Debate " of it; and He well knew, the Chancellor had too " much Buſineſs to deſire Audiences from his Ma- " jeſty without neceſſary Reaſon. But if the Office " were in another Hand, and He ſhould haunt his " Preſence with the ſame Importunity as a Spy upon " his Pleaſures, and a Diſturber of the Jollities of " his Meetings; his Majeſty would quickly be nau- " ſeated with his Company, which for the preſent " He liked in ſome Seaſons; and They, who for the " preſent had ſubmitted to ſome Conſtraint by the " Gravity of his Countenance, would quickly diſ- " cover that their Talents were more acceptable, " and by Degrees make him appear grievous to his " Majeſty, and ſoon after ridiculous. That all his " Hope was, that the King would ſhortly find ſome " Lady fit to be his Wife, which all honeſt Men " ought to perſuade him to, and that being married, " He made no Doubt, He would decline many of " thoſe Delights to which He was yet expoſed, and " which expoſed him too much; and till that Time " He could not think that his beſt Servants could " enjoy any pleaſant Lives. That He preſumed the " Parliament would, after They had raiſed Money " enough to diſband the Armies, and to pay off the " Seamen" (towards Both which ſomewhat was every Day done, and Both which amounted to an incredible and inſupportable Charge) " ſettle ſuch a " Revenue upon the Crown, as the King might con- " form his Expenſe to; and that it ſhould not be in " any Body's Power, to make that Revenue be

" eſteemed by him to be greater, than in Truth it " would be. That when theſe two Things ſhould " be brought to paſs, He did hope, that the King " would take 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 Honor. In the mean Time," He beſought the " Marquis, " that He would convert the Duke of " *York* and all other Perſons from that Opinion, " which could not but appear erroneous to himſelf " by the Reaſons He had heard; and that if He could " be brought to conſent to what had been propoſed " to him (and which rather than He would do, He " would ſuffer a thouſand Deaths), as it would " inevitably prove his own Ruin and Deſtruction, " ſo it would bring an irreparable Damage to the " King." And therefore He conjured him " to in- " vite the King by his own Example, and by aſſum- " ing 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 alledged 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 Public, acquieſced with his peremptory Reſolution, without believing that He reſolved well either for his own Particular, or the King's Affairs; and did always think that He might have prevented his own Fate, if He had at that Time ſubmitted to the Judgment of his beſt Friends; though himſelf remained ſo poſitive to the contrary, that He often ſaid, "that He would "not have redeemed himſelf by that Expedient, and "that He could never have borne that Fate with that "Tranquillity of Mind, which God enabled him to "do, if He had paſſed to it through that Province."

Commiſſioners ſent to the King from Scotland and Ireland.

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

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 extraordinaty 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 State of Scotland at that Time.

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 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 Recompence thereof, all ſuch Monies were levied in *Scotland*, as were given by the Parliament of *England*, by which ſuch Contributions were raiſed, as were proportionable to the Expenſe, which the Army and Garriſons which ſubdued them put the Kingdom of *England* to. Nor was there any other Authority to raiſe Money in *Scotland*, but what was derived from the Parliament or General of *England*.

And all this prodigious Mutation and Transformation had been ſubmitted to with the ſame Reſignation and Obedience, as if the ſame had been tranſmitted by an uninterrupted Succeſſion from King *Fergus*: And it might well be a Queſtion, whether the Generality of the Nation was not better contented with it, than to return into the old Road of Subjection. But the King would not build according to *Cromwell*'s Models, and had many Reaſons to continue *Scotland* within its own Limits and Bounds, and ſole Dependance upon himſelf, rather than unite it to *England* with ſo many Hazards and Dangers as would inevitably have accompanied it, under any Government leſs tyrannical than that of *Cromwell*. And the reſettling that Kingdom was to be done with much leſs Difficulty, than the other of *Ireland*, by Reaſon that all who appeared concerned in it or for

it, as a Committee for that Kingdom, were united between themſelves, and did, or did pretend to deſire the ſame Things. They all appeared under the Protection and Recommendation of the General; and their Dependance was the more upon him, becauſe He ſtill commanded thoſe Garriſons and Forces in *Scotland*, which kept them to their Obedience. And He was the more willing to give them a Teſtimony of their Affection to the King, and that without their Help He could not have been able to have marched into *England* againſt *Lambert*, that They might ſpeak the more confidently, "that They gave him "that Aſſiſtance, becauſe They were well 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 diſtinguiſhed.

Some Account of the Scotch Commiſſioners.

Of the Earl of Selkirk.

The Chief of the Commiſſioners was the Lord *Selkirk*, a younger Son of the Marquis of *Douglaſs*, who had been known to the King in *France*, where He had been bred a *Roman Catholic*, which was the Religion of his Family, but had returned into *Scotland* after it had been ſubdued by *Cromwell*; and

being a very handſome young Man, was eaſily converted from the Religion of his Father, in which He had been bred, to that of his elder Brother the Earl of *Angus*, that He might marry the Daughter and Heir of *James* Duke *Hamilton*, who from the Battle of *Worceſter*, where her Uncle Duke *William* was killed, had inherited the Title of Ducheſs, with the fair Seat of *Hamilton*, and all the Lands which belonged to her Father. And her Huſband now, according to the Cuſtom of *Scotland*, aſſumed the ſame Title with her, and appeared in the Head of the Commiſſioners under the Style of Duke *Hamilton*, with the Merit of having never differved the King, and with the Advantage of whatſoever his Wife could claim by the Death of her Father, which deſerved to wipe out the Memory of whatever had been done amiſs in his Life.

Of the Earl of Glencarne.

The Earl of *Glencarne* was another of the Commiſſioners, a Man very well born and bred, and of very good Parts. As He had rendered himſelf very acceptable to the King, during his being in *Scotland*, by his very good Behaviour towards him, ſo even after that fatal Blow at *Worceſter* He did not diſſemble his Affection to his Majeſty; but withdrawing himſelf into the *Highlands*, during the Time that *Cromwell* remained in *Scotland*, He ſent over an Expreſs to aſſure the King of his Fidelity, and that He would tāke 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 Honor, 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.

Of the Earl of Lautherdale.

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 Rigor, 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 Govern-

ments 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 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 Elogies, 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 Traitor," or "when I was in Rebellion," and ſeemed not equally delighted with any Argument, as when He ſcornfully ſpake of the *Covenant*, upon which He brake a hundred Jeſts. In Sum, all his Diſcourſes were ſuch as pleaſed all the Company, who commonly believed all He ſaid, and concurred with him. He renewed his old Acquaintance and Familiarity with *Middleton* by all the Proteſtations of Friendſhip, aſſured him "of

" the unanimous 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.

Many of the great Offices of that Kingdom disposed of.

And the first Proposition that the Commissioners made after their Meeting together, and before They entered upon Debate of the Public, was, " that his " Majesty would add to the Council of *Scotland*, " which should reside near his Person, the Chan- " cellor 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 King- " dom:" Which Desire, so different from any that had been in Times past, persuaded the King that their Intentions were very sincere. Whatever

Appearance there was of Unity amongſt them, for there was Nothing like Contradiction, there was a general Diſlike by them all of the Power *Lautherdale* had with the King, who They knew preſſed many Things without Communication with them, as He had prevailed that the Earl of *Crawford Lindſey* ſhould continue in the Office He formerly had of being High-Treaſurer of that Kingdom, though He was known to be a Man incorrigible in his Zeal for the Preſbytery, and all the Madneſſes of Kirk, and not firm to other Principles upon which the Authority of the Crown muſt be eſtabliſhed; ſo that They could not ſo much as conſult in his Preſence of many Particulars of the higheſt Moment and Importance to the public Settlement. Yet his having behaved himſelf well towards the King, whilſt He was in that Kingdom, and his having undergone great Perſecution under *Cromwell*, and profeſſing now all Obedience to his Majeſty, prevailed that He ſhould not be diſplaced upon his Majeſty's firſt Entrance upon his Government, but that a new Occaſion ſhould be attended to, which was in View, and when the King reſolved, without communicating his Purpoſe to *Lautherdale*, to confer that Office upon *Middleton*, when He ſhould have proceeded the firſt Stage in his Commiſſion; and of this his Reſolution He was graciouſly pleaſed to inform him.

Of the Earl of Crawford Lindſey.

The 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

The Marquis of Argyle ſent to the Tower.

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 Opum, & Linguâ melior, ſed frigida Bello Dextera, Conſiliis habitus non futilis Auctor, Seditione potens.

His Character.

Without Doubt He was a Perſon of extraordinary Cunning, well bred; and though by the Ill-Placing of his Eyes, He did not appear with any great Advantage at firſt Sight, yet He reconciled even thoſe who had Averſion to him very ſtrangely by a little Converſation: Inſomuch as after ſo many repeated Indignities (to ſay no worſe) which He had put upon the late King, and when He had continued the ſame Affronts to the preſent King, by hindering the *Scots* from inviting him, and as long as was poſſible kept him from being received by them; when there was no Remedy, and that He was actually landed, no Man paid him ſo much Reverence and outward Reſpect, and gave ſo good an Example to all others, with what Veneration their King ought to be treated, as the Marquis of *Argyle* did, and in a very ſhort Time made himſelf agreeable and acceptable to him. His Wit was pregnant, and his Humor gay and pleaſant, ex-

cept when He liked not the Company or the Argument. And though He never conſented to any one Thing of Moment, which the King aſked of him, and even in thoſe Seaſons in which He was uſed with moſt Rudeneſs by the Clergy, and with ſome Barbarity by his Son the Lord *Lorne*, whom He had made Captain of his Majeſty's Guard, to guard him from his Friends and from all who He deſired ſhould have Acceſs to him; the Marquis ſtill had that Addreſs, that He perſuaded him all was for the beſt. When the other Faction prevailed, in which there were likewiſe crafty Managers, and that his Counſels were commonly rejected, He carried himſelf ſo, that They who hated him moſt were willing to compound with him, and that his Majeſty ſhould not withdraw his Countenance from him. But He continued in all his Charges, and had a very great Party in that Parliament that was moſt devoted to ſerve the King; ſo that his Majeſty was often put to deſire his Help to compaſs what He deſired. He did heartily oppoſe the King's marching with his Army into *England*, the ill Succeſs whereof made many Men believe afterwards, that He had more Reaſons for the Counſels He gave, than They had who were of another Opinion. And the King was ſo far from thinking him his Enemy, that when it was privately propoſed to him by thoſe He truſted moſt, that He might be ſecured from doing Hurt when the King was marched into *England*, ſince He was ſo much againſt it; his Majeſty would by no Means conſent to it, but parted with him very graciouſly, as with One He expected good Service from. All which the Commiſſioners well remembered, and

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

Sent into Scotland to be tried.

The Lords of the *Engliſh* Council, who were appointed to ſit with the *Scots*, met with them to conſult upon the Inſtructions which were to be given to the King's Commiſſioner, who was now created Earl of *Middleton*. The *Scots* ſeemed all reſolute and impatient to vindicate their Country from the Infamy of delivering up the laſt King (for all Things relating to the former Rebellion had been put in Oblivion by his late Majeſty's *Act of Indemnity* at his laſt being in *Scotland*) and ſtrictly to examine who of that Nation had contributed to his Murder, of which They were confident *Argyle* would be found very gulty. *Middleton* was very earneſt, "that He might, for the Humi-
The Earl of Middleton propoſes the Re-eſtabliſhment of Epiſcopacy in Scotland.
"liation 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 (*Lautherdale* only excepted) concurred; and
In which all the Commiſſioners concur except Lautherdale.
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 of the *Scots* "Clergy, very worthy and very willing to ſupply "thoſe Charges."

Lautherdale, with a Paſſion ſuperior to the reſt, inveighed againſt the *Covenant*, called "it a wicked, "traiterous Combination of Rebels againſt their "lawful Sovereign, and expreſsly againſt the Laws "of their own Country; proteſted his own hearty "Repentance for the Part He had acted in the Pro-"motion 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 Government 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 neceſſary to be warm (for at other Times He could be as calm as any Man, though not ſo naturally) He deſired "that the Commiſſioner "might have no Inſtruction for the preſent to make "any Approach towards either; on the contrary, "that He might be reſtrained from it by his Majeſty's "ſpecial 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

Who artfully attempts to get it delayed.

" 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 vindi- " cating their Country from all Things which related " to the Murder of the late King, which would com- " prehend the Delivering up of his Perſon, the aſſert- " ing the King's Royal Power, by which all future " Attempts towards Rebellion would be prevented, " and the Trial of the Marquis of *Argyle;* all which " would take up more Time than Parliaments in that " Kingdom, till the late ill Times, had uſed to con- " tinue 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 " Commiſſioner's Prudence might have an Influence " upon many leading Men to change their preſent " Temper, 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 Cir- " cumſtances 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 frequently appealed to the King's own Memory, and Obſervation when He was in that Kingdom, " how " ſuperſtitious They, who were moſt devoted to do " him Service, and were at his Diſpoſal in all Things, " were towards the *Covenant:* That all They did for " him, which was all that He deſired them to do, was " looked upon as the Effects of thoſe Obligations " which the *Covenant* had laid upon them." He appealed to the General, (" who," He ſaid, " knew " *Scotland* better than any one Man of that Nation " could pretend to do) whether He thought this a " proper 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 Argu- " ment 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 Diſſent- " ers, 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 diſcon- " tinued, 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 Favor and Condeſcenſion, that They " ſhould be permitted to continue their own Forms, " or no Forms, in their Devotions and public Wor- " ſhip 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 Altera- " tion in *Scotland*, againſt a Government that had " more Antiquity there; and was more generally " ſubmitted to and accepted, than it had been in " *England*, before He himſelf had declared his own " Judgment againſt it in this Kingdom; 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 higheſt 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

" He was not so much hated as the *Covenant* was " beloved and worshipped: And that when They " should discern that They must be deprived of that, " They would rather desire to preserve Both. And " therefore," He said, " his Advice still was, that " He should be first out of the Way, who was looked " upon as the 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 ridiculous Instances of the Use made of the *Covenant*, with Reference to the Power of the Preachers in the domestic Affairs of other Men, and the like, (which though it made it the more odious, was still an Argument 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 Suspense, or rather inclined that Nothing should be attempted that concerned the Kirk till the next Session of Parliament, when *Lautherdale* himself confessed it might be securely effected. To this the General seemed to incline, not a little moved by what had been said of *Argyle*, to whom He was no Friend, but much more by the Disadvantage which might arise, by a precipitate Proceeding in *Scotland*, to the

His Discourse makes some Impression on the King.

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 the other Lords diſcover Lautherdale's Deſign.

Middleton, and moſt of the *Scots*, were highly offended by the Preſumption of *Lautherdale*, in undertaking to know the Spirit and Diſpoſition of a Kingdom which He had not ſeen in Ten Years; and eaſily diſcerned that his affected Raillery and Railing againſt the *Covenant*, and his magnifying Epiſcopal Government, were but Varniſh to cover the Rottenneſs of his Intentions, till He might more ſecurely and efficaciouſly manifeſt his Affection to the one, and his Malignity to the other. They contradicted poſitively all that He had ſaid of the Temper and Affections of *Scotland*, and named many of thoſe Lords, who had been mentioned by him as the moſt zealous Aſſerters of the *Covenant*, "who" They undertook "ſhould upon the firſt Opportunity declare their "Abomination of it to the World; whereof They "knew there were ſome who had written againſt it, "and were reſolved to publiſh it as ſoon as They "might do it with Safety." They adviſed his Majeſty, "that He would not chuſe to do his Buſineſs "by Halves, when He might with more Security do "it all together, and the dividing it would make Both "the more difficult. However," They beſought him, "to put no ſuch Reſtraint, as had been ſo much

" preſſed, upon his Commiſſioner, that though He " ſhould find the Parliament moſt inclined to do that " now, which every Body confeſſed neceſſary to be " done at ſome Time, He ſhould not accept their " Good-Will, but hinder them from purſuing it, as " very ungrateful to the King; which," They ſaid, " would be a greater Countenance to and Confir- " mation of the *Covenant* than it had ever yet re- " ceived, and a greater Wound to Epiſcopacy." And that indeed was conſented to by all. And there- upon 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 Conjunc- ture, with Caution " not to permit it to be attemp- " ted, 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 *Scot- land*, 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.

And prevents it.

That in *Ireland* was much more intricate, and the Intricacy in many Reſpects ſo involved, that No- body 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 Men's 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

The State of Ireland at that Time.

any Beginning. The King's Intereſt had been ſo totally extinguiſhed in that Kingdom for many Years paſt, that there was no Perſon of any Conſideration there, who pretended to wiſh that it were revived. At *Cromwell*'s Death, and at the Depoſition of *Richard*, his younger Son *Harry* was inveſted in the full Authority, by being Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The two Preſidents of the two Provinces, were the Lord *Broghill* in that of *Munſter*, and Sir *Charles Coote* in that of *Conaught*; Both equally depending upon the Lieutenant: And They more depended upon him and courted his Protection, by their not loving one another, and being of ſeveral Complexions and Conſtitutions, and both of a long Averſion to the King by Multiplications of Guilt. When *Richard* was thrown out, the ſupreme Power of the Militia was veſted in *Ludlow*, and all the civil Juriſdiction in Perſons 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 ap- "plied to his Majesty's Service in a proper Conjunc- "ture," 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 in- "tended 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 ad- "here to his Army for the Service of the Parliament "against *Lambert*," *Coote* found Assistance to seize upon the Castle of *Dublin*, and the Persons of those who were in Authority, who were imprisoned by them, and the Government settled in that Manner as They thought most agreeable to the Presbyterian Humor, 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.

Commissioners from the different Parties in Ireland.

These were the Lord *Broghill*, Sir *Audly Mervin*, Sir *John Clotworthy*, and several other Persons of Quality, much the greater Number whereof had been always notorious for the Disservice They had done

1. Commissioners from the State.

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 ex-"pected 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 revi-"ving the Execution of the Laws, and ſettling the "Courts of Juſtice" (all which had been diſſolved "in the late Uſurpation) "and ſuch other Particu-"lars as purely related to the Public." And their public addreſſes were to this and no other Purpoſe. But then to their private Friends, and ſuch as They deſired to make their Friends, moſt of them had many Pretences of Merit, and many Expedients by which the King might reward them, and out of which They would be able liberally to gratify their Patrons. And by this Means all who ſerved the King were

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

2. Deputies from the Bishops and Clergy.

2. There were many other Deputies of ſeveral Claſſes in *Ireland*, who thought their Pretences to be as well grounded, as theirs who came from the State. There were yet ſome Biſhops alive of that Kingdom, and other grave Divines, all ſtript of their Dignities and Eſtates, which had been diſpoſed of by the uſurping Power to their Creatures. And all They (ſome whereof had ſpent Time in Baniſhment near the King, and others more miſerably in their own Country and in *England*, under the Charity of thoſe who for the moſt Part lived by the Charity of others) expected, as They well might, to be reſtored to what in Right belonged to them; and beſought his Majeſty "to uſe all poſſible Expedition to eſtab-"liſh the Government of that Church as it had al-"ways been, by ſupplying the empty Sees with new "Prelates in the Place of thoſe who were dead, that "all the Schiſms and wild Factions in Religion, "which were ſpread over that whole Kingdom, "might be extirpated and rooted out." All which Deſires were grateful to the King, and according to his Royal Intentions, and were not oppoſed by the Commiſſioners from the State, who all pretended to be Wellwiſhers to the old Government of the Church, and the more by the Experience They had of the Diſtractions which were introduced by that which had ſucceeded it, and by the Confuſion They were now in without any. Only Sir *John Clotworthy* (who, by the Exerciſe of very ordinary Faculties in ſeveral Employments, whilſt the Parliament retained the ſupreme Power in their Hands, had exceedingly improved himſelf in Underſtanding and Ability of

Negotiation) diſſembled not his old Animoſity againſt the Biſhops, the Croſs, and the Surplice, and wiſhed that all might be aboliſhed; though He knew well that his Vote would ſignify Nothing towards it. And that Spirit of his had been ſo long known, that it was now imputed to Sincerity and Plain-dealing, 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. A Committee deputed by the Adventurers.

3. There appeared likewiſe a Committee deputed by the *Adventurers* to ſolicit their Right, which was the more numerous by the Company of many Aldermen and Citizens of the beſt Quality, and many honeſt Gentlemen of the Country; who all deſired "that "their Right might not be 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

An Account of theſe Adventurers.

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 preven-"ted, if an Act of Parliament were paſſed for the Satis-"faction of all thoſe who would advance Monies "for the War, out of the Lands which ſhould be-"come 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*, *Con-"aught*, 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 hun-"dred Pounds, and ſo proportionally for greater "Sums. That for all Monies which ſhould be ſub-"ſcribed within ſo many Days (beyond which Time "there ſhould be no more Subſcriptions) for that "Service, one Moiety thereof ſhould be paid to the "Treaſurer appointed, within few Days, for the "preſent Preparations; and the other Moiety be "paid within ſix Months, upon the Penalty of lo-"ſing 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 no-"minated 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 Ceſſation, or from granting Par- " don to any of them; but ſuch Peace, Ceſſation, or " Pardon ſhould be looked upon as void and null."

This Act the King had conſented to and confirmed in the Year 1641, and in the Agony of many Troubles which that Rebellion had brought upon him, thinking it the only Means to put a ſpeedy End to that accurſed Rebellion, the Suppreſſion whereof would free him from many Difficulties. And upon the Security of this Act, very many Perſons of all Qualities and affections ſubſcribed and brought in the firſt Moiety of their Money, and were very properly ſtyled *Adventurers*. Great Sums of Money were daily brought in, and Preparations and Proviſions and new Levies of Men were made for *Ireland*. But the Rebellion in *England* being ſhortly after fomented by the Parliament, They applied very much of that Money brought in by the *Adventurers*, and many of the Troops which had been raiſed for that Service, immediately againſt the King: Which being notoriouſly known, and his Majeſty complaining of it,

many honeſt Gentlemen who had ſubſcribed and paid one Moiety, refuſed to pay in the other Moiety at the Time, and ſo were liable to loſe the Benefit of their Adventure; which They preferred before ſuffering their Money to be applied to the carrying on the Rebellion againſt the King, which They abhorred. And by this Means *Ireland* was unſupplied; and the Rebellion ſpread and proſpered with little Oppoſition for ſome Time. And the Parliament, though the Time for ſubſcribing was expired, enlarged it by Ordinances of their own to a longer Day, and eaſily prevailed with many of their own Party, principally Officers and Citizens, to ſubſcribe and bring in their Money; to which it was no ſmall Encouragement, that ſo many had loſt the Benefit of their whole Adventure by not paying in the ſecond Payment, which would make the Conditions of the new *Adventurers* the leſs hazardous.

When the Succeſs of the Parliament had totally ſubdued the King's Arms, and himſelf was ſo inhumanly murdered, neither the Forces in *Ireland* under the King's Authority, 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 whoſoever had ſerved the King, were declared to be under the ſame Guilt; and the Lands ſeized upon for the Benefit of the State. There were very vaſt Arrears of Pay due to the Army, a great Part of which (now the War was ended) muſt be diſbanded; for the doing whereof no Money was to be expected out of *England*, but They muſt be ſatisfied out of the Forfeitures of the other Kingdoms. The whole Kingdom was admeaſured; the Accounts of the Money paid by the *Adventurers* within the Time limited, and what was due to the Army for their Pay, were ſtated; and ſuch Proportions of Acres in the ſeveral Provinces were aſſigned to the *Adventurers* and Officers and Soldiers, as were agreeable to the Act of Parliament, by Admeaſurement. Where an Officer of Name had been likewiſe an *Adventurer*, his Adventure and his Pay amounted to the more. And ſometimes the whole Company and Regiment contracted for Money with their Captains or Colonels, and aſſigned their Intereſt in Land to them; and Poſſeſſion was accordingly delivered without

any Reſpect to any Titles by Law to former Settlements, or Deſcents of any Perſons ſoever, Wives or Children; except in ſome very few Caſes, where the Wives had been great Heirs and could not be charged with any Crime, ſuch Proportions were aſſigned as were rather agreeable to their own Conveniences, than to Juſtice and the Right of the Claimers.

And that every Body might with the more Security enjoy that which was aſſigned to him, They had found a Way to have the Conſent of many to their own Undoing. They found the utter Extirpation of the Nation (which They had intended) to be in itſelf very difficult, and to carry in it ſomewhat of Horror, that made ſome Impreſſion upon the Stone-Hardneſs of their own Hearts. After ſo many Thouſands deſtroyed by the Plague which raged over the Kingdom, by Fire, Sword, and Famine; and after ſo many Thouſands tranſported into foreign Parts; there remained ſtill ſuch a numerous People, that They knew not how to diſpoſe of: And though They were declared to be all forfeited, and ſo to have no Title to any Thing, yet They muſt remain ſomewhere. They therefore found this Expedient, which they called an *Act of Grace*. There was a large Tract of Land, even to the Half of the Province of *Conaught*, that was ſeparated from the reſt by a long and a large River, and which by the Plague and many Maſſacres remained almoſt deſolate. Into this Space and Circuit of Land They required all the *Iriſh* to retire by ſuch a Day, under the Penalty of Death; and all who ſhould after that Time be found in any other Part of

the Kingdom, Man, Woman, or Child, ſhould be killed by any Body who ſaw or met them. The Land within this Circuit, the moſt barren in the Kingdom, was out of the Grace and Mercy of the Conquerors aſſigned to thoſe of the Nation who were incloſed, 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 Men's Lot, eſpecially when They were accommodated with Houſes, to have a competent Livelihood, though never to the fifth Part of what had been taken from them in a much better Province. And that They might not be exalted with this merciful Donative, it was a Condition that accompanied this their Accommodation, that They ſhould all give Releaſes of their former Rights and Titles to the Land that was taken from them, in Conſideration of what was now aſſigned to them; and ſo They ſhould for ever bar themſelves and their Heirs from ever laying Claim to their old Inheritance. What ſhould They do? They could not be permitted to go out of this Precinct to ſhift for themſelves elſewhere; and without this Aſſignation They muſt ſtarve here, as many did die every Day of Famine. In this deplorable Condition, and under this Conſternation, They found themſelves obliged to accept or ſubmit to the hardeſt Conditions of their Conquerors, and ſo ſigned ſuch Conveyances and Releaſes as were prepared for them, that They might enjoy thoſe Lands which belonged to other Men.

And by this Means the Plantation (as They called it) of *Conaught* was finiſhed, and all the *Iriſh* Nation encloſed within that Circuit; the reſt of *Ireland* being left to the *Engliſh*; ſome to the old Lords and juſt Proprietors, who being all *Proteſtants* (for no *Roman Catholic* was admitted) had either never offended them, or had ſerved them, or had made Compoſition for their Delinquencies by the Benefit of ſome Articles; and ſome to the *Adventurers* and Soldiers. And a good and great Part (as I remember, the whole Province of *Tiperary*) *Cromwell* had reſerved to himſelf, as a Demeſne (as He called it) for the State, and in which no *Adventurer* or Soldier ſhould demand his Lot to be aſſigned, and no Doubt intended both the State and it for the making great his own Family. It cannot be imagined in how eaſy a Method, and with what peaceable Formality, this whole great Kingdom was taken from the juſt Lords and Proprietors, and divided and given amongſt thoſe, who had no other Right to it but that They had Power to keep it; no Men having ſo great Shares as They who had been Inſtruments to murder the King, and were not like willingly to part with it to his Succeſſor. Where any great Sums of Money for Arms, Ammunition, or any Merchandiſe, had been ſo long due that they were looked upon as deſperate, the Creditors ſubſcribed all thoſe Sums as lent upon Adventure, and their Satisfaction aſſigned to them as *Adventurers*. *Ireland* was the great Capital, out of which all Debts were paid, all Services rewarded, and all Acts of Bounty performed. And which is more wonderful, all this was done and ſettled, within little more

than

than two Years, to that Degree of Perfection, that there were many Buildings raised for Beauty as well as Use, orderly and regular Plantations of Trees, and Fences and Enclosures raised throughout the Kingdom, Purchases made by one from the other at very valuable Rates, and Jointures made upon Marriages, and all other Conveyances and Settlements executed, as in a Kingdom at Peace within itself, and where no Doubt could be made of the Validity of Titles. And yet in all this Quiet, there were very few Persons pleased or contented.

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

Another Class of Adventurers appears.

And this Agitation raised another Party of *Adventurers*, who thought They had at least as good a

Right as any of the other; and that was, They, or the Heirs and Executors of them, who upon the firſt making of the Act of Parliament, had ſubſcribed ſeveral good Sums of Money, and paid in their firſt Moieties; but the Rebellion coming on, and the Monies already paid in being notoriouſly and viſibly employed contrary to the Act, and againſt the Perſon of the King himſelf, They had out of Conſcience forborne to pay the ſecond Moiety, leſt it might alſo be ſo employed; whereby, according to the Rigor 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 Ma-"jeſty's Service They had forborne to do." No Man will doubt but that the King was very well inclined to gratify this *Claſſis* of *Adventurers*, when He ſhould find it in his Power. But it is Time to return to the Committee and Deputies of the other Parties in that diſtracted Kingdom.

4. A Committee from the Army.

4. There was a Committee ſent from the Army that was in preſent Pay in *Ireland*, "for the Arrears "due to them," which was for above a Year's Pay;

moſt of thoſe who had received Satisfaction in Land for what was then due to them, as well Officers as Soldiers, being then diſbanded, that They might attend their Plantations and Huſbandry, but in Truth becauſe They were for the moſt Part of the Preſbyterian Faction, and ſo ſuſpected by *Cromwell* not to be enough inclined to him. The Army now on Foot, and to whom ſo great Arrears were due, conſiſted for the greateſt Part of *Independants*, *Anabaptiſts*, and *Levellers*, who had correſponded with and been directed by the General, when He marched from *Scotland* againſt *Lambert:* And therefore He had adviſed the King to declare, "that He would pay all "Arrears due to the Army in *Ireland*, and ratify the "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 ſuperior Officers; will not wonder that the King endeavoured if it had been poſſible rather to pleaſe all, than by any unſeaſonable Diſcovery of a Reſolution, how juſt ſoever, to make any Party deſperate; there being none ſo inconſiderable, as not to have been able to do much Miſchief.

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

5. The Satisfaction that the Officers and Soldiers had received in Land, and the Demand of the preſent Army, had cauſed another Committee to be ſent and employed by thoſe reformed Officers, who had ſerved the King under the Command of the Marquis of *Ormond*, from the Beginning of the Rebellion to the End thereof, with Courage and Fidelity; and had ſince ſhifted beyond the Seas, and ſome of them in his Majeſty's Service, or ſuffered patiently in that Kingdom under the Inſolence of their Oppreſſors; who, becauſe They had always fought againſt the *Iriſh*, were by Articles, upon their laying down their Arms when They could no longer hold them in their Hands, permitted to remain in their own Houſes, or ſuch as They could get within that Kingdom. Theſe Gentlemen thought it a very incongruous Thing, "that They who had conſtantly fought "againſt the King's Father and himſelf, ſhould re- "ceive their Pay and Reward by his Majeſty's "Care, Bounty and Aſſignation; and that They "who had as conſtantly fought for Both, ſhould "be left to undergo all Want and Miſery now his "Majeſty was reſtored to his own." And They believed their Suit to be the more reaſonable, at leaſt the eaſier to be granted, by having brought an Expedient with them to facilitate their Satisfaction. There had been ſome old Order or Ordinance that was looked upon as a Law, whereby it was provided, that all Houſes within Cities or Corporate Towns, which were forfeited, ſhould be reſerved to be ſpecially diſpoſed of by the State, or in ſuch a Manner as it ſhould direct, to the End that all Care

might be taken what Manner of Men ſhould be the Inhabitants of ſuch important Places: And therefore ſuch Houſes had not been nor were to be promiſcuouſly aſſigned to *Adventurers*, Officers, or Soldiers, and ſo remained hitherto undiſpoſed of. And theſe reformed Officers of the King made it their Suit, that thoſe Houſes might be aſſigned to them in Proportions; according to what might appear to be due to their ſeveral Conditions and Degrees in Command. And to this Petition, which might ſeem equitable in itſelf, the Commiſſioners from the State gave their full Approbation and Conſent, being ready to take all the Opportunities to ingratiate themſelves towards thoſe whom They had oppreſſed as long as They were able, and to be reputed to love the King's Party.

6. A Committee for the Roman Catholics.

6. Laſtly, there was a Committee for or rather the whole Body of the *Iriſh Catholics*, 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 Mar- "quis of *Ormond*, by which an Act of Indemnity "had been granted for what Offences ſoever had "been committed, except ſuch in which none of "them were concerned." They urged, "the Peace "They had made with the Marquis of *Ormond* upon "this King's firſt coming to the Crown, wherein a "Grant of Indemnity was again renewed to them;"

and confidently, though very unskilfully, preſſed " that the Benefit of all thoſe Articles which were " contained in that Peace, might ſtill be granted and " obſerved to them, ſince They had done Nothing " to infringe or forfeit them, but had been oppreſſed " and broken as all his Majeſty's other Forces had " been." They urged, "the Service They had " done to the King beyond the Seas, having been " always ready to obey his Commands, and ſtayed " in or left *France* or *Spain* as his Majeſty had com- " manded them, and were for the laſt two Years " received and liſted as his own Troops, and in his " own actual Service, under the Duke of *York*." They preſſed " the intolerable Tyranny They had " ſuffered under, now almoſt twenty Years; the " Maſſacres and Servitude They had undergone, " ſuch Devaſtation and laying waſte their Country, " ſuch bloody Cruelty and Executions inflicted on " them, as had never been known nor could be " paralleled amongſt Chriſtians: That their Nation " almoſt was become deſolated, and their Sufferings " of all Kinds had been to ſuch an Extent, that They " hoped had ſatiated their moſt implacable Enemies." " And therefore They humbly beſought his Majeſty, " that in this general Joy for his Majeſty's bleſſed " Reſtoration, and in which Nobody could rejoice " more than They, when all his Majeſty's Subjects " of his two other Kingdoms (whereof many were " not more innocent than themſelves) had *their* " *Mouths filled with Laughter*, and had all their " Hearts could deſire, the poor *Iriſh* alone might not " be condemned to perpetual Weeping and Miſery

" by his Majeſty's own immediate Act." Amongſt theſe, with the ſame Confidence, They who had been tranſplanted into *Conaught* appeared, related the Circumſtances of the Perſecution They had undergone, and " how impoſſible it had been for them " to refuſe their Submiſſion to that They had no " Power to reſiſt, and therefore that it would be " againſt all Conſcience to alledge their own Con- " ſent, 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.

The King greatly perplexed with theſe contradictory Addreſſes.

Theſe ſeveral Addreſſes being preſented to his Majeſty together, before any Thing was yet ſettled in *England*, and every Party of them finding ſome Friends, who filled the King's Ears with ſpecious Diſcourſes on their Behalf for whom They ſpake, and with bitter Invectives againſt all the reſt; He was almoſt confounded how to begin, and in what Method to put the Examination of all their Pretences, that He might be able to take ſuch a View of them, as to be able to apply ſome Remedy, that might keep the Diſeaſe from increaſing and growing worſe, until He could find ſome Cure. He had no

Mind the Parliament ſhould interpoſe and meddle in it, which would have been grateful to no Party; and by good Fortune They were ſo full of Buſineſs that They thought concerned them nearer, that They had no Mind to examine or take Cognizance of this of *Ireland*, which They well knew properly depended upon the King's own Royal Pleaſure and Commands. But theſe Addreſſes were all of ſo contradictory a Nature, ſo inconſiſtent with each other, and ſo impoſſible to be reconciled, that if all *Ireland* could be ſold at its full Value (that is, if Kingdoms could be valued at a juſt Rate) and find a fit Chapman or Purchaſer to diſburſe the Sum, it could not yield Half enough to ſatisfy Half their Demands; and yet the King was not in a Condition poſitively to deny any one Party that which They deſired.

The Commiſſioners from the State, in Reſpect of their Quality, Parts and Intereſt, and in Regard of their Miſſion and Authority, ſeemed the moſt proper Perſons to be treated with, and the moſt like to be prevailed upon not to inſiſt upon any Thing that was moſt profoundly unreaſonable. They had all their own juſt Fears, if the King ſhould be ſevere; and there would have been a general Concurrence in all the reſt, that He ſhould have taken a full Vengeance upon them: But then They who had moſt Cauſe to fear, thought They might raiſe their Hopes higheſt from that Power that ſent them, and which had yet Intereſt enough to do Good and Hurt; and They thought themſelves ſecure in the King's Declaration from *Breda* and his Offer of Indemnity, which comprehended them. Then They were all deſirous

to merit from the King; and their not loving one another, diſpoſed them the more to do any Thing that might be grateful to his Majeſty. But They were all united and agreed in one unhappy Extreme, that made all their other Devotion leſs applicable to the public 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 Rigor, and under the ſame Incapacity to do Hurt, which They were till then. For which Inſtance They were not totally without Reaſon, from their barbarous Behaviour in the firſt Beginning of the Rebellion, which could not be denied, and from their having been compelled to ſubmit to and undergo the moſt barbarous Servitude, that could not be forgotten. And though Eradication was too foul a Word to be uttered in the Ears of a Chriſtian Prince, yet it was little leſs or better that They propoſed in other Words, and hoped to obtain: Whereas the King thought that miſerable People to be as worthy of his Favor, as moſt of the other Parties; and that his Honor, 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 others to be Judges. And all this Liſt was made and ſettled without the leaſt Communication with the Chancellor, who might have been preſumed to be eaſily informed of that Rank of Men. But to find a Perſon fit to ſend thither in the ſupreme Authority, was long deliberated by the King, and with Difficulty to be reſolved. The General continued Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* which He had no Mind to quit, for He had a great Eſtate there, having for ſome Time been General of that Army, and received for the Arrears of his Pay, and by *Cromwell's* Bounty, and by ſome Purchaſes He made of the Soldiers, an Eſtate of at leaſt four thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, which He thought He could

The General continues Lord Lieutenant.

beſt preſerve in the ſupreme Government; though He was willing to have it believed in the City and the Army, that He retained it only for the Good of the *Adventurers*, and that the Soldiers might be juſtly dealt with for their Arrears. Whatſoever his Reaſon was, as Profit was the higheſt Reaſon always with him, whoever was to be Deputy muſt be ſubordinate to him, which no Man of the greateſt Quality would be, though He was to have his Commiſſion from the King, and the ſame Juriſdiction in the Abſence of the Lieutenant. There were ſome few fit for the Employment, who were not willing to undertake it; and many who were willing to undertake it, but were not fit.

Upon the View of thoſe of all Sorts, the King moſt inclined to the Lord *Roberts*, who was a Man of more than ordinary Parts, well verſed in the Knowledge of the Laws, and eſteemed of Integrity not to be corrupted by Money. But then He was a ſullen moroſe Man, intolerably proud, and had ſome Humors as inconvenient as ſmall Vices, which made him hard to live with, and which were afterwards more diſcovered than at that Time foreſeen. He had been in the Beginning of the Rebellion a leading Man in their Councils, and a great Officer in their Army, wherein He expreſſed no Want of Courage. But after the Defeat of the Earl of *Eſſex* his Army in *Cornwall*, which was imputed to his Poſitiveneſs and Undertaking for his County, the Friendſhip between him and that Earl was broken. And from that Time He did not only quit his Command in the Army, but declined their Councils, and remained for the

moſt Part in the Country; where He cenſured their Proceedings, and had his Converſation moſt with thoſe who were known to wiſh well to the King, and who gave him a great Teſtimony, as if He would be glad to ſerve his Majeſty upon the firſt Opportunity. The Truth is, the Wickedneſs of the ſucceeding Time was ſo much 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 public 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 Lieute-
" nant thereof, from which Office his Majeſty knew
" not how nor thought it ſeaſonable to remove him,
" and therefore that the Place muſt be ſupplied by a
" Deputy; for which Office the King thought him
" the moſt fit, if it were not for one Objection, which
" He had given them Leave to inform him of parti-
" cularly, 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, whe-
" ther 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 Favor in his Inquiry, " 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 After-" noons as Forenoons on the *Sundays*, and on thoſe " Days forbore to uſe thoſe Exerciſes and Recrea-" tions, 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 Epiſ-" copacy 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 Honor:" 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 Corre- " ſpondence between them, both whilſt They ſtayed " together in *England*, and when He ſhould be in " *Ireland*; but beyond that there would be no Obli- " gation upon him, for that He was to receive his " Commiſſion immediately from the King, contain- " ing as ample Powers as were in the Lieutenant's " own Commiſſion: That He was not the Lieutenant's " Deputy, but the King's; only that his Commiſſion " ceaſed when the Lieutenant ſhould be upon the " Place, which He was never like to be." Upon the whole Matter, though it appeared that the Superiority was a great Mortification to him, He ſaid, " that He " referred himſelf wholly to the King to be diſpoſed " of as He thought beſt for his Service, and that He " would behave himſelf with all poſſible Fidelity " to him."

Lord Roberts made Deputy of Ireland.

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 ſolicit- " ed 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 Pre- " tences, and of the general State of the Kingdom, " might be the better able to adviſe his Majeſty upon " the whole Matter, and to preſcribe, for the enter- " ing upon it by Parts, ſuch a Method, that his Ma- " jeſty 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.

Tranſactions in Parliament concerning the Act of Indemnity.

The Parliament ſpent moſt of the Time upon the *Act of Indemnity*, in which private Paſſions and Animoſities prevailed very far; one Man contending to preſerve this Man, who though amongſt the fouleſt Offenders, had done him ſome Courteſy in the Time of his Power; and another with as much Paſſion and Bitterneſs endeavouring to have another condemned, who could not be diſtinguiſhed from the whole Herd by any infamous Guilt, and who had diſobliged him, or refuſed to oblige him, when it was in his Power to have done it. The King had poſitively excepted none from Pardon, becauſe He was to refer the Whole to

them; but had clearly enough expreſſed, that He preſumed that They would not ſuffer any of thoſe who had ſat 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 Trea- "ſon;" 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 Men's 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

" better Condition than They who fled beyond the " Seas, which They were not in any Degree, if " They were put upon their Trial; for to be tried " and to be condemned was the ſame Thing, ſince the " Guilt of all was equally 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 them- " ſelves, 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 Parlia- " ment," as They called it, " They ſhould remain in " ſuch Priſons as his Majeſty thought fit during their " Lives, and neither of them be put to Death without " Conſent of Parliament."

But then as by this Means too many of thoſe impious Perſons remained alive, and ſome others who were as bad as any, were upon ſome Teſtimony of the General, and by other Interpoſitions of Friends upon the Allegation of Merit and Services, preſerved, with the King's Conſent too eaſily obtained, ſo much as from Attainder; ſo to make ſome Kind of Amends for this unhappy Lenity, They reſolved to except a Multitude of thoſe They were moſt angry with from Pardon as to their Eſtates, and to fine others in great Sums of Money; when worſe Men, at leaſt as bad, of either *Claſſis* were exempted, as included, by the

Power of their Friends who were preſent in the Debate. And this Contradiction and Faction brought ſuch a Spirit into the Houſe, as diſturbed all other Counſels; whilſt Men, who wiſhed well enough to the Matter propoſed, oppoſed the paſſing it, to croſs other Men who had refuſed to agree with them in the pardoning or not pardoning of Perſons: Which Diſſenſion divided the Houſe into great Animoſities. And without Doubt, the King's Credit and Authority was at that Time ſo great in the Houſe of Commons, that He could have taken full Vengeance upon many of thoſe with whom He had Reaſon to be offended, by cauſing them to be exempted from Pardon, or expoſed to ſome Damage of Eſtate. And there wanted not many, who uſed all the Credit They had, to inflame the King to that Retaliation and Revenge.

And it was then and more afterwards imputed to the Chancellor, that there were no more Exceptions in the *Act of Indemnity*, and that He labored 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 diſpaſſioned Men, that no Perſon was ſo much concerned, though all were enough, that there ſhould be no longer Delay in paſſing the *Act of Indemnity*, as the

King himself was; there being no Progress made in any other Business, by the Disorder and ill Humor 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 inserted, as most agreeable to the General's Advice; and that He then said to his Majesty, in the Presence of those who were consulted with, "that it would come to his Turn to insist upon "the Performance of those Concessions, which He "was against the making of, when many others "would oppose them, which may-be at that present "would advise much larger:" Which his Majesty acknowledged to be true, and confessed upon many Occasions. And the Chancellor did in Truth conceive, that the King's taking Advantage of the good

The King concerned at the Delays in passing it.

Inclinations of the Houſe to him, to diſpoſe them to fall upon many Perſons, who were Men of another *Claſſis* to thoſe He deſired might be excepted (and of which Proſpect there could be no End, every Man having Cauſe to fear his own Security by what He ſaw his Neighbour ſuffer who was as innocent) was directly contrary to the Senſe and Integrity of his Declaration, and therefore to be avoided; and that all Things were to be done by him that might facilitate and advance the diſbanding, that ſo the Peace of the Kingdom might again depend upon the civil Juſtice and Magiſtrates thereof. And all Men who underſtood in how tickliſh a Condition it then ſtood, concurred in that Advice.

He interpoſes with the Parliament.

And this was the Reaſon that the King uſed his Authority, and They who were truſted by him their Credit and Intereſt, for the ſuppreſſing thoſe Animoſities, which had irreconciled many Perſons between themſelves who were of Public Affections, by the Nomination of particular Perſons whoſe Eſtates ſhould be made liable to Penalties, the impoſing of which muſt again depend upon the Parliament; which, beſides the Conſumption of Time which was very precious, would renew and continue the ſame Spirit of Diviſion, which already had done too much Miſchief, and would inevitably have done much more. But by this Temper and Compoſition the *Act of Indemnity* was finiſhed, paſſed the Houſe of Peers, and received the Royal Aſſent, to the wonderful Joy of the People. And preſent Orders were given for the diſbanding the Army and Payment of the Navy, as faſt as Money came in, for which ſeveral Acts of

And gets it paſſed.

Parliament were formerly paſſed. And by the former Delays, the intolerable Burden both of Army and Navy lay upon the Kingdom near ſix Months after the King's Return, and amounted not to ſo little as one hundred thouſand Pounds by the Month; which raiſed a vaſt Debt that was called the King's, who had inceſſantly deſired to have it prevented from the firſt Hour of his Arrival.

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

The Parliament adjourned.

The Trial of thoſe infamous Perſons who were in Priſon for the Murder of the King (and who were appointed by the *Act of Indemnity* to be proceeded againſt with Rigor, and who could not be tried till that Vote was paſſed) was no ſooner over; and the Perſons executed with ſome of the ſame Crew, who

being in *Holland* and *Flanders* were, by the Permiſſion and Connivance of the Magiſtrates, taken by the King's Miniſters there, and brought into *England*, and put to Death with their Companions; but the People of that *Claſſis* who were called *Fanatics*, diſcovered a wonderful Malignity in their Diſcourſes, and Vows of Revenge for their innocent Friends. They cauſed the Speeches They had made at their Deaths to be printed, in which there was Nothing of Repentance or Sorrow for their Wickedneſs, but a Juſtification of what They had done for the Cauſe of God; and had ſeveral Meetings to conſult of the beſt Way to attempt their Revenge, and of bringing themſelves into the ſame Poſture of Authority and Power, which They formerly had. The diſbanding the Army ſeemed a good Expedient to contribute to their Ends: And They doubted not, but as faſt as They diſbanded They would repair to them, which They could not ſo well do till then, becauſe of the many new Officers who had been lately put over them; and to that Purpoſe They had their Agents in ſeveral Regiments to appoint Rendezvouſes. They had Conference of aſſaſſinating the General, "who," They ſaid, "had betrayed them, and was the only "Perſon who kept the Army together."

Venner raiſes an Inſurrection of the Fanatics in London.

Matters being in this State, and ſome of their Companions every Day taken and impriſoned upon Diſcovery of their Purpoſes, the King being gone to *Portſmouth*, and the Parliament adjourned, They appointed a Rendezvous in ſeveral Places of *London* at twelve of the Clock in the Night; the ſame being aſſigned to their Friends in the Country. They had

not Patience to make Uſe of the Silence of the Night, till They could draw their ſeveral Bodies together. But their ſeveral Rendezvouſes no ſooner met, than They fell into Noiſe and 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 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 raſe out the Memory of what He had formerly done amiſs, with a more ſignal Acknowledgement, 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." And true it was They had killed some, and charged a Body of the Trained-bands 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 com-

mitted to the Gaol, and to the ſpecial Charge of the Surgeons, that They might be preſerved for a Trial.

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

For which He and ſeveral of his Aſſociates are executed.

There is no Occaſion 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, 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 Licence 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 Profecution, which They ſaw not like to produce any notable Fruit that they cared for. The King deſired no more than that They ſhould do Nothing, being ſure that in a little Time He ſhould himſelf do the Work beſt. And ſo in *September* when He adjourned them, He took Notice "that They had offered him no Advice "towards the compoſing the Diſſenſions in Reli- "gion, and therefore he would try in that ſhort Ad- "journment of the Parliament, what He could do "towards it himſelf."

And thereupon he was himſelf preſent many Days, and for many Hours each Day, at a Conference between many of the *London* Miniſters, who were the Heads of the Preſbyterian Party, with an equal Number of the Orthodox Clergy; who had been for ſo many Years deprived of all that They had: Which Conference was held at *Worceſter-Houſe* in the Chancellor's Lodgings, to conſider what Ceremonies ſhould be retained in the Church, and what Alterations ſhould be made in the Liturgy that had been formerly uſed; and the Subſtance of this Conference was afterwards publiſhed in Print. The King upon this publiſhed a Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, wherein He took Notice "of the Con- "ference 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 Lod- "gings, and if it were poſſible, to agree upon ſuch "an *Act of Uniformity*, that might be confirmed in "Parliament." And in the mean Time "He ſigni- "fied his Pleaſure, that Nobody ſhould be puniſhed

The King publiſhes a Declaration concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.

" for not using *The Book of Common-Prayer* which " had been formerly eſtabliſhed, or for diſcontinuing " the Surplice, and the Sign of the Croſs; and that " all who deſired to conform to the old Practice in " the uſing them all, ſhould be at the ſame Liberty:" Which Declaration was read to, and put into the Hands of the Divines of Both Sides for ſome Days; and then They were again heard before his Majeſty at *Worceſter-Houſe*. And though it cannot be denied, that either Party did deſire that ſomewhat might be put in, and ſomewhat left out, in neither of which they were gratified; yet it is moſt true, They were Both well content with it, or ſeemed ſo. And the Declaration was publiſhed in his Majeſty's Name before the Return of the Parliament.

Two inſtances of the Diſingenuity of the Presbyterian Miniſters.

Here I cannot but inſtance two Acts of the *Preſbyterians*, by which, if their Humor 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 Prac- " tice of *the Common-Prayer*, and that He would " take it well from thoſe who uſed it in their Chur- " ches, that the common People might be again ac- " quainted 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 Chan-

cellor 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 Declaration; for "They ſhould be thought in their Perſuaſions to "comply only with the King's Recommendation, "and to merit from his Majeſty, and not to be moved from the Conſcience of the Duty; and ſo "they ſhould take that Occaſion to 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 Miniſters had deſired; which They again enlarged upon with the ſame Proteſtations of their Reſolutions, in ſuch a Manner, that his Majeſty believed They meant honeſtly; and the Clauſe was left out. But the Declaration was no ſooner publiſhed, than obſerving that the People were generally ſatisfied with it, They ſent their Emiſſaries abroad: And many of their Letters were intercepted, and particulary a Letter from Mr. *Calamy* to a leading Miniſter in *Somerſetſhire*, whereby He adviſed and entreated him, "that He and his Friends would con-
"tinue and perſiſt in the Uſe of *The Directory*, and
"by no Means admit *The Common-Prayer* in their
"Churches; for that He made no Queſtion but that
"They ſhould prevail farther with the King, than
"he had yet conſented to in his Declaration."

The other Inſtance was, that as ſoon as the Declaration was printed, the King received a Petition in the Name of the Miniſters of *London* and many others of the ſame Opinion with them, who had ſubſcribed that Petition; amongſt whom none of thoſe who had attended the King in thoſe Conferences had their Names. They gave his Majeſty humble Thanks "for the Grace He had vouchſafed
"to ſhow in his Declaration, which They received
"as an Earneſt of his future Goodneſs and Condeſ-
"cenſion in granting all thoſe other Conceſſions,
"which were abſolutely neceſſary for the Liberty
"of their Conſcience;" and deſired with much Importunity and ill Manners, "that the wearing the
"Surplice, and the uſing the Croſs in Baptiſm,
"might be abſolutely aboliſhed out of the Church,

" as being ſcandalous to all Men of tender Conſci-
" ences." From thoſe two Inſtances all Men may conclude, that Nothing but a ſevere Execution of the Law can ever prevail upon that *Claſſis* of Men to conform to Government.

The Parliament meets again, and is diſſolved.

When the Parliament came together again after their Adjournment, They gave the King public 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 Declara-
" tion 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 public 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

be the Work of the enſuing Parliament, which was directed to meet upon the eighth of *May* following: Before which Time, the King made Choice of worthy and learned Men to ſupply the vacant Sees of Biſhops, which had been void ſo many Years, and who were conſecrated accordingly before the Parliament met. And before We come to that Time, ſome particular Occurrences of Moment muſt be firſt inſerted.

A new Parliament ſummoned to meet.

When the King arrived in *England*, *Monſieur Bordeaux* was there Ambaſſador from the King of *France*, and had reſided Ambaſſador there about three Years in *Cromwell's* Time, and lived in marvellous Luſtre, very acceptable and dear to *Cromwell*, having treated all the ſecret Alliance between the Cardinal and him; and was even truſted by the Protector in many of his Counſels, eſpecially to diſcover any Conſpiracy againſt him; for He lived jovially, made great Entertainments to Lords and Ladies without Diſtinction, and amongſt them would frequently let fall ſome Expreſſions of Compaſſion and Reſpect towards the King. After *Cromwell's* Death his Credentials were quickly renewed to *Richard* his 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 labored the contrary), "that it could not "ſtand with his Majeſty's Honor 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 Per-"ſon, 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

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

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 Honor by it in *France* itſelf, which declared no Kind of Reſentment of it, and gave poor *Bordeaux* ſuch a Reception, after having ſerved them five Years with notable Succeſs, and ſpent his whole Eſtate in the Service, that in a ſhort Time He died heart-broken in Miſery and uninquired after. And forthwith that King ſent the Count of *Soiſſons*, the moſt illuſtrious Perſon in *France*, very nobly accompanied and bravely attended, as his Ambaſſador, to congratulate his Majeſty's happy Reſtoration, with all the Compliments of Friendſhip and Eſteem that can be imagined.

The Ambaſſador from Portugal to the late Powers kindly received.

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 *Cromwell*; who had been ſo ill uſed, that They had put his Brother publicly 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 Ambaſſador had been ſent in his Room; and was forced to conſent and ſubmit to very hard Conditions, as a Ranſom for that King's Generoſity in aſſiſting the King in his loweſt Condition, by receiving Prince *Rupert* with his Majeſty's Fleet in *Liſbon*, and ſo

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

An Account of the Treaty and Marriage with Portugal.

And becauſe in ſome Time after a Negotiation was ſet on Foot of the higheſt Importance, and had its Effect in the King's Marriage with the Queen; and becauſe, how acceptable ſoever both that Treaty and Concluſion of it was then to the whole Kingdom, that Affair was afterwards imputed to the Chancellor, and in the Opinion of many proved to be the Cauſe and Ground of all his Misfortunes: I ſhall here ſet down all the Particulars that introduced and attended that Negotiation and Treaty, with all the Circumſtances, ſome whereof may appear too light, and yet are not without Weight, to make it appear to all the World, how far the Chancellor was from being the Author of that Counſel (and if

He had been, there was no Reaſon to be aſhamed of it) and that He did nothing before, in, or after that Treaty, but what was neceſſary for a Man in his Condition, and what very well became a Perſon of that Truſt and Confidence He was in with his Maſter.

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

The Portugueſe Ambaſſador propoſes the Marriage.

One Day the King came to the Chancellor's Houſe in the Afternoon; and being alone with him, his Majeſty told him, "that He was come to confer with "him upon an Argument that He would well like,

" which was about his own Marriage," He ſaid, the Lord Chamberlain (who was then Earl of *Manchester*) " had held a Diſcourſe with him ſome Days " paſt, that ſeemed to have ſomewhat in it that was " worth the thinking of. That He had told him, " *the* Portugal *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 Conſort for him. That there* " *was in* Portugal *a Princeſs in her Beauty, Perſon and* " *Age, very fit for him, and who would have a Portion* " *ſuitable to her Birth and Quality. That it is true She* " *was a* Catholic, *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 prac-* " *tiſed. That She had been bred under a wiſe Mother,* " *who was ſtill Regent in that Kingdom, who had care-* " *fully infuſed another Spirit into her, and kept her from* " *affecting to have any Hand in Buſineſs, and which She* " *had never been acquainted with; ſo that She would* " *look only to enjoy her own Religion, and not at all* " *concern herſelf in what others profeſſed. That He* " *had Authority to make the Propoſition to the King,* " *with ſuch Particularities as included many Advantages* " *above any, He thought, which could accompany any* " *Overture of that Kind from another Prince.* To " which the Chamberlain had added, *that there could* " *be no Queſtion, but that a Proteſtant Queen would in*

" *all Reſpects be looked upon as the greateſt Bleſſing to*
" *the Kingdom: But if ſuch a one could not be found,*
" *He did really believe, that a Princeſs of this Temper*
" *and Spirit would be the beſt of all* Catholics. *That*
" *the Trade of* Portugal *was great here, and that* Eng-
" land *had a more beneficial Commerce with that Crown*
" *than with any other: Which had induced* Cromwell
" *to make that Peace, when He had upon the Matter*
" *forſworn it; and the making it had been the moſt*
" *popular Action He had ever performed.*"

His Majeſty ſaid, " that He had only anſwered the
" Chamberlain, *that He would think of it.* But that
" the very Morning of this Day, the Ambaſſador of
" *Portugal* had been with him, and without any For-
" mality 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* Ster-
" ling *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 in-*
" *finite Benefit and Security to the Trade of* England;
" *and likewiſe to grant to the* Engliſh *Nation a free*
" *Trade in* Braſil *and in the* Eaſt-Indies, *which They*
" *had hitherto denied to all Nations but themſelves. And*
" *for their Security to enjoy that Privilege, They would*
" *put into his 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* Bom-

" bayne); *which hath within itself a very good and* " *spacious Harbour, and would be a vast Improvement* " *to the* East-India *Trade. And those two Places*, He " said, *of* Tangier *and* Bombayne, *might reasonably* " *be valued above the Portion in Money.*" The King mentioned all the Discourse as a Matter that pleased him, and might prove of notable Advantage to the Kingdom; and said " that He had wished the Am- " bassador 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 there- " fore 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 to look fixedly upon him, He said, " that he would " never think more of the Princess of *Orange*'s " Daughter, her Mother having used him so ill " when He proposed it; and if He should now think " of it, He knew his Mother would never consent " to it, and that it would break his Sister's Heart: " Therefore He had 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."

The King approves the Proposal.

What could the Chancellor ſay? What Objection could He make, why this Overture ſhould not be hearkened to? And what would the King have thought, or what might He not have thought, if He had adviſed him to reject this Motion? He gave him no other Anſwer for the preſent, than "that He "deſired Nothing more in this World, than to ſee "his Majeſty well married; and He was very con-"fident that all his good Subjects were of the ſame "Mind: And therefore there muſt be ſome very "viſible Inconvenience in it, when He ſhould diſ-"ſuade him not to embrace ſuch an Opportunity. "That He would be ready to confer with the "*Portugal* Ambaſſador when He came, and then "He ſhould entertain his Majeſty farther upon that "Subject." The Ambaſſador 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 Ad-"vice of any one Man, how agreable 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 conſult it very maturely with them, " before he entertained any more Conference with " the Ambaſſador. 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 Demonſtra- " tion of Eſteem: If it ſhould appear worthy of " Entertainment and Acceptation, it would ſtill " require the ſame Secrecy; till the Value and Con- " ſequence of all the Particulars propoſed by the " Ambaſſador might be fully examined and weighed, " and a more particular and ſubſtantial Aſſurance " given for the Accompliſhment, than the bare " Word of the Ambaſſador."

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

The King appointed that the Lord Treaſurer, the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord Chamberlain, and Secretary *Nicholas*, ſhould be together at the Chancellor's Houſe, where his Majeſty would likewiſe be and propoſe the Buſineſs to them. And accordingly He did relate to them the whole Series of what had paſſed, and required them " with all poſſible Free- " dom to deliver their Opinions, and to conſider " whether there was any other Princeſs or Lady in " their View, with whom he might marry more " advantageouſly." He added, " that He had ſpo- " ken 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 not ride there in ſuch a Wind,*" which his Majeſty named; " *but if there were a Mole, they*
" *would ride ſecurely in all Weather; and They would*
" *keep the Place againſt all the World, and give the*
" *Law to all the Trade of the* Mediterranean:" With which Diſcourſe his Majeſty ſeemed very much affected. After many Queſtions and much Debate, and ſome of the Lords wiſhing that it were poſſible to get a Queen that was a *Proteſtant*, and One of them naming the Daughter of *Harry* Prince of *Orange*, of whom They had heard ſome Mention when his Majeſty was beyond the Seas, and of whoſe 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 unanſwerable Reaſons why he could not
" entertain that Alliance"): All the Lords unani-
" mouſly agreed, that there was no Catholic Prin-
" ceſs in *Europe*, whom his Majeſty could with ſo
" much Reaſon and Advantage marry, as the *Infanta*
" of *Portugal*. That the Portion propoſed in Money,
" ſetting aſide the Places, was much greater, almoſt
" double to what any King had ever received in
" Money by any Marriage. And the Places ſeemed
" to be ſituated very uſefully for Trade, the Increaſe
" whereof his Majeſty was to endeavour with all

" poſſible Solicitude; which could only make this " Nation flouriſh, and recover the Intereſt They had " loſt, eſpecially in the *Indies* and in the *Mediterra-* " *nean*, by the late Troubles and Diſtractions, and " the Advantage the *Dutch* had thereby gotten over " the *Engliſh* in thoſe Trades, as well as in other." The King approved all that had been ſaid, and thereupon appointed all thoſe Lords with the ſame Secrecy to enter into a Treaty with the Ambaſſador; which was begun between them accordingly.

The Treaty neither was, nor could be a Secret; nor was there any Thing more generally deſired, than that a Treaty of Alliance and Commerce ſhould be made with *Portugal*, that the Trade might continue with Security: And it was very grateful to every Body to know, that there was a Committee appointed to that Purpoſe. But the Propoſition towards a Marriage was ſtill a Secret, not communicated to any, nor ſo much as ſuſpected by the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, 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 Ambaſſador offered " to renew the Treaty " (if that of the Marriage was conſented to) *in Ter-* " *minis*, that had been made with *Cromwell*, without " being ſo much as exempted from that yearly Pay- " ment, which had been impoſed upon them for " aſſiſting Prince *Rupert*," and had been aſſigned to the Merchants to ſatisfy the Damages they had ſuſtained by Prince *Rupert*; and the Releaſe whereof muſt have obliged the King to pay it himſelf: And therefore that Offer was looked upon as a generous

Thing. And the whole Treaty, which They had not yet perused, was generally looked upon and believed to be the most advantageous to *England*, that had been ever entered into with any Crown.

It had been foreseen from the first Motion towards this Marriage, that it would be a very hard Matter with such Alliance, to avoid such a Conjunction with *Portugal* as would produce a War with *Spain*; which the King had no Mind to be engaged in. For besides that He had received some Civilities from that King, after a Word of Disobligations, his Resident at *Madrid* Sir *Harry Bennet*, had consented in his Majesty's Name, that the old Treaty which had been made between the two Crowns in the Year 1630, should be again observed; of which more anon. But his Majesty's firm Resolution at that Time was, wholly to intend the composing or subduing the Distempers and ill Humors in his three Kingdoms and all his other Dominions; and till that should be fully done, He would have no Differenee with any of his Neighbours, nor be engaged in any War which He could avoid: A Resolution very prudently made; and if it had been adhered to, much Evil which succeeded the Departure from it, might have been prevented.

But the Lords found, upon Perusal of the Treaty, one Article (which was indeed the only Article that made any Show of Benefit and Advantage to *Portugal*) by which *Cromwell* was obliged to assist *Portugal* when They should require it, with six thousand Foot, to be levied in *England* at their Charge. And now the 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 chuſe a " Wife for himſelf, and he could help a Brother and " Ally with a Levy of Men at their Charge, without " entering into a War with any other Prince. And " if *Spain* ſhould, either upon his Marriage or ſuch " Supply, declare a War againſt him, He would " defend himſelf as well as He could, and do as " much Damage as He could to *Spain*; and then " that He would apply ſuch Aſſiſtance to *Portugal*, " as ſhould be moſt advantageous to it: And that " He ſhould not be willing to ſee it reduced under " the Obedience of *Spain* for many Reaſons. That in " mean Time he would aſſiſt them with the ſame " Number as *Cromwell* had promiſed, and tranſport " them at his own Charge thither; provided that as " ſoon as They were landed, They ſhould be received " in the King of *Portugal*'s Pay:" Which Offer the King made upon a Reaſon not then communicated, and which will be mentioned hereafter; beſides that He had ſuch a Body of Men ready for ſuch a Service, and which could with much more Security and little more Charge be tranſported to *Portugal*, than be diſbanded in the Place where They were.

When the Ambaſſador 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 un-"queſtionable 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 Ambaſſador from the Queen-Regent. And for farther Satisfaction therein, the Ambaſſador offered "pre-"ſently 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 Reſolu-"tion for the Marriage, if all the Particulars pro-"miſed by the Ambaſſador in Writing ſhould be "made good;" and writ likewiſe a Letter with his "own Hand to the *Infanta*, as to a Lady whom He

The Treaty of Commerce with Portugal ſettled.

" looked upon as his Wife; and assigned two Ships " to attend the Ambassador, who immediately, and " with some Appearance or Pretence of Discontent " or Dissatisfaction" (that the Secret might be the less discovered,) embarked with all his Family for the River of *Lisbon*. And to this Time the Chancellor had never mentioned any particular Advice of his own to the King, more than his Concurrence with the rest of the Lords; nor in Truth had any of them showed more Inclination towards it, than the King himself had done, who seemed marvellously pleased, and had spoken much more in private with the Ambassador upon it, than any of the Lords had done, and of some Particulars which They were never acquainted with.

The Ambassador goes into Portugal for farther Powers.

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

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 Splendor 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

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 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 Catholic 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 *Catholic*, by which He ſhould have ſo many Opportunities to ſerve his Maſter. And this He had the Confidence to urge to the King, before He was obliged to deliver the Signet, and to forbear the being preſent any more in Council. And this Diſplacing and Remove He imputed entirely to his old Friend the Chancellor (with whom till that Minute He had for many Years held a very firm Friendſhip),

and the more, becauſe He received from his Majeſty the ſame Countenance He had before, without any Reprehenſion for what He had done; the King not being at all ſurpriſed with his Declaration, becauſe He had long known that He was very indifferent in all Matters of Religion, and looked upon the outward Profeſſion of any, as depending wholly upon the Convenience or Diſcommodity that might be enjoyed by it. And with ſuch Diſcourſes He had too much entertained the King, who never would ſpeak ſeriouſly with him upon that Subject. And truly his own Relation of the Manner of his Converſion, with all the Circumſtances, and the Diſcourſe of an ignorant old *Jeſuit* whom He perfectly contemned, and of a ſimple good Woman, the Abbeſs of a Convent, which contributed to it; was ſo ridiculous, and adminiſtered ſuch Occaſion of Mirth, that his Majeſty thought Laughing at him to be the beſt Reproof. And the Earl bore that ſo well and gratefully from the King, and from his other familiar Friends too (for He diſſembled his taking any Thing ill of the Chancellor), and contributed ſo much himſelf to the Mirth, that He was never better Company than upon that Argument: And any Man would have believed, that He had not a worſe Opinion of the Religion he had forſaken, or of any other, by his becoming *Roman Catholic.*

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 *Henry 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 father Designs, believing He could not do better abroad than He might do in his own Country; and so He undertook his Journey through *France*, laden with many Obligations from that Court, and arrived at *London* about the Time that the Ambassa-

dor was embarked for *Portugal*. The King of *Spain* had, ſoon after the King's Arrival in *England*, ſent the Prince of *Lygnes* with a very ſplendid Ambaſſage to congratulate with his Majeſty, about the Time that the Count of *Soiſſons* came from *France* on the ſame Errand. And after his Return, the Baron of *Batteville* was ſent from *Spain* as Ordinary Ambaſſador, 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 Governor of *St. Sebaſtian*'s and of that Province. He ſeemed a rough Man, and to have more of the Camp, but in Truth knew the Intrigues of a Court better than moſt *Spaniards*; and except when his Paſſion ſurpriſed him, was wary and cunning in his Negotiation. He lived with leſs Reſervation and more Jollity than the Miniſters of that Crown uſed to do; and drew ſuch of the Court to his Table and Converſation, who He obſerved were loud Talkers, and confident enough in the King's Preſence.

An Account of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador.

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 *Catholic* Majeſty, "they having not only been taken contrary to that "Treaty, but when his Majeſty was entertained in "that King's Dominions with all Courteſy and Re-"ſpect." 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 De- " claration of his Majesty's Resident at *Madrid;*" which was the first Notice any of his Majesty's Ministers had of any such Declaration. But when He had delivered those Memorials to the King, He never called for an Answer, nor willingly entered upon the Discourse of either of the Subjects; but put it off merely as a Thing He was to do of Form once, that his Master's just Title might be remembered, but not to be pressed till a fitter Conjuncture. For He easily discovered what Answer He should receive: And so took the Advantage of the Licence 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 Licence, 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 Favors 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 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 ſurpriſed with the Notice of this Affair, and preſently expreſſed his Diſlike of it, and told his Majeſty "that He would be exceedingly deceived in "it; that *Portugal* was poor, and not able to pay the

The Earl of Briſtol and the Spaniſh

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

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* Ambaſſador, 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 Ambaſſador'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* Ambaſſador had in his Vanity bragged of " it to ſome *Catholics*, 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 in- " capable 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 Ambassador had communicated to him in Trust, and which He durst not presume to say to his Majesty, and which in Truth He had said himself, being concerning the Person of the *Infanta*, and her Incapacity to have Children; upon which He enlarged very pathetically, and said, "He would speak freely with the Chancellor of " it, upon whom the ill Consequences of this Counsel " would fall." He told him, "there were many " beautiful Ladies in *Italy*, of the greatest Houses; " and that his Majesty might take his Choice of them, " and the King of *Spain* would give a Portion with " her, as if She were a Daughter of *Spain*; and the " King should marry her as such." And the Ambassador shortly after proposed the same Thing, and enlarged much upon it. And both the Earl and the Am-

baſſador conferred with the Chancellor (concealing the Propoſitions They had made concerning the *Italian* Ladies) "as of a Matter the Town talked of "and exceedingly diſliked, the more becauſe it was "generally known, that that Princeſs could not "have any Children." The King himſelf had informed the Chancellor of all that paſſed from the Ambaſſador, and of his Rudeneſs towards the *Infanta*, and his declaring that She could have no Children; and told him, "that the Earl of *Briſtol* reſolved to confer "with him, and doubted not to convert him;" without ſeeming himſelf to have been moved with any Thing that the Ambaſſador or the Earl had ſaid to him: So that when They both came afterwards to him, not together but ſeverally, and He perceived that his Majeſty had not to either of them imparted how far He had proceeded (but had heard them talk as of ſomewhat They had taken up from public Rumor, 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 Arguments He had naturally a very luxurious Style, unlimited by any Rules of Truth or Modeſty); it is not to be denied, that his Majeſty appeared much colder, and leſs delighted to ſpeak of *Portugal*, than He had been, and would ſometimes wiſh "that the Ambaſſador had not gone, and that "He would quickly return without Commiſſion to "give his Majeſty Satisfaction." He ſeemed to reflect upon a War with *Spain*, "which," He ſaid, "could "not poſſibly be avoided in that Alliance," with more Apprehenſion than He had formerly done, when that Contingency had been debated. All which Diſcourſes troubled the Lords who had been truſted, very much, not conceiving that the Ambaſſador's frantic 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 endow-"ed 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 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 Humors of the Princeſſes; and that He "had ſo good an Opinion of his Judgment, that He "was confident if He ſaw them, He would eaſily "know whether either of them were like to pleaſe "his Majeſty, and would ſo far truſt him, that if He "did believe, knowing his Majeſty ſo well as He did, "that one of them would be grateful, He ſhould "carry Power with him to propound and conclude a "Treaty; which," He ſaid, "He carried with him, "and likewiſe other Letters, upon which He ſhould "firſt find ſuch Acceſs and Admiſſion, as would "enable him to judge of their Nature and Humor as "well as of their Beauty." He ſeemed much tranſ-ported 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 viſhing 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 He had given him ſuch Powers as He bragged of. The Chancellor thereupon aſked him, " whether He well remembered his Engagement, " which He had voluntarily made, and without any " Body's Perſuaſion, to the King and Queen-Re- " gent;" and deſired him " to impart his new Re- " ſolution 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 Honor to Reproach, that " all Princes would be afraid of entering into any

" Treaty with him." This was every Word of Perſuaſion, that He then or ever after uſed to him upon this Affair; nor did it at that Time ſeem to make any Impreſſion in him, However He ſent for the Lord Treaſurer, and conferred at large with him and the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*. And finding them exceedingly ſurpriſed with what He had done, and that They gave the ſame and other ſtonger 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 the Borders or Confines of *Italy*; in which He had not the good Fortune to be believed.

The Ambaſſador of *Portugal* deſpatched his Voyage with more Expedition than could have been expected, and returned, as He believed, with at leaſt as full

The Portugueſe Ambaſſador returns, and is coldly received.

Satisfaction to all Particulars as could be expected; but found his Reception with such a Coldness, that struck the poor Gentleman (who was naturally hypochondriac) 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 Honor 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 exceedingly 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 Marriage with "the Daughter of the Duke of *Braganza*, his Master's

" Rebel, He had Order to take his Leave preſently, " and to declare War againſt him." The King returned ſome ſharp Anſwer preſently to him, and told him " He might be gone as ſoon as He would, and that " He would not receive Orders from the *Catholic* " King, how to diſpoſe himſelf in Marriage." Upon which the Ambaſſador ſeemed to think He had gone too far; and the next Day deſired another Audience, wherein He ſaid, " He had received new Orders: " And that his *Catholic* Majeſty had ſo great an Affec- " tion 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 *Catholic*; " therefore," He declared, " that if there were any " *Proteſtant* Lady, who would be acceptable to his " Majeſty," (and named the Daughter of the Princeſs Dowager of *Orange*) " the King of *Spain* would " give a Portion with her, as with a Daughter of " *Spain*; by which his Majeſty's Affairs and Occa- " ſions would be ſupplied."

The multiplying theſe and many other Extravagancies made the King reflect upon all the Ambaſſador's Proceedings and Behaviour, and revolve the Diſcourſes He had held with him; and to conſider, 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 Ambaſſador 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 conſidering the many Things alledged by the Ambaſſador, 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* Ambaſſador with his uſual Freedom, and received both the Letters and Information He brought with him, and declared " that He was " fully ſatisfied in all the Particulars."

Extravagant Behaviour of the Spaniſh Ambaſſador.

Nor did the Carriage of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador 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,"

For which He is required to leave the Kingdom.

which

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 Ambassador 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 Par-"don; which He was ready to do:" But that being denied, within few Days He departed the Kingdom, carrying with him the Character of a very bold rash Man.

An Incident that promotes the Treaty of Marriage.

There was an Accident about this Time, that it is probable did confirm the King in his Resolution concerning *Portugal*. At this Time Cardinal *Mazarin* was dead, and had never been observed to be merry and to enjoy his natural pleasant Humor, 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 Général du Roy*, who was a Man of extraordinary Parts, and being not forty Years of Age, enjoyed his full Vigor 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 Bastide* 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 admitted to a Part of his Maſter's moſt "ſecret Affairs, and knowing well the Affection that "was between the two Kings, much deſired to hold "a cloſe and ſecret Correſpondence together, which "He preſumed would be for the Benefit of Both "their Maſters." The reſt contained only a Credential, "that He ſhould give Credit to all that the Bearer "ſhould ſay, who was a Perſon entirely truſted by "him," And then He entered upon his Diſcourſe, conſiſting of theſe Parts:

Some particular Overtures from the Court of France.

(1.) "That the King of *France* was troubled to "hear, that there was ſome Obſtruction fallen out in "the Treaty with *Portugal;* and that it would be a "very generous Thing in his Majeſty to undertake "the 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 Minister, and " indeed all other Princes, so much desired the Peace " between the Crowns, that He was diverted from " that Design. And that for the perfecting that Peace " and his Marriage with *Spain*, He had been com- " pelled to desert *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 Expenses, " to disburse such a Sum of Money, as the sending a " vigorous Assistance, which was necessary, would " require. But for that He would take Care; and for " the present cause to be paid to his Majesty three " hundred thousand *Pistoles*, which would defray " the Charge of that Summer's Expedition; and for " the future, Provision should be made proportion- " able 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 and insolent towards all their Neigh-

" bours, and treated all Kings as if They were at " leaſt their Equals: That *France* had been ill uſed " by them, and was ſenſible of it; and that the King " had not been much beholden to them." And therefore He propoſed, " that Both Kings upon this " Occaſion would ſo communicate their Counſels, " that They might reduce that People to live like " good Neighbours, and with more good Manners; " and that They would treat ſolely and advance " together, and that the One ſhould promiſe not to " conclude any Thing without communicating it to " the other: So that Both Treaties might be con- " cluded 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- " ſired, that neither of them ſhould know of this Cor- " reſpondence, or any Particular that paſſed by it."

When the Gentleman had finiſhed his Diſcourſe, the Chancellor told him, " that He knew *M. Fouquet* " to be ſo wiſe a Man, that He would not invite or " enter into ſuch a Correſpondence, without the " Privity and Approbation of his Maſter: And He " preſumed 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 would take the firſt Opportunity to acquaint " the King his Maſter; and if He would come the

" next Day at the ſame Hour" (which was about " Four in the Afternoon) " to the ſame Place, He " would return his Anſwer."

The King came the next Day before the Hour aſſigned to the Chancellor's Houſe. And when He heard the Gentleman was come, his Majeſty vouchſafed himſelf to go into that Backroom; and (the Chancellor telling the other, " that He ſhould be " Witneſs to his Majeſty's Approbation of his Cor- " reſpondence"), 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 Correſpon- " dence propoſed; and that the Chancellor ſhould " perform his Part very punctually, and with the " Secrecy that was deſired; and that He would give " his own Word, that the Queen and the Earl of " *St. Albans* ſhould know Nothing that ſhould paſs " in this Correſpondence:" Which the Chancellor obſerving with the Fidelity he ought to do, and this coming after to be known, it kindled a new Jealouſy and Diſpleaſure in the Queen, that was never afterwards extinguiſhed. The King told him " He " would upon the Encouragement and Promiſe of " the *French* King, of the Performance whereof He " could make no Doubt, proceed in the Treaty " with *Portugal;* and give that Kingdom the beſt " Aſſiſtance He could, without beginning a War " with *Spain*. That for the Treaty with *Holland*, " which was but newly begun" (for the *States* who had made Choice of and nominated their Ambaſſadors before the King left the *Hague*, did not ſend

Which the King readily embraces.

them in near six Months after; which his Majesty looked upon as a great Disrespect), "He would "comply with what the King desired; and that his "*Christian* Majesty should from Time to Time re- "ceive 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* desired for Preserva- "tion of the Secret, that the Chancellor would "always write with his own Hand in *English*, directed "in such a Manner as He should propose; which "would always bring the Letters safe to the Hands "of him, *La Bastide*, who was appointed by the "King to keep that Cipher, and to maintain that "Correspondence."

An Instance of the Chancellor's uncorrupt Integrity.

There was another Circumstance that attended this private Negotiation, that may not be unfitly inserted here, and is a sufficient Manifestation of the Integrity of the Chancellor, and how far He was from being that corrupt Person, which his most corrupt Enemies would have him thought to be. The next Morning after He had seen the King, *La Bastide* 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 Gene-

" rosity of *M. Fouquet*, the Extent of his Power and " Office, that He could disburse and issue great Sums " of Money without any Accunt so much as to the " King himself; without which Liberty, the King " knew many secret Services of the highest Import- " ance could not be performed." He said, " He " knew the Straits and Necessities, in which the " Chancellor and others about the King had lived for " many Years: And though He was now returned " with much Honor, 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 the had designed this " Supply only to that Purpose." He showed 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 Humor. He told them, " that *Fouquet* could not be an honeſt Man, " and that He had no Mind to hold that Correſ- " pondence 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 con- " ſider, what the Conſequence of his receiving that " Money, with what Secrecy ſoever, muſt be. That " the *French* King muſt either believe that He had " received it without his Majeſty's Privity, and ſo " look upon him as a Knave fit to be depended " upon in any Treachery againſt his Maſter; or

" that it was with his Majeſty's Approbation, which " muſt needs leſſen his Eſteem of him, that He ſhould " permit his Servants of the neareſt Truſt to grow " rich at the Charge of another Prince, who might " the next Day become his Enemy." To which the King ſmiling made no other Reply, " than that few " Men were ſo ſcrupulous;" and commanded him " to return a civil Anſwer to *M. Fouquet's* Letter, " and to cheriſh that Correſpondence, which" He ſaid " might be uſeful to him, and could produce no " Inconveniency." And ſo, when *La Baſtide* (who could not forbear to uſe new Importunity with him to receive the Money, till He found He was much offended) brought him the Cipher, He delivered him his Letter for *M. Fouquet.* And the next Week after his Return, the King of *France* writ to him in his own Hand, " that the Correſpondence *M. Fouquet* " had invited him to, was with his Majeſty's Pri- " vity; and that He was well pleaſed with it." And ſo the Correſpondence continued till that great Man's Fall: And then the King ſent all the Letters which had paſſed, and the Cipher, to the Chancellor; and writ to him, " from that Time to communicate " with all Freedom with his Ambaſſador," which He was before reſtrained from.

The Meaſures in Portugal relative to the Treaty of Marriage.

After the King had himſelf conferred at large with the *Portugal* Ambaſſador, He referred him again to give the Lords, with whom he had formerly treated an Account how all Particulars were adjuſted in *Portugal;* 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 Monaſte- " ries. By which Means She had the whole Portion " ready, which was all ſealed up in Bags, and depo- " ſited where Nobody could take it to apply to any " other Uſe. For the Delivery of *Tangier*, that the " old Governor (who had lived there long, and " was humorous) 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 Queen's, who could " not deceive her, and was ſo far truſted, that He " knew for what End he was ſent thither, and cheer- " fully 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 Governor 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 deli- " ver the ſame to the Perſon deſigned to receive it." " He added, that there would be another Security " given, greater than any of the reſt, and ſuch a " one as had never been given before in ſuch a Caſe.

" That the Queen ſhould be delivered on Board the " Fleet, and tranſported into *England*, before She " was married: Which was ſuch a Truſt that had " never been repoſed in any Prince, who, if He " would break his Word, might put an everlaſting " Reproach upon their Nation.

The Cauſe of this extraordinary Circumſtance was truly this. The Power of *Spain* was ſo great in the Court of *Rome*, notwithſtanding the Interpoſition and threatening Mediation of *France*, (whoſe Ambaſſador 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 an Ambaſſador or other Miniſter from him: So that They now foreſaw, that if They ſhould in what Manner ſoever demand a Diſpenſation at *Rome* (without which the Marriage could not be celebrated in *Portugal*), the Intereſt of *Spain* would cauſe it to be denied, or granted in ſuch a Manner as ſhould be worſe for them; for the Queen would have been mentioned only as the Daughter and Siſter of the Duke of *Braganza*. And before They would receive that Affront, the moſt jealous and moſt apprehenſive Nation in the World choſe rather to ſend the Daughter of the Kingdom to be married in *England*, and not to be married till She came thither.

The King refers the Whole to a full Privy-Council.

Upon the whole Matter, the King thought not fit to make any farther Exceptions, but reſolved to aſ. ſemble his whole Privy-Council, and to communi-

cate 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 Am-"baſſador had made a Voyage into *Portugal*, and "was returned with ſuch Satisfaction to all Parti-"culars, that He thought it now Time to commu-"nicate the Whole to them, that He might receive "their Advice." He commanded then the particular Propoſitions, which were offered by the Ambaſſador, to be reported. And thereupon He commanded and conjured all the Lords ſeverally to give him their Advice; for He ſaid "He had not yet ſo firmly "reſolved, but that He might change his Mind, if "He heard Reaſons to move him: And therefore "They would not deal faithfully with him, if They "did not with all Freedom declare their Judgment "to him." In ſhort, every Man delivered his Opinion, and every One agreed in the Opinion, "that "it was very fit for his Majeſty to embrace the Pro-"poſitions, which were of great Advantage to him-"ſelf and the Kingdom;" and that their Advice was, "that He ſhould ſpeedily and without more "Delay conclude the Treaty." And thereupon his Majeſty ſaid, "that He looked upon ſo unanimous "a Concurrence as a good Omen, and that He "would follow their Advice."

Which unanimouſly adviſes him to conclude the Treaty.

All this was done between the Diſſolution of the Parliament in *December*, and the aſſembling the other

The new Parliament meets.

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 Pro-"ceeding, 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 com-*"*mon 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 Unreasona-"bleness 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 wise Man, that would

The King's Speech.

He presses them to confirm the Act of Indemnity.

" endeavour to undermine and ſhake that Founda-
" tion of the public Peace, by infringing that Act
" in the leaſt Degree; or that He could be his Friend,
" or wiſh him well, who would perſuade him ever
" to conſent to the Breach of a Promiſe He had ſo
" ſolemnly made when He was abroad, and had
" performed with that Solemnity after, and becauſe
" He had promiſed it? And that He could not
" ſuſpect any Attempts of that Kind by any Men
" of Merit and Virtue."

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 ſhow their Power of Juſtice of Peace or Committee-Men, and had from the loweſt Beggary raiſed great Eſtates, out of which They were well able to ſatisfy, at leaſt in ſome Degree, the Damages the other had ſuſtained. And thoſe and other Paſſions of this Kind, which muſt have invalidated the whole *Act of Indemnity*, could not have been extinguiſhed without the King's Influence, and indeed his immediate Interpoſition and Induſtry.

He acquaints them with his intended Marriage.

When his Majeſty had ſpoken all He thought fit upon that Subject, He told them, "He could not "conclude without telling them ſome News, News "that He thought would be very acceptable to them. "and therefore He ſhould think himſelf unkind and "illnatured, if He ſhould not impart it to them. That "He had been often put in Mind by his Friends, "that it was high Time to marry; and He had "thought ſo himſelf, ever ſince He came into *England*: But there appeared Difficulties enough in "the Choice, though many Overtures had been "made to him. And if He ſhould never marry till "He could make ſuch a Choice, againſt which there "could be no Foreſight of any Inconvenience that "might enſue, They would live to ſee him an old "Bachelor, which He thought They did not deſire "to do." He ſaid, He could now tell them, not

" only that He was reſolved to marry, but whom " He reſolved to marry, if it pleaſed God. That " towards his Reſolution, He had uſed that Delibe- " ration, 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 ge- " neral, 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 Re- " ſolution He took, was to ſtate the whole Over- " tures 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 " public Importance. And," He ſaid, " He told them " with great Satisfaction and Comfort to himſelf, " that after many Hours Debate in full Council (for " He thought there was not above One abſent), and " He believed upon weighing all that could be ſaid " upon that Subject, for or againſt it; the Lords, " without one diſſenting Voice, adviſed him with " all imaginable Cheerfulneſs to this Marriage: " Which He looked upon as very wonderful, and " even as ſome Inſtance of the Approbation of God " himſelf. That He had thereupon taken his own " Reſolution, and concluded with the Ambaſſador " of *Portugal*, who was departing with the whole " Treaty ſigned, which They would find to contain " many great Advantages to the Kingdom; and that " He would make all the Haſte He could, to fetch " them a Queen hither, who He doubted not would " bring great Bleſſings with her, to him and them."

The

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 Pre-"ſence:" 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*.

The two Houſes expreſs their Approbation of it.

This was the whole Proceeding, from the Beginning to the End of that Treaty about the Marriage of the King; by the whole Circumſtances whereof it is apparent enough, that no particular Corruption in any ſingle Perſon could have brought it to paſs in that Manner, and that the Chancellor never propoſed it, nor heard of it but from the King himſelf, nor advanced it afterwards more than every One of the other Lords did; and if He had done leſs, He could neither have been thought a prudent or an honeſt Man: To which no more ſhall be added, than that neither before or in the Treaty, or after the Marriage, He ever received the leaſt Reward or the leaſt Preſent from *Portugal*.

During the Interval of Parliament, the King had made Choice of many very eminent and learned

New Biſhops appointed.

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 Licence 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.

A Convocation ſummond.

The old Biſhops who remained alive, and ſuch Deans and Chapters as were numerous enough for the Corporation, who had been long kept faſting, had now Appetites proportionable. Moſt of them were very poor, and had undergone great Extre-

mities; ſome of the Biſhops having ſupported themſelves and their Families by teaching Schools, and ſubmitting to the like low Condeſcenſions. And others ſaw, that if They died before They were enabled to make ſome Proviſion for them, their Wives and Children muſt unavoidably ſtarve: And therefore They made Haſte to enter upon their own. And now an Ordinance of Parliament had not Strength enough to batter an Act of Parliament. They called their old Tenants to Account for Rent, and to renew their Eſtates if They had a Mind to it; for moſt old Leaſes were expired in the long Continuance of the War, and the old Tenants had been compelled either to purchaſe a new Right and Title from the State (when the Ordinance was paſſed for taking away all Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, and for ſelling all the Lands which belonged to them), or to ſell their preſent Eſtates to thoſe, who had purchaſed the Reverſion and the Inheritance thereof: So that both the one and the other, the old Tenants and the new Purchaſers, repaired to the true Owners as ſoon as the King was reſtored; the former expecting to be reſtored again to the Poſſeſſion of what They had ſold, under an unreaſonable Pretence of a Tenant-Right (as They called it), becauſe there remained yet (as in many Caſes there did) a Year or ſome other Term of their old Leaſes unexpired, and becauſe They had out of Conſcience forborne to buy the Inheritance of the Church, which was firſt offered to them. And for the Refuſal thereof, and ſuch a reaſonable Fine as was uſual, They hoped to have a new Leaſe, and to be re-admitted to be Tenants to

the Church. The other, the Purchaſers (amongſt which there were ſome very infamous Perſons), appeared as confident, and did not think, that according to the Clemency that was practiſed towards all Sorts of Men, it could be thought Juſtice, that They ſhould loſe the entire Sum They had diſburſed upon the Faith of that Government, which the whole Kingdom ſubmitted to; but that They ſhould, inſtead of the Inheritance They had an ill Title to, have a good Leaſe for Lives or Years granted to them by them who had now the Right; at leaſt, that upon the old Rent and moderate Fines They ſhould be continued Tenants to the Church, without any Regard to thoſe who had ſold both their Poſſeſſion, and with that all the Right or Title that They might pretend to, for a valuable Conſideration. And They had the more Hope of this, becauſe the King had granted a Commiſſion, under the Great Seal of *England*, to ſome Lords of the Council and to other eminent Perſons, to interpoſe and mediate with the Biſhops and Clergy in ſuch Caſes, as ought not to be proſecuted with Rigor.

A Clamor raiſed againſt the Biſhops and Clergy by their Tenants.

But the Biſhops and Clergy concerned had not the good Fortune to pleaſe their old or their new Tenants. They had been very barbarouſly uſed themſelves; and that had too much quenched all Tenderneſs towards others. They did not enough diſtinguiſh between Perſons: Nor did the Suffering any Man had undergone for Fidelity to the King, or his Affection to the Church eminently expreſſed, often prevail for the Mitigation of his Fine; or if it did ſometimes, three or four Stories of the contrary, and in which

there had been ſome unreaſonable Hardneſs uſed, made a greater Noiſe and ſpread farther, than their Examples of Charity and Moderation. And as honeſt Men did not uſually fare the better for any Merit, ſo the Purchaſers who offered moſt Money, did not fare the worſe for all the Villanies They had committed. And two or three unhappy Inſtances of this Kind brought Scandal upon the whole Church, as if They had been all guilty of the ſame Exceſſes, which They were far from. And by this Means the new Biſhops, who did not all follow the Precedents made by the old, underwent the ſame Reproaches: And many of them who had moſt adhered to their Order, and for ſo doing had undergone for twenty Years together ſundry Perſecutions and Oppreſſions, were not in their preſent Paſſion ſo much pleaſed with the renewing it, as They expected to have been. Yet upon a very ſtrict Examination of the true Grounds of all thoſe Miſpriſions (except ſome few Inſtances which cannot be defended), there will be found more Paſſion than Juſtice in them; and that there was even a Neceſſity to raiſe as much Money as could be juſtly done, for the repairing the Cathedrals, which were all miſerably ruinated or defaced, and for the entirely building up many Houſes of the Prebends, which had been pulled down or let fall to the Ground. And thoſe Ways much more of thoſe Monies which were raiſed by Fines were iſſued and expended, than what went into the private Purſes of them, who had a Right to them, and had Need enough of them. But the Time began to be forward again, and all Degrees of Men were hard to be pleaſed; eſpecially when They ſaw

one *Claſſis* of Men reſtored to more than They had ever loſt, and preferred to a Plenty They had never been acquainted with, whilſt themſelves remained remedileſs after ſo many Sufferings, and without any other Teſtimony of their Courage and Fidelity, than in the Ruin of their Fortunes, and the Sale of their Inheritance.

The King's Coronation.

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 had been ſeen in that Kingdom. That the Novelties and new Inventions, with which the Kingdom had been ſo much intoxicated for ſo many Years together, might be diſcountenanced and diſcredited in the Eyes of the People, for the Folly and Want of State thereof; his Majeſty had directed the Records and old Formularies ſhould be examined, and thereupon all Things ſhould be prepared, and all Forms accuſtomed be uſed, that might add Luſtre and Splendor to the Solemnity. A *Court of Claims* was erected, where before the Lords Commiſſioners for that Service, all Perſons made Claim to thoſe Privileges and Precedency, which They conceived to be due to their Perſons, or the Offices of which They were poſſeſſed, in the Ceremony of the Coronation; which were allowed or rejected as their Right appeared.

The King went early in the Morning to the *Tower* of *London* in his Coach, moſt of the Lords being there before. And about ten of the Clock They ſet forward towards *Whitehall*, ranged in that Order as the Heralds had appointed; thoſe of the Long Robe, the

King's Council at Law, the Maſters of the Chancery, and Judges, going firſt, and ſo the Lords in their Order, very ſplendidly habited, on rich Footcloths; the Number of their Footmen being limited, to the Dukes ten, to the Earls eight, and to the Viſcounts ſix, and the Barons four, all richly clad, as their other Servants were. The whole Show was the moſt glorious in the Order and Expenſe, that had been ever ſeen in *England*; They who rode firſt being in *Fleet-ſtreet* when the King iſſued out of the *Tower*, as was known by the Diſcharge of the Ordnance: And it was near three of the Clock in the Afternoon, when the King alighted at *Whitehall*. The next Morning the King rode in the ſame State in his Robes and with his Crown on his Head, and all the Lords in their Robes, to *Weſtminſter-Hall*; where all the Enſigns for the Coronation were delivered to thoſe who were appointed to carry them, the Earl of *Northumberland* being made High-Conſtable, and the Earl of *Suffolk* Earl-Marſhal, for the Day. And then all the Lords in their Order, and the King himſelf, walked on Foot upon blue Cloth from *Weſtminſter-Hall* to the *Abbey-Church*, where after a Sermon preached by Dr. *Morley* (then Biſhop of *Worceſter*) in *Henry the Seventh's Chapel*, the King was ſworn, crowned and anointed by Dr. *Juxon* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with all the Solemnity that in thoſe Caſes had been uſed. All which being done, the King returned in the ſame Manner on Foot to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, which was adorned with rich Hangings and Statues; and there the King dined, and the Lords on either Side at Tables provided for them: And all other Ceremonies were performed with great Order and Magnificence.

Two unlucky Accidents which attended it.

I Should not have enlarged thus much upon the Ceremony of the Coronation, it may be not mentioned it (a perfect Narration having been then made and publiſhed of it, with all the Grandeur and Magnificence of the City of *London*) but that there were two Accidents in it, the one abſolutely new, the other that produced ſome Inconveniences which were not then diſcerned. The firſt was, that it being the Cuſtom in thoſe great Ceremonies or Triumphs of State, that the Maſter of the King's Horſe, (who 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 ſurpriſed and troubled at this, of which They heard Nothing till They ſaw it; and They liked it the worſe, becauſe They diſcerned that it iſſued from a Fountain, from whence many bitter Waters were like to flow, the Cuſtoms of the Court of *France*, whereof the

King and the Duke had too much the Image in their Heads, and than which there could not be a Copy more univerſally ingrateful and odious to the *Engliſh* Nation.

The other was: In the Morning of the Coronation, whilſt They 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 *Oſſory*, who was the eldeſt Son "to the Duke of *Ormond*, challenged the Place before "the Lord *Piercy*, 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-"er Earls ought to take Place of his eldeſt Son;" which was ſo known a Rule, and of ſo general a Concernment, that the King could not chuſe but declare it, and ſend a Meſſage to the Lord *Oſſory* by the Lord Chamberlain, "that He ſhould deſiſt from his Pre-"tence." 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, that He was the Object of an univerſal Reverence at home and abroad; which was a Reproach to moſt of them, whoſe Actions would not bear the Light. But as the Duke was not in the leaſt Degree privy to the particular Conteſt, nor raiſed the Value of himſelf from any Merit in his Services, nor undervalued others upon the Advantage of their having done amiſs; ſo He was abundantly ſatisfied in the Teſtimony of his own Conſcience, and in his unqueſtionable Innocence, and from thence too much deſpiſed the Prejudice and the Envy the others had towards him, the Marks whereof He was compelled afterwards to bear, which He did with the ſame Magnanimity.

Before We proceed farther in the Relation of what was afterwards done, it will not be unſeaſonable in this Place to give an Account of ſomewhat that was not done, and which was generally expected to have been done, and as generally cenſured becauſe it was not; the Reaſon whereof is known to very

few. The King had resolved before his Coming into *England*, that as soon as He should be settled in any Condition of Security, and no just Apprehension of future Troubles, He would take up and remove the Body of his Father, the last King, from *Windsor*, and inter it with all Solemnity at *Westminster*; and that the Court should continue in Mourning till the Coronation. And many good People thought this so necessary, that They were much troubled that it was not done, and liked not the Reasons which were given, which made it appear that it had been considered. The Reasons which were given in 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 composed the Minds of the People, it would not be prudent to renew the Memory of that Parricide, by the Spectacle of a solemn Funeral; lest it might cause such Commotions of the Vulgar in all Places, as might produce great Disorders and Insurrections amongst those who had formerly served the Kingdom, as if it were a good Season and a new Provocation to take Revenge upon their Neighbours who had formerly tyrannised over them; which might likewise have caused the Soldiers, who were newly disbanded, to draw themselves together for their own Security: And so the Peace would be at least disturbed. The other was; that to perform this Interment in any private Manner, would be liable to very just Censure, when all Things relating to the King himself had showed so magnificently; and if it were done with the usual Pomp of a solemn Interment

A solemn Interment of the late King intended.

of a King, the Expenſe would be ſo vaſt, that there would be neither Money found nor Credit for the Charge thereof.

But upon Search the Body could not be found.

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 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 Inquiry He could not find one Perſon in the Caſtle or in the Town, who had been preſent at the Burial. When the Parliament firſt ſeized upon the Caſtle and put a Garriſon into it, ſhortly after, They not only ejected all the Prebends and Singingmen of the Royal Chapel, but turned out all the Officers and Servants who had any Relation to the King or to the Church, except only thoſe who were notorious for their Infidelity towards the King or the Church: And of thoſe, or of the Officers or Soldiers of the Garriſon, there could not now one Man be found, who was in the Church when the King was buried. The Duke of *Richmond* and the Marquis of *Hertford* were Both dead: And the King ſent (after He had received that Account from the Dean) the two ſurviving Lords, the Earls of *Southampton* and of *Lindſey*, to *Windſor*; who taking with them as many of thoſe three Servants who had been admitted to attend them, as were now living, They could not recollect their Memories, nor find any one Mark by which They could make any Judgment, near what Place the King's Body lay. They made ſome Gueſs, by the Information of the Workmen who had been now employed in the new Pavement of the Church, and upon their Obſervation of any Place

where the Earth had ſeemed to lie lighter, that it might be in or near that Place: But when They had cauſed it to be digged, and ſearched in and about it, They found Nothing. And upon their Return, the King gave over all farther Thought of Inquiry: And thoſe other Reaſons were caſt abroad upon any occaſional Inquiry or Diſcourſe of that Subject.

The Affairs of Ireland reſumed.

That which gave the King moſt Trouble, and deprived him of that Eaſe and Quiet which He had promiſed to himſelf during the Vacation between the two Parliaments, was the Buſineſs of *Ireland*; which We ſhall now take up again, and continue the Relation without Interruption, as long as We ſhall think fit to make any Mention of that Affair. We left it in the Hands of the Lord *Roberts*, whom the King had declared Deputy of *Ireland*, preſuming that He would upon Conference with the ſeveral Parties, who were all appointed to attend him, ſo ſhape and model the whole Bulk, that it might be more capable of ſome farther Debate before his Majeſty in Council: But that Hand did not hold it many Days.

Character of Lord Roberts the Deputy.

That noble Lord, though of a good Underſtanding, was of ſo moroſe a Nature, that it was no eaſy Matter to treat with him. He had ſome 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 Humor was increaſed by an ill Education; for excepting ſome Years ſpent in the Inns of Court amongſt the Books of the Law, He might be very juſtly ſaid to have been born and bred in *Cornwall*. There were many Days paſſed after the King's Declaration of him to be Deputy, before He could be perſuaded to viſit the General, who He knew was to continue Lieutenant; and when He did viſit him, it was with ſo ill a Grace, that the other received no Satisfaction in it, and the leſs, becauſe, He plainly diſcerned that it proceeded from Pride, which He bore the more uneaſily, becauſe as He was now the greater Man, ſo He knew himſelf to be of a much better Family. He made ſo many Doubts and Criticiſms upon the Draught of his Patent, that the Attorney-General was weary of attending him; and when all Things were agreed on at Night, the next Morning produced new Dilemmas. But that which was worſe than all this, He received thoſe of the *Iriſh* Nation of the beſt Quality, and who were of the Privy-Council and chief Command in that Kingdom, ſo ſuperciliouſly; received their Information ſo negligently, and gave his Anſwers ſo ſcornfully; that after They had waited upon him four or five Days, They beſought the King that They might not be obliged to attend him any more. And it was evident, that his Carriage towards them was not to be ſubmitted to by Perſons of his own Quality, or of any liberal Education: Nor did He make any Advance towards the Buſineſs.

This gave the King very great Trouble, and them as much Pleaſure who had never liked the Deſignation. He knew not what to do with his Deputy, nor what to do for *Ireland*. The Lord *Roberts* was not a Man that was to be diſgraced and thrown off, without much Inconvenience and Hazard. He had Parts which in Council and Parliament (which were the two Scenes where all the King's Buſineſs lay) were very troubleſome; for of all Men alive who had ſo few Friends, He had the moſt Followers. They who converſed moſt with him, knew him to have many Humors 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 Coutiers. 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,

The King makes Lord Roberts an Offer of the Privy-Seal.

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 im-"possible for him to provide the Money He pro-"posed; and it could not be denied, that He had "proposed it very reasonably in all Respects. How-"ever, it being impossible to procure it, and that "He could not go without it, for which He could "not be blamed, his Majesty must find some other "Expedient to send his Authority thither, the Go-

" vernment 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 Majeſty's Want " of Care and Providence. That his Majeſty had " yet forborne to think of that Expedient, till He " might do it with his Conſent and Advice, and " until He could reſolve upon another Poſt, where " He might ſerve his Majeſty with equal Honor, " 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 Sup- " plies;" They ſaid, " the King had commanded " them to propoſe to him, that He would make him " Lord Privy-Seal, an Office He well underſtood. " And if He accepted that and were poſſeſſed of it " (as He ſhould immediately be), his Majeſty would " enter upon new Conſiderations how to ſettle the " tottering Condition of *Ireland.*" The Lord's dark Countenance preſently cleared up, having no Doubt expected to be deprived of his Title to *Ireland*, without being aſſigned any other any where elſe: And now being offered the third Place of Precedence in the Nobility, the Privy-Seal going next to the Treaſurer, upon a very ſhort Recollection, He declared, " that He received it as a great Honor, that the " King would make Uſe of his Service in any Place, " and that He ſubmitted wholly to his good Plea- " ſure, and would ſerve him with great Fidelity."

Lords Roberts accepts the Privy-Seal,

The next Day the King gave him the Privy-Seal at

the Council-Board, where He was ſworn and took his Place; and to ſhow his extraordinary Talent, found a Way more to obſtruct and puzzle Buſineſs, at leaſt the Deſpatch 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. and quits the Place of Deputy.

Though the King had within himſelf a Proſpect of the Expedient, that would be fitteſt for him to make Uſe of for the preſent, towards the Settlement of *Ireland*; yet it was abſolutely neceſſary for him, even before He could make Uſe of that Expedient, to put the ſeveral Claims and Petitions of Right which were depending before him, and which were attended with ſuch an unruly Number of Suitors, into ſome ſuch Method of examining and determining, that they might not be left in the Confuſion they were then in. And this could not be done, without his impoſing upon himſelf the Trouble of hearing once at large, all that every Party of the Pretenders could alledge for the Support of their ſeveral Pretences: And this He did with incredible Patience for very many Days together. We ſhall firſt mention thoſe Intereſts, which gave the King leaſt Trouble, becauſe they admitted leaſt Debate. The King hears all Parties.

It was looked upon as very ſcandalous, that the Marquis of *Ormond* ſhould remain ſo long without the Poſſeſſion of any Part of his Eſtate; which had The King's Friends reſtored by Act of Parliament

been taken from him upon no other Pretence, but his adhering to the King. And therefore there was an Act of Parliament paſſed with the Conſent of all Parties, that He ſhould be preſently reſtored to all his Eſtate; which was done with the more Eaſe, becauſe the greateſt Part of it (for his Wife's Land had been before aſſigned to her in *Cromwell*'s Time, or rather in his Son *Harry*'s) lay within that Province, which *Cromwell* out of his Huſbandry had reſerved for himſelf, exempt from all Title or Pretence of *Adventurer* or Soldier: What other Part of his Eſtate either the one or the other were poſſeſſed of, in their own Judgments it was ſo impoſſible for them to enjoy, that They very willingly yielded it up to the Marquis, in Hope of having Recompence made to them out of other Lands. There could as little be ſaid againſt the Reſtoration of the Earl of *Inchiquin* to his Eſtate, which had been taken from him and diſtributed amongſt the *Adventurers* and Soldiers, for no other Cauſe but his ſerving the King. There were likewiſe ſome others of the ſame *Claſſis*, who had Nothing objected to them but their Loyalty, who were put into the Poſſeſſion of their own Eſtates. And all this gave no Occaſion of Murmur; every Man of what Intereſt ſoever believing or pretending to believe, that the King was obliged in Honor, Juſtice and Conſcience, to cauſe that Right to be done to thoſe who had ſerved him faithfully.

Church-Lands reſtored, and new Biſhops appointed.

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 Biſhoprics 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 Solicitude, that by an unſeaſonable Diſturbance of their Poſſeſſions there, the Soldiers who had been diſbanded, and thoſe of the ſtanding Army (who for the moſt Part had the ſame ill Affections,) might not unite together, and ſeize upon ſome Places of Defence, before his Affairs in that Kingdom ſhould be put in ſuch an Order as to oppoſe them. And next that Apprehenſion, his Majeſty had no Mind that any of thoſe Soldiers; either who had been diſbanded, and put into Poſſeſſion of Lands for the Arrears of their Pay, and upon which They now lived; or of the other, the ſtanding Army, many whereof were likewiſe in Poſſeſſion of Lands aſſigned to them: I ſay, the King was not without Apprehenſion, that the Reſort of either of theſe into *Eng-*

land 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 Favor 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

The King inclines to fa-

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 alledge for themſelves, in private or in public. And this Indulgence proved to their Diſadvantage, and exalted them ſo much, that when They were heard in public 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 publicly on their Behalf, and were very well qualified to ſpeak, and left Nothing for the Matter unſaid that was for their Purpoſe, were Men, who from the Beginning to the End of the Rebellion, had behaved themſelves eminently ill towards the King. And They of their Adverſaries who ſpake againſt them, had great Knowledge and Experience of all that had paſſed on either Side, and knew how to preſs it home when it was ſeaſonable.

vor the Pretenſions of the Irish Catholics.

They of the *Iriſh*, who were all united under the Name of *The confederate Catholics* 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 Bat-"tles, and Tranſportation of vaſt Multitudes of "Men into the Parts beyond the Seas, whereof

The Plea of the Irish Catholics.

" many had the Honor to teſtify their Fidelity to " the King by real Services, and many of them re- " turned into *England* with him, and were ſtill in his " Service; the great Numbers of Men, Women and " Children, that had been maſſacred and executed " in cold Blood, after the King's Government had " been driven from thence; the Multitudes that had " been deſtroyed by Famine and the Plague, thoſe " two heavy Judgments having raged over the " Kingdom for two or three Years; and at laſt, as a " Perſecution unheard of, the tranſplanting the ſmall " Remainder of the Nation into one Corner of the " Province of *Conaught*, where yet much of the " Lands was taken from them, which had been " aſſigned with all thoſe Formalities of Law, which " were in Uſe, and practiſed under that Govern- " ment."

(2.) They demanded " the Benefit of two Trea- " ties 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 Obſerva- tion They made, that what They had ſaid made

Impreſſion upon his Majeſty and many of the Lords; or whether it was their evil Genius that naturally tranſported them to Actions of ſtrange Sottiſhneſs and Indiſcretion: They urged and enforced with more Liberty than became them in that Conjuncture, "the Unworthineſs and Incapacity of thoſe, who "for ſo many Years had poſſeſſed themſelves of "their Eſtates, and ſought now a Confirmation of "their rebellious Title from his Majeſty."

(3.) "That their Rebellion had been more infa- "mous and of a greater Magnitude than that of "the *Iriſh*, who had riſen in Arms to free them- "ſelves from the Rigor and Severity that was exer- "ciſed upon them by ſome of the King's Miniſters, "and for the Liberty of their Conſcience and Prac- "tice 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 Per- "ſon, 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 overtur- "ned 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 them- " ſelves 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 In- " demnity in which many were comprehended, who " in Truth had been the Contrivers and Fomenters " of all the Miſery and Deſolation, which had in- " volved the 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 Avarice and Cruelty " of thoſe, who had not only ſpoiled and oppreſſed " them, but had done all that was in their Power, " and with all the Inſolence imaginable, to deſtroy " the King himſelf and his Poſterity, and who now " returned to their Obedience, and ſubmitted to his " Government, when They were no longer able to " oppoſe it. Nor did They yet return to it with

" that Alacrity and Joy and Reſignation as the *Iriſh*
" did, but inſiſted obſtinately upon Demands unrea-
" ſonable, and which They hoped could not conſiſt
" with his Majeſty's Honor to grant:" And ſo concluded with thoſe pathetical Applications and Appeals to the King, as Men well verſed in Diſcourſes of that Nature are accuſtomed to.

This Diſcourſe carried on and urged with more Paſſion, Vehemence and Indiſcretion, than was ſuitable to the Condition They were in, and in which, by the Exceſſes of their Rhetoric They had let fall many Expreſſions very indecent and unwarrantable; and in ſome of them confidently excuſed if not juſtified their firſt Entrance into Rebellion (the moſt barbarous certainly and inexcuſable, that any Chriſtians have been engaged in in any Age), irreconciled many to them who had Compaſſion enough for them, and made it impoſſible for the King to reſtrain their Adverſaries, who were prepared to anſwer all They had ſaid, from uſing the ſame Licence. They enlarged " upon all the odious Circumſtances of the firſt Year's " Rebellion, the murdering of above a hundred thou- " ſand Perſons in cold Blood, and with all the Bar- " barity imaginable; which Murders and Barbarities " had been always excepted from Pardon." And they told them, " that if there were not ſome amongſt " themſelves who then appeared before his Majeſty, " They were ſure there would be found many " amongſt thoſe for whom They appeared, who " would be found guilty of thoſe odious Crimes, " which were excluded from any Benefit by thoſe " Treaties." They took Notice, " how confidently

The Anſwer of the Adventurers

" they had extolled their own Innocence from the " Time that thoſe two Acts of Pacification had " paſſed, and their great Affection for his Majeſty's " Service. " And thereupon They declared, " that " whatſoever legal Title the *Adventurers* had to the " Lands of which They were poſſeſſed, many of " whom had conſtantly ſerved the King; yet They " would be contented, that all thoſe, who in Truth " had preſerved their Integrity towards his Ma- " jeſty 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 " Favor were not founded upon any reaſonable " Title; that They had never conſented to any one " Act of Pacification, to which the Promiſe of In- " demnity 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 trea- " ted the Herald, his Majeſty's Officer, who came " to proclaim that Peace, with all Manner of In- " dignity, tearing his Coat of Arms (the King's " Arms) from his Back; and beat and wounded " him ſo, that He was hardly reſcued from the " Loſs of his Life. That about the ſame Time They " endeavoured to ſurpriſe and murder the Lord

" Lieutenant, and purſued him to *Dublin*, which
" They forthwith beſieged with their Army, under
" the Command of that General who had ſigned
" the Peace. They impriſoned their Commiſſioners
" who were authorized by them, for conſenting to
" thoſe Articles which themſelves had confirmed,
" and ſo proſecuted the War with as much Aſpe-
" rity as ever; and refuſed to give that Aid and
" Aſſiſtance They were obliged to, for the Reco-
" very and Reſtoration of his late Majeſty; the
" Promiſe and Expectation of which Supply and
" Aſſiſtance, was the ſole Ground and Conſidera-
" tion of that Treaty, and of the Conceſſions there
" in made to them. That They thereupon more
" formally renounced their Obedience to the King;
" and put themſelves under the Protection and Diſ-
" poſal 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 Coun-
" cils. After their Diviſions amongſt themſelves,
" and the Burden of the Tyranny They ſuffered un-
" der, 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 *Confederate 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 Lieu- " tenant to many Difficulties, and was in Truth " the Cauſe of the Misfortune before *Dublin*; Which " He had no ſooner undergone, than they withdrew " from taking any further Care of the Kingdom, " and raiſed Scandals upon and Jealouſies of the " whole Body of the *Engliſh*, who, being ſo provo- " ked, 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 Jea- " louſies and ill Humors, They cauſed an Aſſembly " or Convention of their Clergy to meet without " the Lieutenant's Authority, and put the Govern- " ment of all Things into their Hands: Who, in a " ſhort Time, improved the Jealouſies in the Mind " of the People towards the few *Proteſtants* who " yet remained in the Army, and who had ſerved " the King with all imaginable Courage and Fidelity " from the very firſt Hour of the Rebellion, to that " Degree, that the Marquis was even compelled to " diſcharge his own Troop of Guards of Horſe, con- " ſiſting of ſuch Officers and Gentlemen as are men- " tioned 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 soon-
" er 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 Excom-
" munication, 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 forbad the People to pay any
" Obedience to him. Instead of raising new Forces
" according to their last Promise and Engagement,
" those that were raised ran from their Colors and
" dispersed themselves; They who were trusted
" with the keeping of Towns and Forts, either gave
" them up by Treachery to *Cromwell*, or lost them
" through Cowardice to him upon very feeble At-
" tacks: And their General, *Owen O Neile*, made a
" formal Contract and Stipulation with the Parlia-
" ment. And in the End, when They had divested
" the Lord Lieutenant of all Power to oppose the
" Enemy, and given him great Cause to believe that
" his Person was in Danger to be betrayed, and de-
" livered up to the Enemy, They vouchsafed to pe-
" tition him that He would depart out of the King-
" dom (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 Ho- " nor; and That They would make it to be belie- " ved, that if He would have committed the Com- " mand into the Hands of a *Roman Catholic*, They " would have been able to preſerve thoſe Towns " which ſtill remained in their Poſſeſſion, which " were *Limerick* and *Galway*, 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 reſol- " ved to gratify them, and to place the Command in " the Hands of ſuch a Perſon, whoſe Zeal for the " Catholic Religion was unqueſtionable, and whoſe " Fidelity to the King was unblemiſhed. And ſo " He made Choice of the Marquis of *Clanricard*, a " Gentleman, though originally of *Engliſh* Extrac- " tion, whoſe Family had for ſo many hundred " Years reſided in that Kingdom, that He was look- " ed 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 conſpi- " cuous.

" The

" The *Roman Catholics* of all Kinds pretended at
" leaſt a wonderful Satisfaction and Joy in this Elec-
" tion; acknowledged it as a great Obligation upon
" them and their Poſterity to the Lord Lieutenant,
" for making ſo worthy a Choice; and applied them-
" ſelves to the Marquis of *Clanricard* 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 ſo-
" lemn 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 Sup-
" plies, which the Marquis of *Ormond* promiſed to
" ſolicit in *France*, or till his Majeſty ſhould ſend
" better Orders to preſerve his Authority in that King-
" dom (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 con-
" tented to receive ſuch Commiſſions from the Lord
" Lieutenant, as were neceſſary for the Execution of
" the preſent Command. Upon which the Lord
" Lieutenant embarked himſelf, with ſome few
" Friends and Servants, upon a little rotten Pink

" that was bound for *France*, and very ill accom-
" modated for such a Voyage; being not to be per-
" suaded to send to the Commander in Chief of the
" *English* for a Pass, though He was assured that it
" would very readily have been granted: But it
" pleased God that He arrived safely in *France*, a
" little before or about the Time that the King trans-
" ported himself thither, after his miraculous Escape
" from *Worcester*."

" The Marquis of *Ormond* was no sooner gone
" out of *Ireland*, but the Lord Marquis of *Clanricard*,
" then Lord Deputy, found himself no better trea-
" ted 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 De-
" sires, 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 balanced by the un-
" doubted Sincerity of his Religion. They entered
" into secret Correspondence with the Enemy, and
" Conspiracies between themselves: And though
" there were some Persons of Honor and Quality
" with the Deputy, who were very faithful to him
" and to the King; yet there were so many of ano-
" ther 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 dis-
" covered who gave the Intelligence, He had not

" Power to bring them to Juſtice; but being com-
" monly Friars and Clergymen, the Privilege of the
" Church was inſiſted upon, and ſo they were reſcued
" from the ſecular Proſecution till their Eſcape was
" contrived. That perfidious and treacherous Party
" had ſo great an Intereſt in all the Towns, Forts and
" Garriſons, which yet pretended to be ſubject to
" the Deputy, that all his Orders were ſtill contra-
" dicted or neglected: And the Enemy no ſooner
" appeared before any Place, but ſome Faction in
" the Town cauſed it to be given up and ren-
" dered."

" Nor could this fatal Sottiſhneſs be reformed,
" even by the Severity and rigor which the *Engliſh*
" exerciſed upon them, who, by the wonderful Judge-
" 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 de-
" ſerve to be collected and mentioned in a Diſcourſe
" by itſelf, to obſerve and magnify the wonderful
" Providence of God Almighty in bringing heinous
" Crimes to Light and Puniſhment in this World,
" by Means unapprehended by the guilty: Inſo-
" much 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 maliciouſly to exclude the King and his Poſ-
" terity from the Dominion of *Ireland:* I ſay, it can
" hardly be believed, how many of theſe moſt no-
" torious Tranſgreſſors did by ſome Act of Trea-
" chery endeavour 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 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 Am-
" baſſador, and a good Sum of Money for their
" preſent Relief) the Deputy was in a ſhort Time
" reduced to thoſe Straits, that He durſt not re-
" main 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 Reve-

" rence 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 be- " lieved could in Juſtice demand his Majeſty's Fa- " vor; and if They did not make it evidently ap- " pear, that He had forfeited all his Title to Par- " don 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 Ma- " jeſty beyond the Seas, rendered themſelves grate- " ful to him, and worthy of his Royal Favor, " They were very willing that his Majeſty ſhould " reſtore all or any of them to their Honors 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 Honor and Intereſt to their Eſtates; who could either in Juſtice require it, as having been faithful always to the King, and

Many Catholics who had ſerved the King immediately reſtored.

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.

Three Particulars in this Affair which diſtreſs the King.

There were three Particulars, which, upon the firſt Mention and View of them, ſeemed in moſt Men's Eyes worthy of his Majeſty's extraordinary Compaſſion and Interpoſition; and yet upon a ſtricter Examination were found as remedileſs as any of the reſt. One was; "the Condition of that miſerable People, which was likewiſe very numerous, "that was tranſplanted into *Conaught*; who had "been removed from their own Poſſeſſions in other "Provinces, with ſuch Circumſtances of Tyranny "and Cruelty, that their own Conſents obtained "afterwards with that Force, could not reaſonably "be thought any Confirmation of their unjuſt Title, "who were in Poſſeſſion of their Lands."

1 The Tranſplantation of the Iriſh into Conaught.

To this it was anſwered, "that though it was "acted in an irregular Manner, and without lawful "Authority, 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 Ex- "tirpation 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 ſame. That, "beſide the unſteady Humor of that People, and "their natural Inclination to rebel, it was notorious, "that whilſt They were diſperſed over the King- "dom, though all their Forces had been ſo totally "ſubdued, that there was not throughout the whole "Kingdom a viſible Number of twenty Men toge- "ther, 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 Habi- "tations 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 com- "mitting a Maſſacre upon them wherever They "were met: So that there appeared no other Way

The Adventurers Defence of this Meaſure.

" to prevent an utter Extirpation of them, but to " confine and reſtrain them within ſuch Limits and " Bounds, that might keep them from doing Miſ- " chief, and thereby make them ſafe. That there- " upon 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 *Co-* " *naught* Lands given them, ſufficient with their " Induſtry to live well upon; of which there was " good Evidence, by their having lived well there " ſince that Time, and many of them much better " than They had ever done before. And the State, " which had done this Grace for them, had great " Reaſon, when it gave them good Titles to the " Land aſſigned to them, which They might plead " in any Court of Juſtice, to require from them " Releaſes of what They had forfeited; which, " though to the Public of no Uſe or Validity, were " of Benefit and behooveful to many particular " Perſons, for the quieting their Poſſeſſions againſt " frivolous Suits and Claims which might ſtart up. " That this Tranſplantation had been acted, fini- " ſhed, and ſubmitted to by all Parties, who had " enjoyed the Benefit thereof, quietly and without " Diſturbance, many Years before the King's Re- " turn: And the Soldiers and *Adventurers* had been " likewiſe ſo many Years in the Poſſeſſion of their " Lots, in Purſuance of the Act of Parliament, and " had laid out ſo much Money in building and plan- " ting; that the Conſequence of ſuch an Alteration, " as was now propoſed would be the higheſt Con- " fuſion imaginable."

And it cannot be denied; that if the King could have thought it safe and seasonable to have reviewed all that had been done, and taken those Advantages upon former Miscarriages and Misapplications, as according to the Strictness of that very Law He might have done; the whole Foundation, upon which all the Hopes rested of preserving that Kingdom within the Obedience to the Crown of *England*, must have been shaken and even dissolved; with no small Influence and Impression upon the Peace and Quiet of *England* itself. For the Memory of the Beginning of the Rebellion in *Ireland* (how many other Rebellions soever had followed as bad, or worse in Respect of the Consequences that attended them) was as fresh and as odious to the whole People of *England*, as it had been the first Year. And though no Man durst avow so unchristian a Wish, as an Extirpation of them (which They would have been very well contented with); yet no Man dissembled his Opinion, that it was the only Security the *English* could have in that Kingdom, that the *Irish* should be kept so low, that They should have no Power to hurt them.

2. The Case of Entails and Settlements at Law.

Another Particular, that seemed more against the Foundation of Justice, was; "that the Soldiers and "*Adventurers* expected and promised themselves, "that in this new Settlement that was under Debate, "all Entails and Settlements at Law should be de- "stroyed, whether upon Consideration of Marriage, "or any other Contracts which had been made be- "fore the Rebellion. Nor had there been in the "whole former Proceedings in the Time of the

" Uſurpation, any Conſideration taken of Mort-
" gages 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 pre-
" ſerved and allowed to be good, there would not
" in that univerſal Guilt, which upon the Matter
" comprehended and covered the whole *Iriſh* Na-
" tion, 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 Evi-
" dence 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*

The Adventurers Anſwer.

" would infallibly find againſt the *Engliſh*, let the " Evidence be what it could be; and there was too " much Reaſon to apprehend that the *Engliſh*, whoſe " Animoſity was not leſs, would be as unjuſt in " bringing in their Verdict againſt the *Iriſh* right or " wrong." And there was Experience afterwards, in the Proſecution of this Affair, of ſuch Forgeries and Perjuries, as have not been heard of amongſt Chriſtians; and in which, to our Shame, the *Engliſh* were not behind hand with the *Iriſh*. The King however thought it not reaſonable or juſt for him, upon what probable Suggeſtions ſoever, to countenance ſuch a barefaced Violation of the Law, by any Declaration of his; but commanded his Council at Law, to make ſuch Alterations in the Expreſſions as might be fit for him to conſent to.

3. The extreme Miſery of the Irish.

The third Particular, and which much affected the King, was; " that in this univerſal Joy for his " Reſtoration without Blood, and with the Indem- " nity of ſo many hundred Thouſands who had de- " ſerved to ſuffer the utmoſt Puniſhments, the poor " *Iriſh*, after ſo long Sufferings in the greateſt Extre- " mity of Miſery, ſhould be the only Perſons who " ſhould find no Benefit or Eaſe by his Majeſty's " Reſtoration, but remain robbed and ſpoiled of all " They had, and be as it were again ſacrificed to the " Avarice and Cruelty of them, who had not de- " ſerved better of his Majeſty than the other poor " People had done."

Anſwer to this Plea.

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 be- " fore his Majesty's Return: So that He could not " restore that which They called their own, with- " out taking it from them, who were become the just " Owners by an Act of Parliament; which his Ma- " jesty 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 Conjuncture in his Majeſty's Reſtitution.

And this Diſadvantage was improved towards them, by their frequent Manifeſtation of an inveterate Animoſity againſt the *Engliſh* Nation, and *Engliſh* Government; which again was returned to them in an irreconcileable 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 Favors (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 public 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 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.

The firſt Act of Settlement paſſed.

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 Show 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

Three Lords Juſtices appointed.

generous; the other, proud, dull and very avaricious. But the King had not then Power to chuſe 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 Honors 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 Honor: And ſo They were all deſpatched 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 ſettle it; but on the contrary, the Breaches were made wider, and ſo much Paſſion and Injuſtice ſhowed, that Complaints were brought to his Majeſty from all Parts of the Kingdom, and from all Perſons in Authority there. The Number of the Commiſſioners was ſo great, and their Intereſts ſo different, that They made no Deſpatch. 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

Partiality of the Commiſſioners appointed by the Firſt Act.

more equal and juſt, becauſe They had no Intereſt of their own at Stake, were weary of their Attendance and Expenſe (there being no Allowance for their Pains); and offended at the Partiality and Injuſtice which They ſaw practiſed, withdrew themſelves, and would be no longer preſent at thoſe Tranſactions which They could not regulate or reform.

All Intereſts were equally offended and incenſed; and the Soldiers and *Adventurers* complained no leſs of the Corruption and Injuſtice than the *Iriſh* did: So that the Lords Juſtices and Council thought it neceſſary to tranſmit another Bill to his Majeſty, which, as I remember, They called an explanatory Bill of the former; and in that They provided, "that "no Perſon who lived in *Ireland*, or had any Pre- "tence 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 Ser- "vice, 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 Sergeant at Law, whom He made a Judge upon his Return from thence; two others, Lawyers of very much Eſteem; and the other four, Gentlemen of very good Extraction, excellent Under-

Second Act of Settlement tranſmitted to the King.

New Commiſſioners appointed to execute it.

Understandings, and above all Suspicion for their Integrity, and generally reputed to be superior 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 Favor. Yet They had Friends in the Court, who made them great Promises; which They could not be without, since They made as great Promises to those who were to protect them. There were indeed many particular Men both of the Soldiers and *Adventurers*, who in Respect of their many notorious and opprobrious Actions against the Crown throughout their whole Employment (and who even since his Majesty's Return had enough expressed how little They were satisfied with the Revolution) were so universally odious both in *England* and *Ireland*, that if their particular Cases could have been severed from the rest, without Violation of the Rule of Justice that

The different Parties again heard by the King.

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 Ac"commodation 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 Honor or Juſtice obliged to comply with them: And ſo He tranſmitted this ſecond Bill.

Second Act of Settlement paſſed.

Whilſt this ſecond Bill was under Deliberation, there fell out an Accident in *Ireland*, which produced great Alterations with Reference to the Affairs of that Kingdom. The Differences which had every Day ariſen between the three Juſtices, and their different Humors and Affections, had little advanced the ſettling that Government; ſo that there would have been a Neceſſity of making ſome Mutation in

it: So that the Death of the Earl of *Montrath*, which happened at this Time, fell out conveniently enough to the King; for by it the Government was again looſe. For the Earl of *Orrery* was in *England*; and the Power reſided not in leſs than two: So that the Chancellor, who remained ſingle there, was without any Authority to act. And They who took the moſt diſpaſſioned Survey of all that had been done, and of what remained to be done did conclude that Nothing could reaſonably produce a Settlement there, but the deputing one ſingle Perſon to exerciſe that Government. And the Duke of *Albemarle* himſelf, who had a great Eſtate in that Kingdom, which made him the more long for a Settlement, and who had before the King's Return and ever ſince diſſuaded the King from thinking of employing the Duke of *Ormond* there, who had himſelf Averſion enough from that Command, of which He had ſufficient Experience: I ſay, the General had now ſo totally changed his Mind, that He plainly told the King, "that there was no Way to explicate that Kingdom "out of thoſe Intricacies in which it was involved, "but by ſending over a Lord Lieutenant thither. "That He thought it not fit for his Majeſty's Service, "that himſelf, who had that 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 Judge-"ment 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

The Duke of Albemarle reſigns the Office of Lord Lieutenant.

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 the Duke of Ormond accepts it.

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 well in sending him, and that "the Duke would do much worse if he desired to "go." Upon which they Both smiled, and told him, "that the General had prevailed with the King, and "the King with the Duke; so that the Matter was "resolved, and there remained Nothing to be done "but preparing the Instructions, which He must "think upon."

The Chancellor expresses his Concern at this.

The Chancellor could not refrain from saying very warmly, "that He was sorry for it; and that it would "be good for neither of them, that the Duke should "be from the King, or that He should be in *Ireland*, "where He would be able to do no Good. Besides "that He had given himself so much to his Ease and "Pleasure since He came into *England*, that He "would never be able to take the Pains, which that "most laborious Province would require." He

ſaid, "if this Counſel had been taken when the "King came firſt over, it might have had good Suc- "ceſs, when the Duke was full of 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 exorbi- "tant Deſires and Expectations of all the ſeveral "Parties, who had all Guilt enough upon their "Hearts to fear ſome Rigor from the King, or to "receive moderate Grace with infinite Submiſſion "and Acknowledgment. But now the Duke, be- "ſides his withdrawing himſelf from all Buſineſs as "much as He could, had let himſelf fall to Familiari- "ties with all Degrees of Men; and upon their "Averments had undertaken to protect or at leaſt to "ſolicit Men's Intereſts, which it may be might not "appear upon Examination to be founded upon "Juſtice. And the King himſelf had been expoſed to "all Manner of Importunities, received all Men's Ad- "dreſſes, and heard all They would ſay, made many "Promiſes without Deliberation, and appeared ſo "deſirous to ſatisfy all Men, that He was irreſolute "in all Things. And therefore till He had taken "ſome firm and fixed Reſolutions himſelf, from "which neither Prejudice towards one Man, nor "Pity and Compaſſion on the Behalf of another, "ſhould remove him; the Lieutenant of *Ireland* "would be able to do him little Service, and would "be himſelf 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 confident that they would not make "as deep Impreſſion by the Arts and Induſtry of his "Enemies, of which He had Store, and would have "more by being abſent, for the Court naturally had "little Regard for any Man who was abſent. And "that He carried with him the ſame Infirmity into "*Ireland* with that of the King, which kept it from "being ſettled here; which was an Unwillingneſs "to deny any Man what He could not but ſee was "impoſſible to grant, and a Deſire to pleaſe every "Body, which whoſoever affected ſhould pleaſe "Nobody."

The Duke acquaints the ChanceHor with his Reaſons for accepting it.

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 Ad-"vantage." He confeſſed, "He ſaw many Dan-"gers with Reference to himſelf, which He knew "not how to avoid, and many Difficulties with Re-"ference to the Public, 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 Diſtem-
" pers, 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 Re-
" creation 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 Op-
" portunity to ſettle his own Fortune, which how
" great ſoever in Extent of Lands did not yet, by
" Reaſon of the general Unſettlement, yield him a
" Quarter of the Revenue it ought to do. That
" for what concerned himſelf, and the Diſadvanta-
" ges 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 Commiſ- The Duke and the Commiſ-

sioners set out for Ireland

sioners who were appointed for that *Act of Settlement*, and all other Persons who attended that Interest) entered upon his Journey from *London* about the End of *July*, in the Year one thousand six hundred sixty-and-four, full four Years and more after the King's happy Return into *England*.

It was some Months after the Commissioners Arrival in *Ireland*, before They could settle those Orders and Rules for their Proceedings, which were necessary to be done, before the People should be appointed to attend. And it was 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 sat, 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 adjuſted all Things as well as They could, They publiſhed their Orders in what Method They meant to proceed, and appointed the *Iriſh* to put in their Claims by ſuch a Day, and to attend the Proſecution of them accordingly. And They had no ſooner entered upon their Work, but the *Engliſh* thought They had began it ſoon enough. For They heard every Day many of the *Iriſh*, who had been known to have been the moſt forward in the firſt Beginning of the Rebellion, and the moſt malicious in the carrying it on, declared innocent; and Deeds of Settlement and Entails which had been never heard of before, and which would have been produced (as might reaſonably be believed) before the former Commiſſioners, if They had had them to produce, now declared to be good and valid; by which the *Iriſh* were immediately put into the Poſſeſſion of a very great Quantity of Land taken from the *Engliſh*: So that in a ſhort Time the Commiſſioners had rendered themſelves as generally odious as the *Iriſh*, and were looked upon as Perſons corrupted for that Intereſt, which had every Day Succeſs almoſt in whatſoever They pretended. And their Determinations happened to have the more of Prejudice upon them, becauſe the Commiſſioners were always divided in their Judgments. And it is no Wonder, that They who ſeemed moſt to adhere to the *Engliſh* Intereſt were moſt eſteemed by them.

The Commiſſioners publiſh their intended Method of proceeding.

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 Judgements and Determinations than in near a Year before, indeed with very wonderful Expedition; when the *Engliſh* who were diſpoſſeſſed by thoſe Judgments had not their Witneſſes ready, upon a Preſumption, that in Point of Time it was not poſſible for thoſe Cauſes to come to be heard. By theſe Sentences and Decrees, many hundred Thouſands of Acres were adjudged to the *Iriſh*, which had been looked upon as unqueſtionably forfeited, and of which the *Engliſh* had been long in Poſſeſſion accordingly.

Their Decrees much in Favor of the Irish.

This raiſed ſo great a Clamor, 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 Lieute-

nant 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 diſſatisfield 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 Commiſſion, until They "could receive his Majeſty's farther Pleaſure." And that They might the more effectually receive it, They deſired Leave from the King that They might attend his Royal Perſon; and there being at the ſame Time ſeveral Complaints made againſt them to his Majeſty, and Appeals to him from their Decrees, He gave the Commiſſioners Leave to return. And at the ſame Time all the other Intereſts ſent their Deputies to ſolicit their Rights; in the Proſecution whereof, after much Time ſpent, the King thought fit likewiſe to receive the Advice and Aſſiſtance of his Lieutenant: And ſo the Duke of *Ormond* returned again to the Court. And the

Settlement of *Ireland* was the third Time brought before the King and Council; there being then likewise tranſmitted a third Bill, as additional and ſupplemental to the other two, and to reverſe many of the Decrees made by the Commiſſioners, They bearing the Reproach of all that had been done or had ſucceeded amiſs, and from all Perſons who were grieved in what Kind ſoever.

The different Parties heard a Third Time by the King.

The King was very tender of the Reputation of his Commiſſioners, who had been always eſteemed Men of great Probity and unqueſtionable Reputation: And though He could not refuſe to receive Complaints, yet He gave thoſe who complained no farther Countenance, than to give the others Opportunity to vindicate themſelves. Nor did there appear the leaſt Evidence to queſtion the Sincerity of their Proceeding, or to make them liable to any reaſonable Suſpicion of Corruption: And the Complaints were ſtill proſecuted by thoſe, who had that taken from them which They deſired to keep for themſelves.

The Author's Reflections on the proceedings of the Commiſſioners

The Truth is; there is Reaſon enough to believe, that upon the firſt Arrival of the Commiſſioners in *Ireland*, and ſome Converſation They had, and the Obſervation They made of the great Bitterneſs and Animoſities from the *Engliſh*, both Soldiers and *Adventurers*, towards the whole *Iriſh* Nation of what Kind ſoever; the ſcandalous Proceeding of the late Commiſſioners upon the firſt Act, when They had not been guided by any Rules of Juſtice, but rejected all Evidence, which might operate to the taking away any Thing from them which They

reſolved to keep, the Judges themſelves being both Parties and Witneſſes in all the Cauſes brought before them; together with the very ill Reputation very many of the Soldiers and *Adventurers* had for extraordinary Malice to the Crown, and to the Royal Family; and the notable Barbarity They had exerciſed towards the *Iriſh*, who without Doubt for many Years had undergone the moſt cruel Oppreſſions of all Kind that can be imagined, many Thouſands of them having been forced, without being covered under any Houſe, to periſh in the open Fields for Hunger; the infamous Purchaſes which had been made by many Perſons, who had compelled the *Iriſh* to ſell their Remainders and lawful Pretences for very inconſiderable Sums of Money: I ſay, theſe and many other Particulars of this Kind, together with ſome Attempt that had been made upon their firſt Arrival, to corrupt them againſt all Pretences which ſhould be made by the *Iriſh*, might probably diſpoſe the Commiſſioners themſelves to ſuch a Prejudice againſt many of the *Engliſh*, and to ſuch a Compaſſion towards the *Iriſh*, that They might be much inclined to favor 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 ſetled 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 Reſolu-

tion 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 Favor than was expected or imagined.

And in the very Entrance into the Work, to avoid the Partiality which was too apparent in the *English* towards each other, and their Animosity against the *Irish* as evident, very strict Rules had been set down by the Commissioners, what Kind of Evidence They would admit to be good, and receive accordingly. And it was provided, "that the Evi- "dence of no Soldier or *Adventurer* should be recei- "ved in any Case, to which himself was never so "much a Stranger;" as, if his own Lot had fallen in *Munster*, and He had no Pretence to any Thing out of that Province, his Evidence should not be received, as to any Thing that He had seen done in *Leinster* or *Conaught* or *Ulster*, wherein He was not at all concerned: Which was generally thought to be a very unjust Rule, after so many Years expired, and so many Persons dead, who had likewise been present at those Actions. And by this Means many Men were declared not to have been in Rebellion, when there might have been full Evidence, that They had been present in such and such a Battle, and in such and such a Siege, if the Witnesses might

have been received who were then present at those Actions, and ready to give Testimony of it, and of such Circumstances as could not have been feigned, if their Evidence might have been received.

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 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.

Too many of the Irish Rebels restored to their Estates.

Many who had served the King very hardly treated

And of this I cannot forbear to give an Instance, and the rather, that it may appear how much a per-

An Instance of this in the

Case of the Earl of Tyrconnel.

sonal 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 *Tyrconnel*, and it was this. He was the younger Son of the Lord *Fitzwilliams* a Catholic 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 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 with-"draw 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*,

" *England*, and with his Majesty's Approbation into " *Ireland*, where if He could do no other Service, " He was confident He could draw off many of the " *Irish* from the Service of the Rebels." The Queen, upon the good Reputation He had there, accepted his Offer, and writ a Letter by him to the King, with a very good Character of his Person, and as very fit to be trusted in *Ireland*.

It was his Fortune to come to the King very few Days before the Battle of *Naseby*, where as a Volunteer in the Troop of Prince *Rupert*, He behaved himself with very signal Courage in the View of the King himself; who shortly after gave him a Letter full of Recommendation and Testimony to the Marquis of *Ormond* his Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who received him kindly, and having conferred with him at large, and understood all He intended to do, gave him Leave to go into the *Irish* Quarters and to return again, as He thought fit. And in a short Time after, both his Father and his elder Brother died; whereby both the Title and the Estate devolved to him, and He was possessed accordingly.

The Man was before in his Nature elate and proud enough, had a greater Value of himself than other Men had, and a less of other Men than They deserved, whereby He got not himself beloved by many; but Nobody who loved him worst ever suspected him to incline to the Rebels, though They knew that He was often in their Quarters and had often Conferences with them: And a good Part of his Estate lay in their Quarters. He attended upon the Lord Lieutenant in all his Expeditions: And

when the *Iriſh* ſo infamouſly broke the firſt Peace, and beſieged the Lieutenant in *Dublin* (upon which He was compelled to deliver it into the Hands of the Parliament with the King's Conſent), the Lord *Fitz-williams* 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 Catholic, 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 *Tyrconnel*.

When the Commiſſioners ſat upon the firſt Act, who obſerved no Rules of Juſtice, Law or Equity, when they contradicted any Intereſt or Appetite of their own, He received no Diſturbance; but when theſe new Commiſſioners came over, all Men, as well *Proteſtants* as others, whoſe Eſtates had never been queſtioned, thought it ſafeſt for them to put in

their Claims before the Commiſſioners, to prevent any Trouble that might ariſe hereafter. This Gentleman followed that Advice and Example, put in his Claim, and preſſed the Commiſſioners for a ſhort Day to be heard. The Day was appointed. Neither *Adventurer*, Soldier, or any other Perſon, made any Title to the Land: But ſome envious Perſon, unqualified for any Proſecution, offered a Letter to the Commiſſioners, which had many Years before, and before his Coming into *Ireland*, been written by Colonel *Fitzwilliams* in *Paris* to a *Jeſuit*, one *Hartogan*, then in *Ireland*; in which He gave him Notice "of his Purpoſe of coming into *Ireland*, where "He hoped to do their Friends ſome Service."

This Letter was writ when the Queen firſt deſigned to ſend him to the King, that the *Iriſh*, who were the moſt jealous People of the World, might know of his Purpoſe to come thither, before They ſhould hear of his being in *Dublin*; and now being produced before the Commiſſioners, without conſidering how long ſince it was writ or the Reaſon of writing it, that He had ſerved the King, and never in the leaſt Degree againſt him, upon one of their Rules, "that "a Correſpondence with the Rebels was a good "Evidence," They without any Pauſe declared him nocent, and preſently aſſigned his Eſtate to ſome Perſons to whom Repriſals were to be made: Whilſt They who thought the Judgment very unjuſt, laughed at the ill Luck of a Man whom They did not love; and all Men were well enough pleaſed with the Sentence, who were diſpleaſed with the Perſon. And this Party purſued him ſo ſeverely into *England*

that the King's Interpoſition to redeem him from ſo unjuſt a Decree, was looked upon as over-favoring the *Iriſh*; when none were ſo glad of the Decree as the *Iriſh*, who univerſally hated him. Nor was He at laſt reſtored to the Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, without making ſome Compoſition with thoſe to whom the Commiſſioners had aſſigned it.

Many Decrees made upon Settlements notoriouſly forged.

Many, who had formerly made their Claims without inſiſting upon any Deeds of Settlement or other Conveyances in Law, now produced former Settlements in Conſideration of Marriage, or other like good Conſiderations in Law, made before the Beginning of the Rebellion: Which being now proved by Witneſſes enough, Decrees were every Day obtained for the Reſtitution of great Quantities of Land upon thoſe Deeds and Conveyances; though the Forgeries of thoſe Deeds and Perjury of thoſe Witneſſes were very notorious. And ſome Inſtances were given of the Manifeſtation and direct Proof that was made of the Forgery of Deeds, upon which Decrees had been made, to the Satisfaction of the Commiſſioners themſelves, within a very ſhort Time after the pronouncing thoſe Decrees: And yet no Reparation was given, but the Decrees proceeded and were executed with all Rigor, as if no ſuch Thing had appeared.

The Commiſſioners Defence.

The Commiſſioners anſwered, "that They had "made no Decrees but according to their Con- "ſciences, 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 ex- " cepted 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 noto- " rious, They looked upon the Whole as one joint " Intereſt, and ſo gratified each other in their Teſti- " monies." 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 Vi- " gilance 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 ex- " pect to be aſked, to diſcover the Truth, and to " prevent and manifeſt all Perjuries. That They had " likewiſe uſed their utmoſt Diligence and Care, to " prevent their being impoſed upon with falſe and " forged Deeds and Conveyances, by taking a preciſe " and ſtrict View themſelves of all Deeds produced; " and interrogated the Witneſſes with all the Cun- " ning They could, upon the Matter and Conſidera- " tion upon which ſuch Deeds had been entered into, " and upon the Manner and Circumſtances in the " Execution thereof: Which was all the Providence " They could uſe. And though They met with many " Reaſons oftentimes to doubt the Integrity of the

" Proceedings, and in their own private Conſciences " to apprehend there might be great Corruption; " yet that They were obliged judicially to determine " according 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 " Perjury, or to diſprove ſuch a Conveyance, it " muſt have made their Work endleſs, and ſtopped " all Manner of Proceedings, for which it appeared " They were ſtraitened too much in Time: And " that indeed would have but opened the Door " wider for Perjuries and other Corruptions; ſince " it was very plain to them, that either Side could " bring as many Witneſſes as They pleaſed, to prove " what They pleaſed, and that They would bring " as many as They believed neceſſary for the Work " in Hand. And therefore the Commiſſioners having " before preſcribed a Method and Rule to themſel- " vels for their 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 pre- " ſcribed 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 De- " crees 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 hum- " ble Deſire to the King, " that the moſt ſtrict Exa- " minations might be made of their Corruptions, in " which," They ſaid, " They were ſure to be found " very innocent, againſt all the Malice that was diſ- " covered 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."

Their Defence not perfectly ſatisfactory.

Many, who had a very good Opinion of the Perſons and Abilities of the Commiſſioners, were not yet ſatisfied with their Defence; nor did They believe, that They were ſo ſtrictly bound to judge upon the Teſtimony of ſuſpected Witneſſes; but that They were therefore truſted with an arbitrary Power, becauſe it was foreſeen that Juries were not like to be entire: So that They were, upon weighing all Circumſtances, to declare what in their Conſciences They believed to be true and juſt. That if They had bound themſelves up by too ſtrict and unreaſonable Rules, They ſhould rather in Time have reformed thoſe Rules, than think to ſupport what was done amiſs, by the Obſervation of what They had preſcribed to themſelves. And it was believed, that the entire Excluſion of the *Engliſh* from being Witneſſes for the proving of what could not in Nature be otherwiſe proved, was not juſt or reaſonable. That their Want of Power to reverſe or alter their own Decrees, upon any emergent Reaſons which could afterwards occur, was a juſt Ground for their more ſerious Deliberation in and before They paſſed any ſuch Decrees. And their Excuſe for not granting longer Time when it was preſſed for, was founded upon Reaſons which were viſibily not to be juſtified; it not being poſſible for any Man to defend himſelf againſt the Claims of the *Iriſh*, without knowing what Deeds or Witneſſes They could produce for making good their Suggeſtions; and therefore it was

as impoſſible for them to have all their Evidence upon the Place. Beſides that it was very evident, that in the laſt ten Days of their Sitting (which was likewiſe thought to be when their Power as to thoſe Particulars was determined, and in which They had made more Decrees than in all the Time before), They had made ſo many in a Day, contrary to their former Rule and Method, that Men were plainly ſurpriſed, and could not produce thoſe Proofs which in a ſhort Time They might have been ſupplied with; and the refuſing to allow them that Time, was upon the Matter to determine their Intereſt, and to take away their Eſtates without being once heard, and upon the bare Allegations of their Adverſaries. And in theſe laſt Decrees many Inſtances were given of that Nature, wherein the Evidence appeared to be very full, if Time had been given to produce it.

A Decree in Favor of the Marquis of Antrim univerſally complained of.

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 wich 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 Chan-

cellor, 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 Honor of Both their Majeſties, to ſet down a very particular Narration of that whole Affair; by which it will appear, how far the King was from ſo much as wiſhing that any Thing ſhould be done for the Benefit of the Marquis, which ſhould be contrary to the Rules of Juſtice.

A very particular Relation of the Marquis of Antrim's Caſe.

Whilſt his Majeſty was in foreign Parts He received frequent Advertiſſements 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 Honor of his Majeſty, that the King was reſolved, as ſoon as God ſhould put it into his Power, to cauſe the ſtricteſt Examination to be made concerning it; the Report having gained much Credit with his Majeſty, by the Notoriety that the Marquis had procured great Recommendations from thoſe who governed in *Ireland*, to thoſe who governed in *England*; and that upon the Preſumption of that He had come into *England*, and as far as *St. Albans* towards *London*, from whence He had been forced ſuddenly to return into *Ireland* by

the activity of his many Creditors, who upon the News of his Coming had provided for his Reception, and would unavoidably have caſt him into Priſon. And no Recommendation could have inclined thoſe who were in Authority, to do any Thing extraordinary for the protection of a Perſon, who from the Beginning of the *Iriſh* Rebellion lay under ſo ill a Character with them, and had ſo ill a Name throughout the Kingdom.

The King had been very few Days in *London*, after his Arrival from the Parts beyond the Seas, when He was informed that the Marquis of *Antrim* was upon his Way from *Ireland* towards the Court: And the Commiſſioners from *Ireland*, who have been mentioned before, were the firſt who gave his Majeſty that Information, and at the ſame Time told him all that his Majeſty had heard before concerning the Marquis, and of the bold Calumnies with which He had traduced his Royal Father, with many other Particulars; "all which," They affirmed, "would "be proved by unqueſtionable Evidence, and by "Letters and Certificates under his own Hand." Upon this full Information (of the Truth whereof his Majeſty entertained no Doubt), as ſoon as the Marquis came to the Town, He was by the King's ſpecial Order committed to the *Tower*; nor could any Petition from him, or Intreaty of his Friends, of which He had ſome very powerful, prevail with his Majeſty to admit him into his Preſence. But by the firſt Opportunity He was ſent Priſoner to *Dublin*, where He was committed to the *Caſtle*; the King having given 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 Favor, but ſaid, "He expected Juſtice; "and that after ſo many Years being deprived of "his Eſtate, He might at laſt be reſtored to it, if "Nothing could be objected againſt him wherein "He had diſſerved his Majeſty."

He was a Gentleman who had been bred up in the Court of *England*, and having married the Ducheſs 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 remarkable. Besides that it was well known, that He had a very unreasonable Envy towards the Marquis of *Ormond*, and would fain have it believed that his Interest in *Ireland* was so great, that He could reclaim that whole Nation to his Majesty's Obedience; but that Vanity and Presumption never gained the least Credit with his Majesty: Yet it may reasonably be believed that He thought so himself, and that it was the Source from which all the bitter Waters of his own Misfortune issued.

Upon the *Scots* second Entering into *England* with their Army upon the Obligation of the *Covenant*, and all his Majesty's Endeavours to prevent it being disappointed, the Marquis of *Mountrose* had proposed to the King, "to make a Journey privately "into *Scotland*, and to get into the *Highlands*, "where, with his Majesty's Authority, He hoped "He should be able to draw 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 " *Mountroſe* 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 Marquis, gave him Letters to the Marquis of *Ormond* his Lieutenant there, as well to ſatisfy him of the good Opinion He had of the Marquis of *Antrim*, and of the Truſt He had repoſed in him, as to wiſh him to give him all the Aſſiſtance He could with Convenience, for the carrying on the Expedition for *Scotland*.

And for the better preventing of any Inconvenience, that might fall out by the Raſhneſs and Inadvertency of the Marquis of *Antrim* towards the Lord Lieutenant, his Majeſty ſent *Daniel 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 ſtaid together with their General. And from this Beginning the Marquis of *Mountroſe* grew to that Power, that after many Battles won by him with notable Slaughter of the Enemy, He marched victoriouſly with his Army till He made himſelf Maſter of *Edinburgh*, and redeemed out of the Priſon there the Earl of *Crawford*, Lord *Ogilby*, and many other noble Perſons, who had been taken and ſent thither, with Reſolution that They ſhould all loſe their Heads. And the Marquis of *Mountroſe* did always acknowledge, that the Riſe and Beginning of his good Succeſs was due and to be imputed to that Body of *Iriſh*, which had in the Beginning been ſent over by the Marquis of *Antrim*; to whom the King had acknowledged the Service by ſeveral Letters, all of his own Handwriting; in which were very gracious Expreſſions of the Senſe his Majeſty had of his great Services, and his Reſolution to reward him.

It is true, that the Marquis of *Antrim* had not gone over himſelf with his Men, as He had promiſed to do, but ſtayed in *Ulſter* under Pretence of raiſing a greater Body of Men, with which He would adventure his own Perſon; but either out of Jealouſy or Diſpleaſure againſt the Marquis of *Mountroſe*, or having in Truth no Mind to that Service of *Scotland*, He proſecuted not that Purpoſe, but remained ſtill in *Ulſter*, where all his own Eſtate lay, and ſo was in the Rebels Quarters, and no Doubt was often in their

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 Frigates into the Port of *Falmouth*, and offered his Service to his Royal Highneſs; and having in his Frigates 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 Frigates 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 re-aſſume his Majeſty's "Government in that Kingdom;" which was

done accordingly, in the Manner that is mentioned elſewhere.

The Marquis of *Antrim* alledged 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 "Favor. But if his being in the *Iriſh* Quarters and "conſulting with them, without which He could "not have made his Levies for *Scotland*, nor tranſ-"ported 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 Favor, 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 much Envy.

Though the King had been never taken Notice of to have any great Inclinations to the Marquis, who

was very little known to him; yet this Repreſentation and clear View of what He had done and what He had ſuffered, raiſed great Compaſſion towards him in the Royal Breaſt of his Majeſty. And He thought it would in ſome Degree reflect upon his own Honor and Juſtice, and upon the Memory of his bleſſed Father, if in a Time when He paſſed by ſo many Tranſgreſſions very heinous, He ſhould leave the Marquis expoſed to the Fury of his Enemies (who were only his Enemies becauſe They were poſſeſſed of his Eſtate, and becauſe He deſired to have his own from them) for no other Crime upon the Matter, than for not having that Prudence and that Providence in his Endeavours to ſerve the King, as He ought to have had; that is, He ought to have been wiſer. And the Rigor 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, leſt the other ſhould miſcarry) was, contrary to his Majeſty's Reſolution, and contrary to the Advice of the Chancellor and without his Knowledge, likewiſe ſent to the Commiſſioners; who had thereupon made ſuch a Decree as is before mentioned, and declared, "that They had made it only "upon that Ground;" which gave his Majeſty ſome Trouble, and obliged him to inſert a Clauſe in the next Bill concerning that Affair.

And this was the whole Proceeding that related to the Marquis of *Antrim:* And it is yet very hard to comprehend, wherein there was more Favor ſhowed towards him by his Majeſty, than He might in Truth very reaſonably pretend to, what Noiſe ſoever was raiſed, and what Gloſſes ſoever made; which proceeded only from the general Diſlike of the Man, who had much more Weakneſs than Wickedneſs in him, and was an Object rather of Pity than of Malice or Envy.

The Difficulties of a Settlement increaſed.

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.

By some improvident Acts of Bounty in the King.

The King had, upon passing the former Bills, and upon discerning how much the *Irish* were like to suffer, resolved to retain, all that should by Forfeiture or otherwise come to his Majesty, in his own Power; to the End, that when the Settlement should be made, He might be able to gratify those of the *Irish* Nation, who had any Thing of Merit towards him, or had been least faulty. And if He had observed that Resolution, very much of the Trouble He underwent afterwards had been prevented: For He would then, besides that which *Cromwell* had reserved to himself (which was a vast Tract of Ground), have had all those Forfeitures which the Regicides had been possessed of, and other criminal Persons; which amounted to a huge Quantity of the best Land. And though the King had before designed all those forfeited Lands to his Brother the Duke, yet his Highness was so pleased with the Resolution his Majesty had taken, to retain them to that Purpose, that He forbore to prosecute that Grant, till He heard of great Quantities of Land every Day granted away by his Majesty to his Servants and others; whereby He saw the main End would be disappointed. And then He resolved to be no longer a Loser for the Benefit of those, who had

no Pretence to what They got; and ſo proceeded in getting that Grant from the King to himſelf of thoſe Lands deſigned to him.

This Improvidence owing to the Earl of Orrery.

The King had ſwerved from that Rule, before it was ſcarce diſcerned: And the Error of it may be very juſtly imputed to the Earl of *Orrery*, and to none but him; who believing that He could never be well enough at Court, except He had Courtiers of all Sorts obliged to him, who would therefore ſpeak well of him in all places and Companies (and thoſe Arts of 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 ſhowed 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 repriſed with other Lands:" So that in many Caſes, the greateſt Inducement to his Majeſty's Bounty being the Incertainty of his own Right, which the Perſon to whom it was granted was obliged to vindicate at his own Charge, the King was now bound to make it good, if his Grant was not valid. And ſo that which was but a contingent Bounty, which commonly was the ſole Argument for the paſſing it, was now turned into a real and ſubſtantial Benefit, as a Debt; which created another Difficulty in the Settlement: Which was yet the more hard, becauſe there were many Claims of the *Iriſh* themſelves yet unheard, all the falſe Admeaſurements to be examined, and many other Uncertainties to be determined by the Commiſſioners; which left thoſe who were in quiet Poſſeſſion, as well as thoſe who were out of it, in the higheſt Inſecurity and Apprehenſion.

And with an extraordinary Clauſe inſerted in the Grants

This Intricacy and even Deſpair, which poſſeſſed

all Kind of People, of any Settlement, made all of them willing to contribute to any that could be propoſed. They found his Majeſty very unwilling to conſent to the Repeal of the Decrees made by the Commiſſioners; which muſt have taken away the Confidence and Aſſurance of whatſoever was to be done hereafter, by making Men ſee, that what was ſettled by one Act of Parliament might immediately be unſettled by another; So that there was no Hope by that Expedient to increaſe the Number of Acres, which being left might in any Degree comply with the ſeveral Pretences. The *Iriſh* found, that They might only be able to obſtruct any Settlement, but ſhould never be able to get ſuch a one as would turn to their own Satisfaction. The Soldiers and *Adventurers* agreed leſs amongſt themſelves: And the Clamor 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 Men's 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 Perſons, who were to receive any Benefit "by this Act, ſhould abate and give a fourth Part "of what They had, towards the Stock for Repri- "ſals; all which the Commiſſioners ſhould diſtri- "bute amongſt thoſe *Iriſh*, who ſhould appear moſt "fit for his Majeſty's Bounty." And this Agreement was ſo unanimous, that though it met with ſome obſtinate Oppoſition after it was brought before the King, yet the Number of the Oppoſers was ſo ſmall in Reſpect of the others who agreed to it, that They grew weary and aſhamed of farther Contention. And thereupon that *Third Act of Settlement*, as ſupplemental to the other two, was conſented to by the King; who, to publiſh to the World that Nothing ſtuck with him which ſeemed to reflect upon the Commiſſioners, reſolved to make no Change: And ſo though two of them, who had Offices there to diſcharge, prevailed with his Majeſty that

The different Parties at laſt agree upon an Expedient for a Settlement.

Hereupon the King paſſes the Third Act of Settlement.

They might not return again into *Ireland;* the other five were continued, to execute what was more to be done by this Act, and so to perfect the Settlement, And no Doubt it will be here said, that this Expedient might have been sooner found, and so prevented many of those Disorders and Inconveniences which intervened. But They who knew that Time, and the Perverseness and Obstinacy that possessed all Pretenders, must confess that the Season was never ripe before: Nor could their Consent and Agreement, upon which this Act was founded, ever be obtained before.

These were all the Transactions which passed with Reference to *Ireland*, whilst the Chancellor remained at that Board: in which He acted no more than any other of the Lords who were present did: Except when any Difficulties occurred in their private Meetings and Debates, They sometimes resorted to him for Advice, which He was ready to give; being always willing to take any Pains, which might make that very difficult Work more easy to be brought to a good End. But as He never thought He deserved any Reward for so doing, so He never expected the Benefit of one Shilling in Money or in Money's Worth, for any Thing He ever did in that Affair; and was so far from entertaining any Overture to that Purpose, that it is notoriously known to many Persons of Honor, 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 thereupon 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 *Ire-*
"*land* nor the least Benefit from thence, till all
"Differences and Pretences in that Kingdom should
"be so fully settled and agreed, that there could be
"no more Appeal to the King, or repairing to the
"King's Council for Justice; in which," He said,
"He should never be thought so competent an Ad-
"viser, if He had any Title of his own in that King-
"dom to bias his Inclinations." And He was often heard to say, "that He never took a firmer Reso-
"lution in any Particular in his Life, than to ad-
"here to that Conclusion." Yet because it was notorious afterwards, that He did receive some Money out of *Ireland*, and had a lawful Title to receive more (with which He was reproached when He could not answer for himself); it may not be amiss in this Place, for his Vindication, to set down particularly how that came to pass, and to mention all the Circumstances which preceded, accompanied or attended, that Affair.

A Vindication of the Chancellor with Regard to the Irish Affairs.

In the Bills which were first transmitted from *Ireland* after his Majesty's happy Return, there was an Imposition of a certain Sum of Money upon some specified Lands in several Provinces, "which was to
"be paid to his Majesty within a limited Time, and
"to be disposed of by his Majesty to such Persons
"who had served him faithfully, and suffered in so

" doing," or Words to that Effect; for He often proteſted that He never ſaw the Act of Parliament, and was moſt confident that He never heard of it at the Time when it paſſed, He being often abſent from the Council, by Reaſon of the Gout or other Accidents, when ſuch Matters were tranſacted. But two Years after the King's Return or thereabout, He received a Letter from the Earl of *Orrery*, " that there " would be in his Hands, and in the Earl of *Angleſey's* " and the Lord *Maſſaren's*" (who it ſeems were appointed Treaſurers to receive the Money to be raiſed by that Act of Parliament,) " a good Sum of Money " for him; which He gave him Notice of, to the End " that He might give Direction for the Diſpoſal " thereof, whether He would have it returned into " *England*, or laid out in Land in *Ireland*;" and He wiſhed " that he would ſpeedily ſend his Direction, " becauſe He was confident that the Money would " be paid in, at leaſt by the Time that his Letter could " arrive there." No Man can be more ſurpriſed, than the Chancellor was at the Receipt of this Letter, believing that there was ſome Miſtake in it, and that his Name might have been uſed in Truſt by Somebody who had given him no notice of it. And without returning any anſwer to the Earl of *Orrery*, He writ by that Poſt to the Lord Lieutenant, to inform him of what the Earl of *Orrery* had writ to him, and deſired him to " inform him by his own Inquiry, " what the Meaning of it was."

Before He had an anſwer from the Lord Lieutenant, or indeed before his Letter could come to the Lord Lieutenant's Hands, He received a ſecond Letter from the Earl of *Orrery*; in which He informed

him "that there was now paid in to his Uſe, the "Sum of twelve thouſand ſix hundred and odd "Pounds, and that there would be the like Sum "again received for him at the End of ſix Months;" and ſent him a particular Direction, "to what Perſon "and in what form He was to ſend his Order for "the Payment of the Money." The Chancellor ſtill forbore to anſwer this Letter, till He had received an Anſwer to what He had written to the Lord Lieutenant, who then informed him at large, what Title He had to that Money, and how He came to have it: "That ſhortly after the paſſing that Act of Par-"liament, which had given his Majeſty the Diſpoſal "of the Money before mentioned, the Earl of *Or-*"*rery* had come to him, the Lord Lieutenant, and "putting him in Mind, how the Chancellor had "rejected all Overtures which had been made to "him of Benefit out of that Kingdom" (which Refuſal, and many others that ſhow 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 wil-"lingly did, and his Majeſty as cheerfully granted, "That a Letter was accordingly prepared, and his "Majeſty's Royal Signature procured by Mr. Se-"cretary *Nicholas*, who was at the ſame Time com-"manded 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 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 Favor, 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 infor-

med him of a Difference that was fallen out between the Lord *Lovelace* and Sir *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, upon a Defect in the Title to certain Lands purchaſed heretofore by Sir *Bulſtrode Whitlock* from the Lord *Lovelace*, and enjoyed by him ever ſince; but being by the Neceſſity of that Time, the Delinquency of *Lovelace* and the Power of *Whitlock*, bought and ſold at an Undervalue, and the Time being now more equal, *Lovelace* reſolved to have more Money, or not to perform a Covenant He had entered into; the Not-performance whereof would leave the other's Title very defective. The Earl deſired to reconcile thoſe two, which could not be done without Sale of the Land: And ſo He propoſed to the Chancellor the buying this Land, which lay next to ſome Land He had in *Wiltſhire*. This Propoſition was made upon the very Day, as is ſaid before, that He had received the Letter from the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*; by which it appeared that there was near as much Money already received for him, as would pay for that Purchaſe, beſides what was more to be received within ſix Months after. The Land was well known to the Chancellor; ſo that upon a ſhort Conference with the Parties, They all agreed upon the Purchaſe: And He was eaſily prevailed with to undertake the Payment of the greateſt Part of the Money upon ſealing the Writings, not making the leaſt Doubt, but that He ſhould by that Time receive the Money from *Ireland*; which was the ſole Ground and Motive to his making that Purchaſe.

But the next Letters He received from *Ireland* informed him, "that the Neceſſities of that Kingdom "had been ſuch, that They could only return ſix

" thouſand Pounds of that Money; and that They " had been compelled to make Uſe of the reſt for the " Public, 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 Honor.

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.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.