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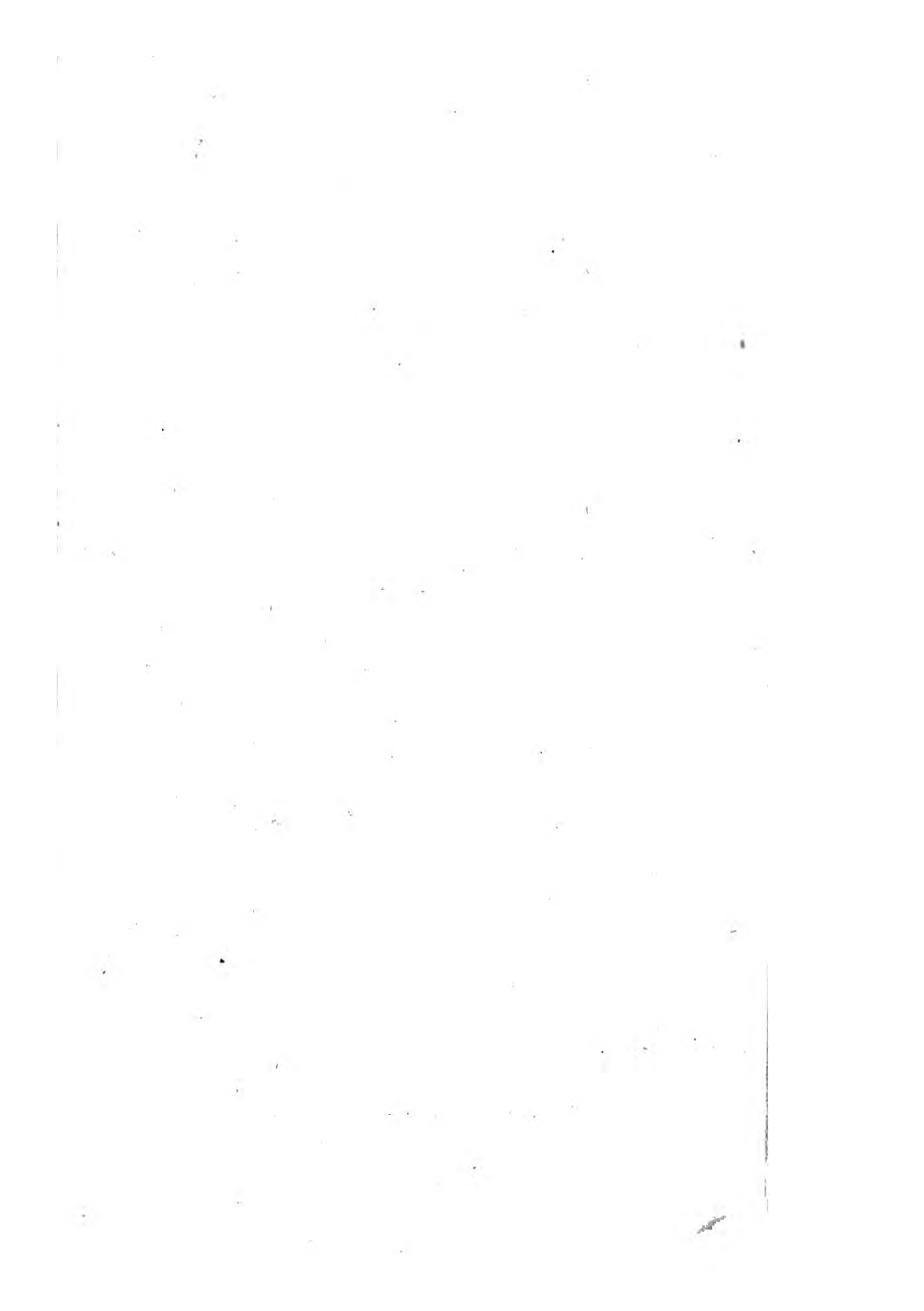
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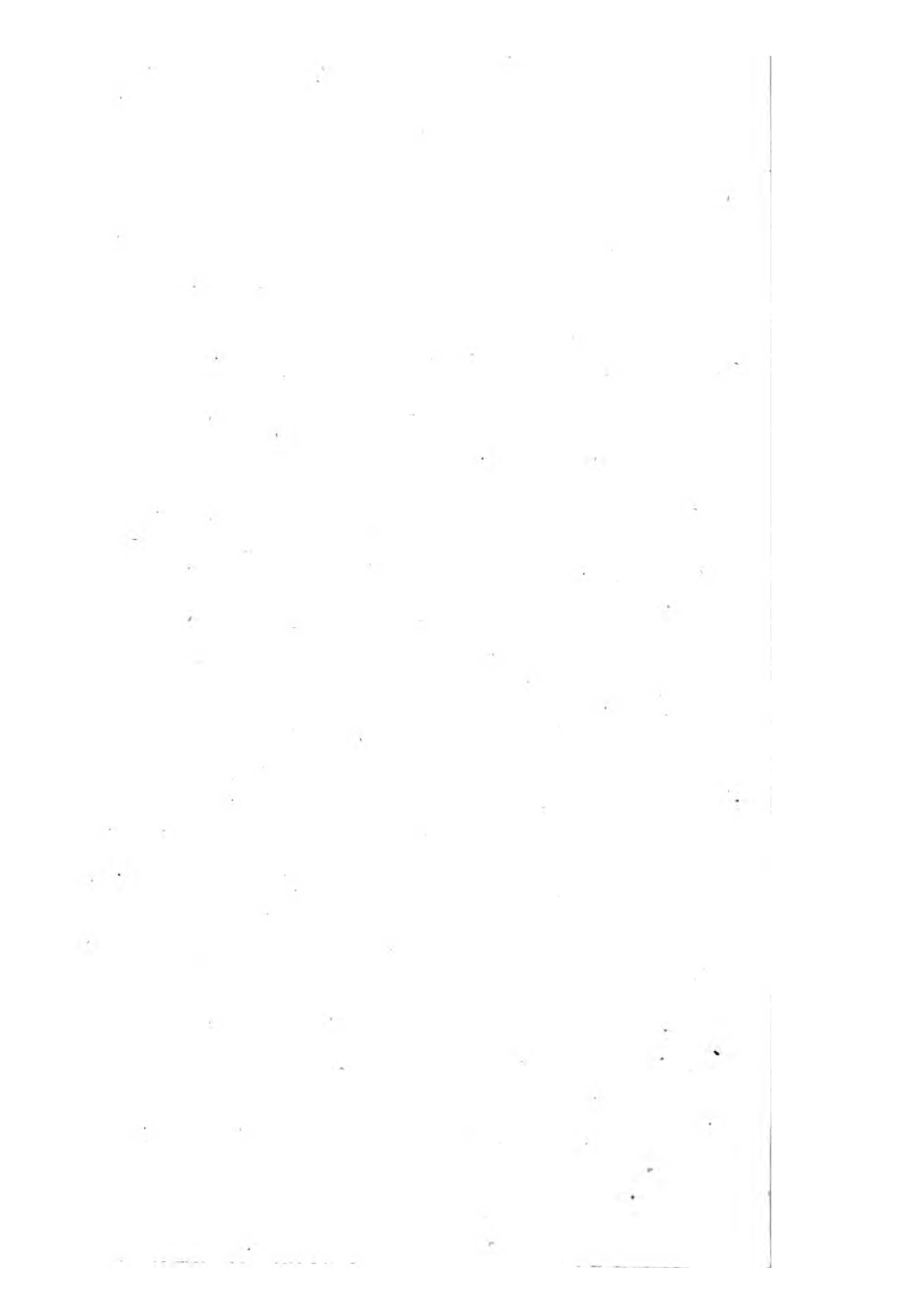
Miss Emma F. I. Dunston

Dunston B 1975/4









THE
L I F E
OF
EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR of ENGLAND,
AND
CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD,
CONTAINING,

- I. An Account of the CHANCELLOR'S
LIFE from his BIRTH to the
RESTORATION in 1660.
- II. A Continuation of the same, and of his
HISTORY of the GRAND REBELLION,
from the RESTORATION to his
BANISHMENT in 1667.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

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

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

VOLUME THE FOURTH.

BASIL:
Printed and sold by J. J. TOURNEISEN.
MDCCLIC,



THE
CONTINUATION

Of the LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON, &c.

THE Parliament convened at *Oxford* in greater Numbers than could reasonably have been expected, the Sickness still continuing to rage and spread itself in several Counties; so that between the Danger that was in the Towns infected, and the necessary Severity in other Towns to keep themselves from being infected, it was a very inconvenient Season for all Persons of Quality to travel from their own Habitations. Upon the tenth of *October* the King commanded Both Houses to attend him in *Christ-Church* Hall, and told them, "that He was confident they did all believe, that if it had not been absolutely necessary to consult with them He would not have called them together at that Time, when the Contagion had spread itself over so many Parts of the Kingdom: And He thanked them for their Compliance so far with his Desires."

The Parliament meets at Oxford.

The King's Speech to Both Houses.

His Majesty said, "the Truth was; as He had entered upon the War by their Advice and Encouragement, so He desired that They might as frequently as was possible receive Information of the Effects and Conduct of it, and that He might

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“ have the Continuance of their cheerful Supply for
 “ the carrying it on. He would not deny to them;
 “ that it had proved more chargeable than He could
 “ imagine it would have been: The Addition the
 “ Enemy had still made to their Fleets, beyond their
 “ first Purpose, made it unavoidably necessary for
 “ him to make proportionable Preparations, which
 “ God had hitherto blessed with Success in all En-
 “ counters. And as They had used their utmost
 “ Endeavours by Calumnies and false Suggestions to
 “ gain Friends to themselves, and to persuade them
 “ to assist them against him, so He had not been
 “ wanting to encourage those Princes who had been
 “ wronged by the *Dutch*; to recover their own by
 “ Force; and in Order thereunto, He had assisted
 “ the Bishop of *Munster* with a great Sum of ready
 “ Money, and was to continue a Supply to him,
 “ who He believed was at that Time in the Bowels
 “ of their Country with a powerful Army.

“ Those Issues, which He might tell them had
 “ been made with very much Conduct and Hus-
 “ bandry (nor indeed did He know that any Thing
 “ had been spent that could have been well and
 “ safely saved);” He said, “ those Expenses would
 “ not suffer them to wonder, that the great Supply
 “ which They gave him for this War in so boun-
 “ tiful a Proportion was upon the Matter already
 “ spent: So that He must not only expect an Assist-
 “ ance from them to carry on that War, but such
 “ an Assistance as might enable him to defend himself
 “ and them against a more powerful Neighbour, if
 “ He should prefer the Friendship of the *Dutch*
 “ before his.”

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. 3

He put them in Mind, "that when He entered upon this War He had told them, *that He had not such a brutal Appetite as to make War for War's Sake*; He was still of the same Mind: He had been ready to receive any Propositions that *France* had thought fit to offer to that End, but hitherto Nothing had been offered worthy his Acceptance; nor was the *Dutch* less insolent, though He knew no Advantage They had got but the Continuance of the Contagion, and He hoped that God Almighty would shortly deprive them of that Encouragement."

The Chancellor at the same Time, by the King's Command, made a short Narrative of the History of the War, the Circumstances with which it was begun, and the Progress it had since made, and the Victory that the Duke had attained; of the vast Number of the Prisoners and sick and wounded Men, a Charge that had never been computed.

Substance of
the Chancellor's
Speech.

He told them, "the *French* King had indeed offered his Mediation, and that if He intended no more than a Mediation, it was an Office very worthy the most Christian King; He wished, that as a Mediator He would make equal Propositions, or that He would not so importunately press his Majesty to consent to those He makes, upon an Instance and Argument, *that He holds himself engaged by a former Treaty* (of which his Majesty had never heard till since the Beginning of the War, and had some Reason to have presumed the contrary) *to assist the Dutch with Men and Money if his Majesty would not consent.*"

He said, " his Majesty had told them, *that He*
 " *had no Appetite to make War for War's Sake* ; but
 " He would be always ready to make such a Peace
 " as might be for his Honor and the Interest of his
 " Subjects. And no Doubt it would be a great
 " Trouble and Grief to his Majesty to find so great
 " a Prince, towards whom He had manifested so
 " great an Affection, in Conjunction with his Ene-
 " mies :— Yet even the Apprehension of such a War
 " would not terrify him to purchase a Peace by such
 " Concessions as He should be ashamed to make
 " them acquainted with ; of which Nature They
 " would easily believe the Propositions hitherto
 " made to be, when They knew the Release of
 " *Poleroone* in the *East-Indies*, and the demolishing
 " the Fort of *Cabo Corso* upon the Coast of *Guinea*,
 " were two ; which would be upon the Matter to
 " be contented with a very vile Trade in the *East-*
 " *Indies* under their Control, and with none in
 " *Guinea*. And yet those are not Propositions un-
 " reasonable enough to please the *Dutch*, who re-
 " proached *France* for interposing for Peace, instead
 " of assisting them in the War, boldly insisting upon
 " the Advantage the Contagion in *London* and some
 " other Parts of the Kingdom gives them ; by which,
 " They confidently say, the King will be no longer
 " able to maintain a Fleet against them at Sea."
 He told them, " that He had fully obeyed the
 " Command that had been laid upon him, in making
 " that plain, clear, true Narrative of what had passed ;
 " He had no Order to make Reflection upon it,
 " nor any Deduction from it: The King himself

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. 5

“ had told them, *that the noble, unparalleled Supply*
“ *They had already given him is upon the Matter spent,*
“ spent with all the Animadversions of good Hus-
“ bandry that the Nature of the Affair would bear.
“ What was more to be done He left to their own
“ generous Understandings, being not more assured
“ of any Thing that was to come in this World,
“ than that the same noble Indignation for the
“ Honor of the King and the Nation, that first
“ provoked them to inflame the King himself, would
“ continue the same Passion still boiling in their loyal
“ Breasts; that all the World may see, which They
“ never hoped to have seen, that never Prince and
“ People were so entirely united in their Affections,
“ for their true, joint, inseparable Honor, as their
“ only sure infallible Expedient to preserve their
“ distinct several Interests.”

The King could not expect or wish a fuller Con-
currence from a Parliament than He now found. A farther
Supply grant-
ed.
With very little Hesitation They declared, “ that
“ They would supply his Majesty with another
“ Million (ten hundred thousand Pounds):” And
because They desired to be dismissed as soon as
might be to their several Habitations, not without
Apprehension that so great a Concourse of Persons
from all Places, even from *London* itself (for the
Term was likewise adjourned to *Oxford*), might
bring the Contagion thither likewise; They rejected
all other Businesses but what immediately related to
the Public. To the Supply They designed to the
King They added the Sum of above forty thousand
Pounds, which They desired his Majesty to confer

upon the Duke, having received some Inflation, "that it would not be ingrateful to the King that such a Present should be made to his Brother." Then They passed two or three Acts of Parliament very much for the King's Honor and Security, amongst which one was, "for the attainting all those his Subjects who either resided in *Holland*" (as some of the *English* Officers who had long served in that Country presumed still to do) "and continued in their Service, or in any other Parts beyond the Seas, if They did not appear at a Day prefixed, after Notice by the King's Proclamation:" And the Nomination of the Persons was entirely left to his Majesty.

His Majesty did hope, that this very good Carriage in the Parliament would have made some Impression upon *France*, either to have given over their Mediation, or to have drawn reasonable and just Concessions from the *States*: But it did produce the contrary. The *Hollander* had received a new Damage which inflamed them exceedingly, which shall be particularly mentioned in the next Place, whereupon They made grievous Complaints to *France* of its Breach of Faith upon the Promises that had been made to them. The King upon this required his Ambassadors once more to make a lively Instance to his Majesty, "that He would declare what He meant to insist upon in Order to a Peace, which if He should refuse to do, They should take their Leaves and return into *France* with all possible Expedition." In this Audience They spake in a higher Style than They had formerly

An Act for
attainting the
English in
the Dutch
Service.

The French
Ambassadors
remonstrate

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used. They complained “ of the intolerable Damage ^{warmly against}
“ the Subjects of *France* had sustained in their Goods ^{the English.}
“ and Estates by the King’s Ships, and those who
“ were licensed by his Authority, which without
“ any Distinction seized upon all that came in their
“ Way as if They were *Dutch*: And when They
“ complained to the Admiralty or to the Lords
“ Commissioners, They could procure no Justice,
“ and were obliged to such an Attendance and
“ Expence, that what They sued for did not prove
“ of Value to satisfy the Charge of the Prosecution;
“ and if after a long and a tedious Solicitation They
“ did at last procure a Sentence for the Redelivery
“ of what had been taken from them, when They
“ hoped to enjoy the Benefit of this just Sentence
“ by the Execution, They found the Goods em-
“ bezzled in the Port or plundered by the Seamen,
“ that the Owners had rarely a third Part of their
“ Goods ever restored to them. And that by this
“ Violence and unjust Proceeding, of which They
“ had often made Complaint, the *French* Merchants
“ had lost near five hundred thousand *Pistoles*;
“ which their Master resented and looked upon as
“ a great Indignity to himself, which He had hitherto
“ borne, in Hope that the Licence would have been
“ restrained by the End of the War.”

They urged it as an Argument of their Master’s
Friendship to the King, “ that after an offensive
“ Treaty had been long since entered into by him,
“ by which He was obliged to assist the *Dutch* with
“ Men, Money and Ships, He had notwithstanding
“ hitherto forborne it, and looked on whilst They

“ were soundly beaten and had lately sustained another Blow ; and that it was not possible for him to defer it longer : ” And so concluded with very earnest Persuasions, “ that his Majesty would consent to such a Peace as their Master should judge to be reasonable, who could not but be very just to his Majesty ; ” and wished, “ that it might be considered, besides the Damage by the Plague which Nobody knew how long it might continue, how impossible it was for the King to sustain the Arms of *France* in Conjunction to those of *Holland*, when possibly some other Prince might join likewise with them. ”

A Conference
between them
and the Eng-
lish Ministers
upon their Re-
monstrance.

They who were appointed by the King to confer with the Ambassadors were most perplexed to justify their first Charge, “ of the Depredation that had been made upon the *French* Merchants, ” which had in Truth been very great, though not amounting to the Sum They mentioned. Yet to that They answered, “ that the Damage and Loss which the Subjects of *France* had undergone that Way had originally proceeded from themselves, and their own Default in owning the Goods and Merchandise of the *Dutch* to belong to themselves as their proper Goods, and in undertaking to carry and deliver the Wine and other Goods, which were bought and paid for in *France* by the *Hollanders*, in *French* Vessels in that Country ; all which had been fully and notoriously proved and could not be contradicted : And when that Discovery was once made, it was no Wonder if the Seamen sometimes seized upon some Vessels which were

“ not liable to the same Reproach. But when any
 “ Complaints of that Kind had been made, the King
 “ had always given strict Charge to the Judges to
 “ cause Restitution to be made, and the Trans-
 “ gressors to be severely punished; and his Majesty
 “ presumed that the Judges had done their Duty.
 “ For the *French* King’s being bound by his Trea-
 “ ty to assist the *Hollanders*,” They said, “ that if
 “ the King had any such Obligation upon him, it
 “ was subsequent to his Obligation to his Majesty,
 “ by which He was bound to make no such Treaty:
 “ Nor In Truth did They believe that He had en-
 “ tered into any such Treaty, for if it were only
 “ such as They themselves stated it to be, a defen-
 “ sive League, it would neither engage nor excuse
 “ *France* in giving Assistance to them who had done
 “ the Wrong and begun the War; and therefore if
 “ the King was in Truth bound to assist them, it
 “ must be from some offensive not defensive Clause.”
 The Ambassadors replied, “ that their Master
 “ concluded that their King was the Aggressor,
 “ and then the defensive Article did oblige him;”
 and They acknowledged there was no other. It was
 answered, “ that the King had assumed a Power to
 “ Judge upon a Matter of Fact of which He had
 “ taken no Examination; and that it was a Partiality
 “ not agreeable to the Office of a Judge, to believe
 “ what the *Dutch* said, and not to believe what the
 “ King said, who had clearly published the true His-
 “ tory of the Fact; and that it was notorious and
 “ not possible to be denied, that They had refused
 “ to deliver *Poleroone* according to their Treaty,

“ and that *De Ruyter* had begun the War in *Guinea*
 “ before one of their Ships had been seized on by the
 “ King.” To which They replied, “ that their Mas-
 “ ter thought otherwise and did look upon the King
 “ as Aggressor.” When They were urged with the
 Violation of the former Obligation by entering into
 the latter, all the Answer They gave was, “ that
 “ They knew Nothing of it, and that They had
 “ Commission only to treat upon the present State
 “ of Affairs, and not upon what had passed long
 “ before:” And so, according to the Character They
 underwent near fourteen hundred Years since, *Galli*
ridentes fidem fregerunt.

The Counsellors of the King told them, “ that
 “ their Master had very well considered the Disad-
 “ vantage He must undergo by the Access of so
 “ powerful a Friend, and of whose Friendship He
 “ had thought himself possessed, to the Part of his
 “ Enemies, who were too insolent already; and
 “ therefore to prevent that Disadvantage, He had
 “ and would do any Thing that would consist with
 “ the Dignity of a King: But that He must be laugh-
 “ ed at and despised by all the World, if He should
 “ consent to make him the Arbitrator of the Differ-
 “ ences who had already declared himself to be a
 “ Party, and that *He is resolved to make War against*
 “ *him on the Behalf of his Enemy*; and that such
 “ Menaces would make no Impression in the last
 “ Article of Danger that could befall the King.” The
 Ambassadors took that Expression of Menaces very
 heavily, as if it were a Tax upon their Manners,
 and said “ They had never used Words that could

“ imply a Menace.” To which it was replied, “ that
 “ there was no Purpose to make any Reflection upon
 “ their Persons, who had always carried themselves
 “ with great Respect to the King, and who his Ma-
 “ jesty believed did in their own particular Affection
 “ with him better than They did the *Dutch*; How-
 “ ever the declaring, *that if the King did not do this*
 “ *or that, the French King would make War upon*
 “ *him*, could in no Language be looked upon to
 “ have any other Signification than of a Menace
 “ and Threat.” This raised a little Warmth on Both
 Sides, which made the Conference break off at that
 Time.

The Ambassadors prepared to be gone; and the King discerned clearly that there was no Way to divert the *French* from an entire Conjunction with the *Dutch*: And thereupon He assembled his secret Council together again, to consult what should be the final Answer his Majesty should give to the *French* Ambassadors at parting. There was no Person present, who had not a deep Apprehension of the extreme Damage and Danger that must fall upon the King's Affairs, if in this Conjunction *France* should declare a War against *England*.

It was well known, that the Duke of *Beaufort* was forthwith to be at *Brest*, where all the *French* King's Ships were to assemble at their Rendezvous by *Christmas*; that the *French* King had already sent to the Bishop of *Münster* to dissuade him from prosecuting his Enterprize against *Holland*, and that probably He might unite *Denmark* again to the *Dutch*, and probably even allay those warm Inclinations

The Prospect
of the King's
Affairs at
this Time

which the *Swede* had for the King. It was well known; that the *French* King had in the last Distractions in *Holland* contributed very much to the composing them, and to the Support of the Power and Credit of *De Wit*, who was the Soul of the War, and that He had sent him one hundred thousand *Pistoles*, without which They would have hardly been able to have set out their last Fleet under *De Ruyter*. And above all this, his giving Life to some domestic Rebellion in *England* and in *Ireland*, by sending Money to discontented Persons, was apprehended: For as there were enough discontented and desperate Persons in the latter, who wanted only Arms and Money to declare for any Prince who would take them into his Protection; so it was well known that there was a general Combination amongst those of the late Army to have risen, if the Duke of *York* had been defeated at Sea, and that it was that Victory that disappointed that intended Insurrection. That there had been a later Design, in the very Height of this dismal Sickness and Contagion, in *London* (whither the Fanatick Party had repaired from all the Quarters of the Kingdom, and had appointed a Day upon which the General should be assassinated, which some Soldiers of his own Regiment had undertaken, and then the whole Rendezvous was to be in several Streets at the same Time); which in so formidable a Conjunction might have succeeded to a great Degree, if by God's Blessing it had not been discovered two Days before to the General, who caused some of the chief Conspirators to be apprehended, who suffered afterwards by the Hand

of Justice. And yet the Chief amongst them, Colonel *Danvers*, who in Spite of all the Vigilance that could be used had been always searched for and always concealed from the Time of the King's Return, being at this Time apprehended and brought before the General, and by him sent with a Lieutenant and a Guard of Soldiers to the *Tower*, was rescued in *Cheapside*, and so escaped, all the Citizens looking on without aiding the Officer.

This was the Prospect that the King had of his Condition and Affairs in this Consultation: And therefore if any Thing could have occurred that might probably have diverted this Storm, it would no Doubt have been embraced. But then the exceeding Breach of Faith in entering into that Treaty, the denying it afterwards, and concealing his Engagement by it so long after the War was entered into (which if He had not done the King could never have looked upon him as a fit Mediator), and the Impossibility of depending upon any Thing that should be promised for the future, were convincing Arguments against any such Reference of the Conditions to his Determination as was proposed, and was the only Expedient that was proposed towards the making a Peace. It was well known that the chief Counsels of *France*, since *Monsieur Colbert* entered upon the Ministry, had been directed towards the Advancement of Manufactures at Home, by which They might have less Need of Commerce with their Neighbours; and for the erecting a Trade abroad, with which They had been very little acquainted in former Times. And it was justly to be

feared, that where the Judgment was left to them, They would imitate the infamous *Roman* Precedent, of adjudging that to themselves that was in Difference between their Neighbours and left to their Decision: And so both *Poleroone* in the *East Indies*, and *Cabo Corso* for the *West*, must be determined to belong to them; which might be the rather apprehended, by their having erected an *East-India* Company and a *West-India* Company, before They had any visible Foundation for a Trade in either, to which Both these Places might carry with them great Conveniences

A final Answer given to the French Ambassadors.

These Considerations being seriously reflected upon, with a little generous Indignation to find himself thus treated, prevailed with the King to lay aside all Thoughts of farther complying with *France*, and to resolve to dismiss the Ambassadors without any other Answer, than what should contain Complaints
 “ of the *French* King’s Want of Kindness, which his
 “ Majesty had cultivated by all the Offices He could
 “ perform since his Restoration, which did not re-
 “ ceive an equal Return, by the preferring the Friend-
 “ ship of the *Dutch* before that of his Majesty.”
 And with this Answer the Ambassadors were dismissed, with liberal Presents and all gracious Demonstrations of Esteem of their Persons, and so returned for *France*, where They always gave just Testimony of the Civilities and fair Treatment They had received.

They leave the Kingdom.

But this Resolution increased the King’s Appetite to Peace, and made him think of all other Expedients that might contribute to it; and none seemed

so hopeful, as that *France* and *Holland* might be divided: And He would have been very willing to have agreed with *Holland* upon any reasonable Conditions, that He might continue the War with *France*, which there were many reasonable Inducements to hope might be brought to pass. It was notorious, that Preparations had been made for two or three Years past by *France* at a very great Expence upon the Borders, that They might be ready to enter into *Flanders* as soon as News should arrive of the King of *Spain's* Death; and that War would immediately fall out as soon as that King's Decease should be known, which from his Age and Infirmities must be expected every Day: And in that Case the Friendship could not continue long with *Holland*, which thought that *France* was already too near a Neighbour to them, to be willing that They should be nearer by a Conquest of *Flanders*, which with its own Force could not make an equal Resistance. It was likewise as notorious that all the other Provinces, *Holland* only excepted, did impatiently desire the Peace; and *Holland* had only been restrained from the same Impatience by the sole Credit and Authority of *De Wit*, and by his persuading them, "that *France* would assist them with Men, Money and Ships, and likewise declare a War against *England*, which" (as hath been said before) "would produce a Peace upon such Conditions as would make it happy to them:" And that though it was true that it had indeed assisted them with some Money, it was not considerable to their vast Expences, nor in Truth of Importance in Comparison

A Prospect
of dividing
France and
Holland.

of the other, which it was equally obliged to do; and had performed Nothing. And it was evident that *Holland* itself was jealous of those Proceedings, and even *De Wit* in his private Discourses to other Ministers seemed to be much unsatisfied with their Breach of Faith, and not to be without Apprehension that They would in the End enter into a stricter Alliance with *England*, and leave *Holland* as a Prey to Both.

The *Spanish* Ambassador, who always desired that the Peace might be established between the *English* and the *Dutch*, and that They would Both join with *Spain* in a defensive League, into which *Denmark* would be glad to enter, and *Sweden* might be drawn in upon the same Conditions which They now received from *France*, towards which He had often desired the King to interpose, was now very glad that the *French* Ambassadors had taken their Leaves and were gone; and He pretended to have many Assurances from the *Spanish* Ambassador at the *Hague*, that the *Dutch* had those Inclinations which are mentioned before, "and that *De Wit* would be " glad to confer in private with any Man trusted " by the King, if He might be sure that it should " not be communicated to *France*." Upon all these Probabilities, and the Certainty that no Good could be expected from *France*, his Majesty resolved to embrace all Opportunities to agree with *Holland*; towards which He had a secret Intelligence, to which He gave more Credit than to all the rest, which shall be mentioned hereafter.

There were so many great Transactions during
the

the King's Residence in *Oxford*, besides what was done in the Parliament and what related to the Dismission of the *French* Ambassadors, so many Counsels which were executed, and so many secret Designs only initiated then and not executed till long after, that there cannot be too particular a Recollection of the Occurrences of all that Time. And if some Things are mentioned which seem too light and of too small Importance to have a Place in this Relation, they will be found at last to be the Rise and principal Ingredient to some Counsel and Resolution, which proved afterwards of Consequence enough as well to the Public as to the Interest of particular Persons.

The first Attempt that was made was to make a Breach between the Chancellor and Treasurer, who had been long fast Friends, and were believed to have most Credit with the King; and They who loved neither of them thought the most likely Way to hurt them was to make them love one another less. Several Attempts had been made upon the Chancellor to that Purpose without Effect: He knew the other too well to be shaken in the Esteem He had of his Friendship, and the Knowledge He had of his Virtue.

But there was now an accident fell out, that gave them an Opportunity to suggest to the Treasurer, "that the Chancellor had failed in his Friendship towards him." The Occasion was upon the Vacancy of an Office near the Queen by the Death of Mr. *Mountague*, Master of the Horse to her Majesty, who had been killed before *Bergen*: And the News

An Attempt to break the Friendship between the Chancellor and Treasurer.

The Occasion of it.

arriving with the Duke at *York*, before it was known at *Salisbury* to the King, the Duke and his Wife writ to the King and to the Queen “to confer that Place upon his younger Brother,” who was now become both the eldest and the only Son to his Father, the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton*; and the Gentleman himself, on whose Behalf the Letters were writ, came himself by Post with them within two or three Hours after the News was brought to *Salisbury*, and He brought likewise a Letter from the Duchess to the Chancellor, “to assist the Gentleman all He could in his Pretence,” He at the same Time enjoying the same Office under the Duchess that his Brother had under the Queen.

The Chancellor had never used to interpose in Matters of that Nature, nor had He any Acquaintance with this Gentleman who was now recommended: Yet He could not refuse to wait upon the Queen and show her the Letter He had received, without any Intention to appear farther in it. But when He waited upon the Queen, who had received her Letter before, her Majesty seemed graciously disposed to gratify the Gentleman if the King approved it, but said “that She would make no Choice herself of any Servant without knowing first his Majesty’s Pleasure:” And She added, “that She had been informed, *that the Lord Mountague was very angry with his Son that was unfortunately slain, for having taken that Charge in her Family, and that He never allowed him any Thing towards his Support; and if all other Obstructions were out of the Way, She would not receive him*

“ except She were first assured that his Father would
 “ like and desire it.” Her Majesty vouchsafed to
 with the Chancellor “ to speak with the King, and
 “ as dexte rously as He could to dispose him to re-
 “ commend Mr. *Mountague* to her, as just and rea-
 “ sonable since his Brother had lost his Life in his
 “ Service ”

This Command of her Majesty obliged the Chan-
 cellor to wait upon the King, and to show him the
 Letter He had received from the Duchess; and at
 the same Time the King gave him that which He
 had from the Duke, in which his Highness desired
 him, “ that if that Place was not presently conferred
 “ upon Mr. *Mountague*, his Majesty would not dis-
 “ pose of it till He waited upon him.” The Chan-
 cellor told him, “ that the Queen gave no Answer,
 “ but referred it entirely to his Majesty:” And He
 said, “ He would never recommend any Person to
 “ her but such a one as would be very grateful to
 “ her.” He said, “ it would seem very hard to deny
 “ one Brother to succeed another who was killed
 “ in his Service.” He confessed, “ that the Lord
 “ *Crofts* had moved him on the Behalf of Mr. *Robert*
 “ *Spencer*, of whom He had a good Opinion: But
 “ that He had answered him, *that He would not do*
 “ *any Thing in it till He saw his Brother*; which Re-
 “ solution He would keep.” To which the Chan-
 cellor made no Reply, having in his own private
 Inclinations and Affection much more Kindness for
 Mr. *Spencer*, of whose Pretence He had never re-
 ceived the least Intimation before, than for the other
 with whom He had spoken very few Words in his

Life. He told Mr. *Mountague* no more but that which the King himself had told him, "that He would not dispose of the Place till the Duke should arrive;" only He added what the Queen had said of his Father, and advised him to think of the Way to remove that Obstruction. Whereupon He resolved to make a Journey to his Father, which He knew He might well do before the King and his Brother could meet.

The same Night Mr. *Spencer* came to the Chancellor, and brought him a Letter from the Treasurer (whose Nephew He was, and who was unfortunately gone out of the Town the Day before to a House of his own twenty Miles distant) to recommend his Nephew to the Queen, to whom and to the King He had likewise Letters. The Chancellor gave him an Account of all that had passed, showed him the Letter that He had received from the Duchess, and told him what the Queen and the King had said, and "that it was not possible for him to do him Service, for which He was very sorry;" but advised him "to deliver Both his Letters, and to attend their Majesties, who He was confident had yet taken no Resolution:" With all which He was very well satisfied, and confessed "He could not expect that He should appear for him." When He delivered his Letters to Both their Majesties, He received so gracious an Answer from Both, that He might reasonably expect his Suit to be granted, though the King told him, He would not dispose of the Place till He spake with his Brother. And there is no Doubt but if the Lord Treasurer had been in

the Town when the News first came to the King of Mr. *Mountague's* Death, which was a whole Day before the Arrival of the Duke's Letter, the King or Queen would not have denied him his Request.

Within a short Time after Mr. *Spencer* had left him, the Lord *Crofts*, who had married his Sister, and was governed by the Lord *Arlington*, came to the Chancellor, and desired him "to take Care, out of his Friendship with the Treasurer, that the King might not refuse to gratify him in this Suit for his Nephew, which was the first He had ever made, and if He should be denied it would exceedingly trouble him. That when He spake to the King of it as soon as the News came, and told him, He was sure that the Treasurer would be a Suitor to him for his Nephew, his Majesty did promise him that he should have it; and that Both their Majesties had as good as said the same now to Robert *Spencer*: And therefore if He would now use his Credit, the Thing might be despatched presently and without farther Delay."

The Chancellor asked him, "whether Mr. *Spencer* had informed him of all that had passed between them two;" He said, "Yes; and that He had done all that the Duchess had desired him, in speaking both to the King and Queen, and that his Friendship to the Lord Treasurer should prevail with him to use all his Endeavours for his Nephew." Whereupon the Chancellor showed the Duchess's Letter, and repeated to him again all that He had formerly said to Mr. *Spencer*, and asked him, "what the Duke and his Wife must think of him, if instead of

“ pursuing what They desired, He should solicit
 “ quite contrary to it.” He said, “ that He might
 “ tell them that He was engaged by the Lord Trea-
 “ surer before He received their Letter ;” and then
 talked passionately and indiscreetly “ of the Affront
 “ the Treasurer would think He received if this were
 “ denied him, and that all the World would say,
 “ that He might have compassed it if He had not
 “ failed in his Friendship.” To which He made no
 other Answer, than “ that the doing so base a Thing
 “ as He desired would more probably destroy that
 “ Friendship with a Man so punctual in Honor and
 “ Justice as the Treasurer was, than any Thing that
 “ He had done or should leave undone ;” and advised
 him “ not to make the Buiness worse by his Acti-
 “ vity, and that if He had the King’s and Queen’s
 “ Promise, as He pretended, He might very well
 “ acquiesce till the Duke came.”

However his very great Indiscretion and Presump-
 tion made the Thing much worse, by delivering
 Messages from the King to the Queen and from her
 Majesty to the King that They Both disavowed, and
 by his usual Discourses, “ that it should now appear
 “ who had the most Credit with the King, the Duke
 “ or the Treasurer, and how much the King would
 “ suffer if He disobliged the Treasurer ;” all which
 was quickly transmitted by the Intelligence that was
 every Day sent to *York*. On the other Hand He
 still advised the Treasurer “ to continue his Impor-
 “ tunity to the King and Queen” (a Thing the most
 contrary to his Nature,) and assured him, “ that it
 “ would be grateful to them and was expected by

“ them.” Whereupon as soon as the Treasurer came to the Court, which was not till the King came to *Oxford*, He went to Both their Majesties, and renewed his Suit to them with more Warmth and Concernment than was customary to him, and received such an Answer from Both as very well satisfied him: And without Doubt the King intended to persuade his Brother to desist from pressing him farther on the Behalf of the other, for whom He had no Kindness.

But the Duke, who arrived by Post the very next Day, came in another Temper than was expected. The Intelligence from *Salisbury* of the Contest that was for that Place, and the insolent Behaviour and Expressions used by the Lord *Crofts*, had exceedingly moved him, and He looked upon the Treasurer as engaged to try who had the greatest Power, and as in Opposition to him: So that the same Night that He came to Town, when the King and He were in private, He complained of it with much Warmth; and He besought his Majesty importunately “ that He would declare, that the World might know “ who had most Interest in his Favor, He or the “ Treasurer.” The King was so much put out of the Method He intended to use in this Affair, knowing that the Expressions the Duke had mentioned had been too often used by the Lord *Crofts*, for which He had often reprehended him, that He presently applied that Remedy which He thought most proper, and after Conference with the Queen signed the Warrant for admitting Mr. *Mountague* into the Office, who was sworn the next Morning: So that the first News the Treasurer heard, after Both their

Majesties had the Day before said all to him that He could desire, was, that the Place was already full; which He received with more Commotion than was natural to him, and looked upon it as a designed, contrived Affront to expose him to Contempt. "Why would not the King, if He had changed his Mind after He left him, first send him Word of it, that He might have known his Purpose?"

All this Storm fell presently upon the Chancellor: The Lord *Crofts* assured him, "that it had been done at *Salisbury* if He had not hindered it; that He had been with the Duke before He spake with the King, and given him Advice what Tune He should speak in, which was used accordingly and had prevailed; and that when He came into the Duke's Chamber to kiss his Hand, his Highness turned away and would not speak to him, which must proceed from the Influence of the Chancellor." Whereas in Truth the Chancellor had only seen the Duke in public, and said no more to him than what He said in public, thinking it no good Manners to trouble him with any private Discourse, when He was so weary of his Journey; nor did He know that any Thing was done in that Affair till the Day after it was done, and after it was known to the Treasurer. Upon the whole Matter, how unwilling soever He was to believe that He could be so grossly faulty to him, when He saw the Chancellor next his Countenance was not the same it used to be; which the other taking Notice of asked him, according to his usual Familiarity, "what the Matter was," but He

received such an Answer as made him discern that there was Somewhat amiss: And so He said no more. The other being the same Day with the King, the Duke came into the Room, and in his Looks manifested a Displeasure towards the Treasurer, which confirmed the former Jealousy of the Chancellor; which was improved by the Ladies, who did not like their Lodging, and thought it proceeded from Want of Friendship in him, who had the Power over the University, and might have assigned what Lodgings He pleased to the Treasurer; and He had assigned this, as the best House in the Town for so great a Family, and which their own Servant had desired as the best in the Town, as it was.

When the Chancellor discovered the Ground of this Alteration, He grew out of Humor too, and thought himself unworthily suspected: And so for two or three Days the two Friends came not together. And in that Time the Chancellor had enough to do to inform the Duke, who was not only very much offended with the Treasurer, but thought that He had been, out of his Friendship to the Treasurer, more remiss than He ought to have been in a Business so earnestly recommended by him and his Wife; and the Intelligence from *Salisbury* had made Reflections upon him as much as upon the other. But his Royal Highness willingly received Information of all that had passed, and discerned the foul Carriage of others as well as of the Lord *Crofts*; and was pleased to confess, "that He had done all He ought to do, and that He had been misinformed of the Lord Treasurer's Part in that **Affair,**

“ which had made him think amiss of him, which
 “ He would acknowledge to him next Time He
 “ saw him.”

After this the Chancellor, having a more clear View, upon Conference with the King and the Duke, of this pernicious Design, which in some Degree had compassed its End if there grew a Strangeness between the Treasurer and him, went to him: And They being together without any others, He told him, “ it should not be in his Power to break Friendship
 “ with him to gratify the Humor of other People,
 “ without letting him know what the Matter was,” which He conjured him to impart to him; assuring him, “ that He would find that Nothing was more
 “ impossible than that He could commit a Fault to-
 “ wards him, and that They who wished well to
 “ neither of them had contrived this Separation as
 “ the best Way to hurt them Both.” And when He saw that He did not yet open himself, He told him, “ that He had heard that He had received some
 “ Umbrage in the Pretence of his Nephew, and
 “ therefore He would give him an Account of all
 “ that He knew of it,” which He did exactly; and concluded with a Protestation, “ that He had not
 “ known what had been done at *Oxford* till after He
 “ came from him, when He observed the Change
 “ of his Countenance towards him, of the Cause
 “ of which He could not then make any Conjec-
 “ ture.”

The Treasurer thereupon with his usual Freedom told him, “ that if his Part had been no other than
 “ as He related, He thought himself obliged to give

“ him a Narration of all He had done, and of the
 “ Grounds and Motives He had to think that He
 “ had failed in his Friendship.” And thereupon He
 “ mentioned the Kindness and Esteem He had for
 “ his Nephew, whom He thought in all Respects of
 “ Birth and Breeding at least as worthy of that Re-
 “ lation as the Gentleman who was possessed of it;
 “ and yet that since He was not upon the Place,
 “ He had no Mind to engage himself in the Suit:
 “ And that when his Nephew had given him an
 “ Account what the Chancellor had said to him,”
 which He did with great Ingenuity, “ and He knew
 “ that the Duke of *York* appeared in it for another,
 “ He resolved to prosecute it no farther; until the
 “ Lord *Crofts* with all Confidence assured him, *that*
 “ *the King had promised him to confer the Place upon*
 “ *Robert Spencer, and that Both their Majesties ex-*
 “ *pected that He should make it his Suit, to the End*
 “ *that They might thereby decline the Importunity that*
 “ *He expected from his Brother* ” He told him of
 some Expressions He had used to the King in that
 Affair, which the King himself had reported; and
 “ that when He took his Leave of the Queen to go
 “ to *Oxford*” (which was the next Day after Mr.
Mountague came from *York*). “ He dissuaded her
 “ Majesty from receiving Mr. *Spencer*, alledging
 “ some Reasons against it, which a Lady who was
 “ near overheard, and informed the Person of it
 “ who acquainted him with it: All which, with the
 “ King’s and Queen’s so ample Promises to him so
 “ few Hours before the conferring the Place upon
 “ another, and the Duke of *York*’s Manner of recei

“ving him after He had been shut up with him, as
 “He was informed, might very well excuse him for
 “thinking He had some Share in the Affront He
 “had undergone.”

To which the other replied, “that if indeed He
 “did believe all that He had been told, He could
 “not but think so; but,” He said, “He thought
 “He had known him better than to give Credit to
 “such Reports, which must make him a Fool and
 “a Knave: That for the Words He should have
 “used to the King or the Queen, there had Nothing
 “passed like it to either of them, but that they were
 “purely devised out of Malice; which should be
 “manifest unto him, for He would not speak a
 “Word of it to the King till They were Both with
 “him together, and then He would ask before him
 “what his Carriage had been, and by his Majesty’s
 “sudden Answer He might judge of the Report.”
 He told him then, “how much He had suffered
 “with the Duke, and what excellent Stories had
 “been made to his Royal Highness of Both of them,
 “and of the good Part the Lord *Crofts* had acted, of
 “which He was not without some Evidence.” After
 this *Eclaircissement*, of the Sincerity whereof every
 Day administered new Testimony, They Both re-
 turned to their mutual Confidence in each other:
 And They who had contrived this former Device
 entered into a new Confederacy, how They might
 first remove the Treasurer, which would facilitate
 the pulling the Chancellor down; of which anon.

The Duke
 consults the

Within a short Time after the Duke returned out
 of *Yorkshire*, his Highness told the Chancellor in

Confidence, " that he had two Suits which He in-
 " tended to make to the King, and with which He
 " first acquainted him that He might have his Assist-
 " ance in the obtaining them. The first was, in
 " which He and his Wife were equally engaged, to
 " prevail with the King to make Sir *George Savile* a
 " Viscount." He said, " He knew well the Resolu-
 " tion the King had taken, to which He had con-
 " tributed his Advice, to make no more Lords:
 " But that He hoped in this particular Case his Ma-
 " jesty would upon his Desire dispense with a gene-
 " ral Rule. That Sir *George* had one of the best
 " Fortunes of any Man in *England*, and lived the
 " most like a great Man; that He had been very
 " civil to him and his Wife in the *North*, and treated
 " them at his House in a very splendid Manner;
 " and that He was engaged to prevail with the King
 " in this Point, or to confess He had no Power,
 " which He Hoped He should not be without in
 " this Matter;" and asked his Opinion.

Chancellor
 about making
 two Suits to
 the King.

The Chancellor in his usual Freedom, which He
 always took when He was to deliver his Advice to
 the King or Duke, said " that He could not advise
 " his Highness to move the King in it; for besides
 " that He knew the King's positive Determination,
 " the Departure from which might be of ill Conse-
 " quence, Sir *George Savile* was a Man of a very ill
 " Reputation amongst Men of Piety and Religion,
 " and was looked upon as void of all Sense of Reli-
 " gion, even to the doubting if not denying that
 " there is a God, and that He was not reserved in
 " any Company to publish his Opinions: Which

“ made him believe that it would neither be for his
 “ Highness’s Honor to propose it, nor for the King’s
 “ to grant it, in a Time when all Licence in Dis-
 “ course and in Actions was spread over the King-
 “ dom, to the Heart-breaking of very many good
 “ Men, who had terrible Apprehensions of the Con-
 “ sequence of it.” The Duke was not at all pleased
 with his Discourse, and said, “ He was resolved to
 “ use all his Credit with the King to compass it, and
 “ that He hoped that whatever He thought He
 “ would not oppose it.”

The other Particular was, “ that He would move
 “ the King to make Mr. *Coventry* his Secretary a
 “ Privy-Counsellor,” and asked him “ what He
 “ thought of that.” To which He answered, “ that
 “ his Opinion in that Point would please him no
 “ better than in the former. That He did not think
 “ it fit to be asked : And if the King his Brother
 “ were inclined to be jealous of him, as some had
 “ endeavoured to persuade him, such an Instance as
 “ this would very much confirm it ; for never any
 “ Prince of *Wales* had a Servant of the highest Degree
 “ about him called to the Council, till his Father
 “ called the Earl of *Newcastle*, who was the Prince’s
 “ Governor, to the Board, which was not till upon
 “ the Approach of the Troubles He discerned that
 “ He should employ him in another Charge. That
 “ the Members of that Board had been always those
 “ great Officers of State, and other Officers, who
 “ in Respect of the Places They held had a Title
 “ to sit there, and of such few others who, having
 “ great Titles and Fortunes and Interest in the King-

“ dom, were an Ornament to the Table. That there
 “ were at present too many already, and the Number
 “ lessened the Dignity of the Relation: That his
 “ Highness had already brought the Lord *Berkeley*
 “ thither, who had no Manner of Title to be there
 “ but his Dependance upon him; and now to bring
 “ in his Secretary, for no other Reason but for being
 “ his Secretary, might be thought an Encroach-
 “ ment, and be misinterpreted by the King.” He
 added, “ that his wrangling, litigious Nature would
 “ give the Board much Trouble; and that He knew
 “ him to be so much his particular Enemy, that He
 “ would watch all the Opportunities to do him all
 “ possible ill Offices to the King and to his Royal
 “ Highness.”

The Duke replied only to the last, and said, “ He
 “ perceived Somebody had done *Will. Coventry* ill
 “ Offices, which He knew to be unjust and false:
 “ And that He could assure him upon his own
 “ Knowledge, that He had a great Respect for him,
 “ and desired his Favor; and that He would pass
 “ his Word for him, that He would never do any
 “ Thing to disserve him, which if He should do
 “ He should for ever lose his Favor, which He knew
 “ well.” And no Doubt the Duke did believe all
 He said, for He had a perfect Kindness for the Chan-
 cellor; and when He did not comply with what He
 wished, He knew that it was out of the Integrity
 of his Judgment, and his strict Duty to the King
 and himself, and that He had never flattered or
 dissembled with either of them. And Mr. *Coventry*
 had Skill enough to persuade him to believe what

He desired should be true, though there were in the wiew of all Men frequent Instances of the contrary, and of the Absence of all Ingenuity and Sincerity in his Actions.

The Duke moves the King to make Sir George Savile a Viscount.

Within very few Days after this Conference, and when the Duchess had made new Instance with her Father in the Case of Sir *George Savile*, and with more Importunity than the Duke, and appeared more concerned and troubled that He should not be more forward to comply with the Duke's Desires (but the Chancellor, who always with the Respect that was due to her Quality preserved the Dignity of a Father very entire, would give no other Answer than He had done to the Duke, and advised her to dissuade him from making the Request to the King); his Highness one Day desired the King that He would retire into his Closet, and call the Chancellor to him: And when They three were together in the Room, after a short Discourse of Letters which He had received from the Earl of *Sandwich*, which there will be Occasion anon to mention at large, the Duke told the King, "He had an humble Suit to his Majesty;" and then spake much of the great Interest that Sir *George Savile* had in the Northern Parts, of the Greatness of his Estate, and his orderly and splendid Way of Living, and concluded with his Desire "that his Majesty would make him an *English* Viscount." Upon which the King presently put him in Mind "of the Resolution He had formerly made in that Room, and He thought upon his own Motion, but He was sure it had been with his Concurrence and Approbation."

The

The Duke replied, “that He remembered it very well, and though He should do well still in the general to observe it: Yet it was in those Cases always supposed, that an extraordinary Case might fall out, that might produce an Exception; and He did most humbly beseech his Majesty, that He would upon his very earnest Interposition, from which Nobody could make a Precedent, dispense with the Rule.” He did confess, “that He was so confident of his Majesty’s Favor, that He had given Sir *George Savile* Cause to believe that He would prevail in that Suit; which if He should not do, He must be thought either not to have intended what He promised, or to have no Credit with his Majesty, neither of which would be for his Honor.”

The King replied roundly, and with more Presence of Mind than He had always about him, “that it was absolutely necessary to be very precise in the Observation of the Rule, which if He should once break, a World of Inconveniences would break in upon him, which He could not defend himself against.” He named two or three Persons who were very solicitous for Honors, and had several Pretences to it, and his Majesty had only been able to resist and evade their Importunity, by objecting this declared Resolution to them. The plain Truth is; He had made some Promise (a Weakness He was too often liable to) to those Persons or to their Friends, “that when He should make any new Creations They should be sure to be in the Number:” Nor did He apprehend any Inconvenience from

Which the King will not consent to.

redeeming himself from the present Importunity, which was still grievous to him, since He had resolved to make no new Creation. And this was the true Reason that made him now so inexorable to his Brother, who was very much troubled, and declined to move any Thing else in so unlucky a Season, not without some Apprehension, from the King's quicker Way of Discourse, that He had been prepared for it by the Chancellor, who though present had not spoke one Word in the Debate, nor indeed ever informed the King of the Conference his Highness had formerly held with him upon that Subject, nor ever spoken to him concerning it.

However in this Perplexity as the Duke thought it necessary to inform Mr. *Coventry*, who had principally advanced this Pretence, all that had passed before the King, that his Nephew (for so Sir *George Savile* was) might see He could make no farther Progress in it; so in the Passion He unwarily told him all that had passed in the former Conference with the Chancellor, which He took Care should not be concealed from any who were like to be willing to revenge it. And the Duke, to show how willing He was to oblige the Family, immediately received a younger Brother of Sir *George Savile*, whom He had only seen in the *North*, to wait upon him in his Bedchamber; who being a young Men of Wit, and incredible Confidence and Presumption, omitted no Occasion to vent his Malice against the Chancellor, with a Licence that in former Times would have been very penal, though it had concerned a Person of a much inferior Quality in the State.

Within a short Time after, the King told the Chancellor, "that his Brother had desired him that his Secretary Mr. *Coventry* might be admitted of the Privy-Council, which He could not deny, but had promised it should be done at the next Meeting;" which was accordingly done, and He knighted: And quickly after, upon the like Desire of the Duke, He was called to that Committee with which his Majesty used to consult his most secret Affairs. And from this Time there was an Alteration in the whole Carriage and Debate of all Manner of Business: And as the Chancellor had found his own Credit with the King much diminished from the Time of the Lord *Arlington's* being Secretary; so a greater Decrease of it was now visible to all Men from the Access of this new Counsellor.

Mr William Coventry admitted of the Privy-Council and the private Committee.

The Lord *Arlington* had not the Gift of speaking nor of a quick Conception, and so rarely contradicted any Thing in Council: His Talent was in private, where He frequently procured, very inconveniently, Changes and Alterations from public Determinations. But Sir *William Coventry* (between whom and the other there was an entire Conjunction and Combination) was a Man of quick Parts and a ready Speaker, unrestrained by any Modesty or Submission to the Age, Experience or Dignity of other Men, equally censorious of what had been done before He was a Counsellor, as solicitous in Contradiction of whatsoever was proposed afterwards: Infomuch as the very first Time that He was admitted to the private Committee, the Debate being about providing Money to be paid at a Day

approaching to the Bishop of *Munster* according to the King's Obligation, He said, " We had Need
 " enough of Money for our own immediate Occa-
 " sions; and that We ought not to assign any to
 " the Advancement of the Affairs of other Men."
 Whereupon He was informed " of the Treaty the
 " King had entered into, and that the Bishop was at
 " that Time upon his March, which was by every
 " Body looked upon as of great Importance to his
 " Majesty:" To which He answered, " that he had
 " heard Somewhat of it how secretly soever it had
 " been carried, and that He had never liked it from
 " the Beginning, nor would give his Consent that
 " any more Money should be paid towards it;"
 which the King himself looked upon as a rare Im-
 pudence.

Where He
 constantly op-
 posed the
 Chancellor
 and Treas-
 urer.

His great Ambition was to be taken Notice of for opposing and contradicting whatsoever was proposed or said by the Chancellor or Treasurer, towards whom all other Counsellors, how little soever They cared for their Persons, had ever paid Respect in Regard of their Offices. He was a declared Enemy to all Lawyers, and to the Law itself; and any Thing passed under the great Seal of *England* was of no more Authority with him, than if it were the Scroll of a Scrivener. He had no Principles in Religion or State, of one Mind this Day and another To-morrow, and always very uneasy to those who were obliged to consult with him; whose Pride and Insolence will administer frequent Occasions of Mention throughout the ensuing Relation.

Success of the
 Fleet after the

The King had not been many Days in *Oxford*,

when News arrived that the Earl of *Sandwich* had been engaged in some Conflict with the *Dutch* Fleet; of the Particulars whereof there was a general Longing to be advertised. The Truth was, that whilst the Earl rode, after the Business of *Bergen*, as near that Coast as was safe, in Expectation of the *Dutch* Fleet, the Winds, which are always tempestuous in that Season of the Year, *September*, made it absolutely necessary for him to remove with his whole Fleet to the Coast of *Scotland*, where there were Harbours enough for him to ride safe; and in this Interval of Time *De Ruyter* was passed by towards that of *Norway*. The News of their *Indian* Fleet having been attacked by the *English* in *Bergen* and the Letters of some of their Officers, which implied as if They were not satisfied in the Security of the Port and of the Fidelity of the Governor, produced a wonderful Consternation in *Holland*; and if They should be deprived of that Wealth, the very Company of the *East Indies* would be in Danger of being dissolved.

The Fleet was ready to set Sail under the Command of *De Ruyter* well fitted and manned: But there were still many Factions amongst the Captains and other Officers, that might upon any Accidents produce many Mischiefs; for the better Prevention whereof, the Pensionary *De Wit* was willing to venture his own Person, believing himself to be as secure any where as on Shore, if any Misfortune should befall the Fleet. And so He was by a special Commission made Plenipotentiary, with an ample Allowance for his Table, and a Guard of Halberdiers

for the Safety of his Person, with a good Train of Volunteers: And so He put himself on Board the Ship of *De Ruyter*, who received Orders from him.

Lord Sandwich not able to come to an Engagement with *De Ruyter*.

The Earl of *Sandwich*, after He had received Advertisements of the *Dutch Fleet's* being passed by for *Norway*, took all the Care He could to put himself and his Fleet in the Way of their Return. They made a short Stay on the Coast of *Norway*, where upon good Consideration their Ships were dismissed, and loud Clamor raised against the Hostility of the *English*. And notwithstanding all the Vigilance the Earl could use, the Darkeness and Length of the Nights so favored them, that He could not engage their whole Fleet as He endeavoured to do: Yet He had the good Fortune in two Encounters to take eight of their great Ships of War, two of their best *East-India* Ships, and about twenty of their other Merchant-Ships, which were all under the Protection of their Fleet, or ought to have been. After which He was by Tempest driven to put the Fleet into Security in the *English* Harbours, it being already the Month of *October*.

But takes many of his Ships in their Flight.

It was a fair Booty, and came very opportunely to supply the present Necessities of the Navy, and to provide for the setting out of the next Fleet at Spring, and was in Truth gotten with very good Conduct, and without any considerable Damage: But it being much less than was expected (for whatsoever was upon the Sea was looked upon as our own), the News no sooner arrived at *Oxford*, but Intelligence came with it of many Oversights which had been committed and Opportunities lost, otherwise it had been

easy to have taken the whole Fleet; and that it might have been pursued farther when it was in View, after those *East-India* Ships were taken, which were indeed surpris'd and boarded at the Break of Day, when They thought themselves in the Middle of their own Fleet. And it is as true that the Earl did then pursue to engage the Fleet, till They were got so near the *French* Shore, that the Wind blowing in to the Land, it was by all the Flag-Officers thought absolutely necessary to give over the Chase.

Sir *William Coventry*, who had never paid a Civility to any worthy Man but as it was a Disobligation to another whom He cared less for, and so had only contributed to the Preferment of the Earl of *Sandwich* in the last Expedition that He might cross Prince *Rupert*, received much Intelligence from several Officers in the Fleet, which He scattered abroad to the Prejudice of the Earl, and was willing that it should be believed that He had been too wary in avoiding Danger. But the King and the Duke were very just to the Earl, and discountenanced all those Reports as Scandals and Calumnies: And the Duke, who had seen his Behaviour in the most dangerous Action, gave him a loud Testimony “ of a prudent “ and brave Commander, and as forward and bold “ in the Face of Danger as the Occasion required “ or Discretion permitted.” And his Highness undertook “ that He had in all this Expedition done “ what a Man of Honor was obliged to do,” and was abundantly satisfied (as his Majesty likewise was) with the rich Prizes He had brought home, which had caused equal Lamentation in *Holland*, and

Sir W. Coventry's unjust Reflections upon him.

almost broke the Heart of *De Wit* himself. But what Success soever the Earl had at Sea, it was his Misfortune to do an unadvised Action when He came into the Harbour, that lessened the King's own Esteem of him, and to a great Degree irreconciled the Duke to him, and gave Opportunity to his Enemies to do him much Prejudice.

An imprudent
Action of the
Earl of Sand-
wich after his
Return.

It was a constant and a known Rule in the Admiralty, that of any Ship that is taken from the Enemy Bulk is not to be broken, till it be brought into the Port and adjudged lawful Prize. It seems that when the Fleet returned to the Harbour, the Flag Officers petitioned or moved the Earl of *Sandwich*, "in Regard of their having continued all the
" Summer upon the Seas with great Fatigue, and
" been engaged in many Actions of Danger, that
" He would distribute amongst them some Reward
" out of the *Indian* Ships;" which He thought reasonable, and inclined to satisfy them, and writ a Letter to the Vice-Chamberlain to inform the King of it, and "that He thought it fit to be done;" to which the Vice-Chamberlain, having showed the Letter to the King, returned his Majesty's Approbation. But before the Answer came to his Hand He had executed the Design, and distributed as much of the coarser Goods to the Flag-Officers, as by Estimation was valued to be one thousand Pounds to each Officer, and took to the Value of two thousand Pounds for himself. This suddenly made such a Noise and Outcry, as if all the *Indian* and other Merchant Ships had been plundered by the Seamen: And They again cried out as much, that no Care was

taken of them, but all given to the Flag-Officers; which the other Captains thought to be an Injury to them.

The General (who had Nothing like Kindness for the Earl of *Sandwich*, whose Service He thought had been too much considered and recompensed by the King at his Arrival) had Notice of it before it came to *Oxford*; and according to his universal Care (which was afterwards found to proceed from private Animosity) sent Orders to all the Port-Towns to seize upon Goods which were brought in Shallops from the Fleet; and gave Advertisement to *Oxford* of the extraordinary ill Consequence of that Action, and “ that it would spoil the Sale of all that remained of those Ships, since the *East India* Company, which probably would have been the best Chapmen, would not now be forward to buy, since so much was disposed of already to other Hands as would spoil their Market ” And by this Time the Earl himself had given an Account of all that had been done, and the Motives, to the Duke. The King was justly displeas'd for the Expedition He had us'd, “ why had his Approbation been desired, when He resolv'd to do the Thing before He could receive an Answer? ” yet was glad that He had done so, because He would have been more excusable if He had received it.

Which the General represents in the worst Light.

The King offended with the Earl.

But the Duke, who had been constantly kind to the Earl, was offended in the highest Degree, and thought himself injured and affronted beyond any Precedent. “ This most unjustifiable Action could proceed only from two Fountains: The one of

The Duke incensed against him.

“ extreme Vanity and Ambition, to make himself
 “ popular amongst the Officers of the Fleet, who
 “ ought not to have been gratified by him at the
 “ King’s Charge. When any such Bounty should be
 “ seasonable, it was the Duke’s Province to have
 “ been the Author, and the Conduit to have con-
 “ veyed it: He had himself been an Eyewitness of
 “ their Behaviour in the greatest Action; and for the
 “ Earl to assume the rewarding them by his own
 “ Authority was to defraud and rob him of his
 “ proper Right and Jurisdiction.” And He looked
 upon his having desired the King’s Allowance by
 the Vice-Chamberlain, as a Trick and an Aggra-
 vation; for He ought to have asked his Advice as
 his superior Officer: And the poor Vice-Chamberlain
 underwent his Share in the Reproach, for having
 presumed to move the King in a Particular that, if
 it was to be moved at all, had been to be moved by
 the Duke. “ The other Fountain which might pro-
 “ duce this Presumption might be Avarice,” which
 was the sole Blemish (though it never appeared in
 any gross Instance) that seemed to cloud many noble
 Virtues in that Earl, who now became a very preg-
 nant Evidence of the irresistible Strength and Power
 of Envy; which though it feeds on its own Poison,
 and is naturally more grievous to the Person who
 harbours it than to him that is maligned, yet when it
 finds a Subject it can effectually work upon, it is
 more insatiable in Revenge than any Passion the
 Soul is liable unto.

The Character
 of the Earl of
 Sandwich.

He was a Gentleman of so excellent a Temper and
 Behaviour that He could make himself no Enemies;

of so many good Qualities, and so easy to live with, that He marvellously reconciled the Minds of all Men to him, who had not Intimacy enough with him to admire his other Parts: Yet was in the general Inclinations of Men upon some Disadvantage. They who had constantly followed the King whilst He as constantly adhered to *Cromwell*, and knew not how early He had entertained Repentance, and with what Hazards and Dangers He had manifested it, did believe the King had been too prodigal in heaping so many Honors upon him. And They who had been familiar with him and of the same Party, and thought They had been as active as He in contributing to the Revolution, considered him with some Anger, as one who had better Luck than They without more Merit, and who had made early Conditions: When in Truth no Man in the Kingdom had been less guilty of that Address; nor did He ever contribute to any Advancement to which He arrived, by the least Intimation or Insinuation that He wished it, or that it would be acceptable to him. Yet upon this Blast the Winds rose from all Quarters, Reproaches of all Sorts were cast upon him, and all Affronts contrived for him.

He is very
injuriously
treated.

The Earl had conveyed that Part of the Goods which He had assigned to himself in a Shallop to *Lynn*, from whence it could pass by Water to his own House. An Officer in that Port seized upon it by Virtue of the General's Warrant, and would cause it presently to be unladen, which He began to do. But the Servants of the Earl appealed to the other Officers in equal Authority, to whom They brought

a Letter with them from the Earl of *Sandwich*, in which He owned all those Goods to be his (amongst which were his Bedding and Furniture for his Cabin, and all his Plate and other Things suitable), and likewise a Note of all the other Goods which might be liable to pay Custom; and desired them “to send one of their Searchers with the Boat to his House, where He should receive all their Dues, without being unladen in the Port;” which, besides the Delay, would be liable to many Inconveniences. The Officer who had first arrested it, and who had Dependance upon a great Man of the Country, who was not unwilling that any Affront should be put upon the Earl, roughly refused to suffer it to pass without being first unladen; but being over-ruled by the other Officers, vented his Anger in very unmannerly Language against the Earl: Of all which He, being advertised by his Servants, sent a Complaint to the Lords of the Council, and desired “the Fellow might be sent for and punished;” which could not be refused, though it proved troublesome in the Inquiry. For the Officer, who was a Gentleman of a fair Behaviour and good Repute, denied all those Words which carried in them the worst Interpretation; but justified the Action, and produced the General’s Warrant, which had unusual Expressions, and apparent enough to have a particular and not a general Intention.

The General had quick Advertisement of it, and writ very passionately from *London*, “that an Officer should be sent for without having committed any other Offence than in obeying and executing a

“ Warrant of his :” And the other great Man, who was of great Importance to the King’s Service and in the highest Trust in that Country, writ several Letters “ how impossible it would be to carry on the “ King’s Service in that Country, if that Officer “ should be punished for doing that, when He ought “ to be punished if He had not done it ;” and therefore desired, “ that He might be repaired by them “ who had caused him to be sent for.”

Sir *William Coventry* had now full Sea-Room to give Vent to all his Passions, and to incense the Duke, who was enough offended without such Contributions : “ If this proceeded from Covetousness, “ it was not probable that it would be satisfied with “ so little ; and therefore it was probable, that “ though the Officers might not have received above “ the Value of one thousand Pounds,” which was assigned to each, “ yet himself would not be contented with so little as two thousand ; and They “ might therefore well conceive that He had taken “ much more, which ought to be examined with “ the greatest Strictness.” There had been Nothing said before of not taking Advantage enough upon the Enemy in all Occasions which had been offered, and of not pursuing them far enough, which was not now renewed, with Advice “ that He might be “ presently sent for ;” though it was known that, as soon as He could put the Ships into the Ports to which they were designed, He would come to *Oxford*. And there were great underhand Endeavours, that the House of Commons might be inflamed with this Miscarriage and Misdemeanor, and present it as a

Complaint to the House of Peers, as fit to be examined and brought to Judgment before that Tribunal. And They, who with all the Malice imaginable did endeavour in vain to kindle this Fire, persuaded the King and the Duke, "that by their sole Activity, and Interest it was prevented for that Time, because the Session was too short, and that all necessary Evidence could not be soon produced at *Oxford*; but that, as soon as the Plague should cease to such a Degree in *London* that the Parliament might assemble there, it would be impossible to restrain the House of Commons from pursuing that Complaint," of which Nobody thought but themselves and They who were provoked by them.

He fully clears himself of the Charge of Misconduct at Sea.

The Earl of *Sandwich* had so good Intelligence from *Oxford*, that He knew all that was said of him, and began to believe that He had done unadvisedly in administering Occasion of speaking ill to those who greedily sought for it: And as soon as his Absence from the Fleet could be dispensed with, He made Haste to *Oxford*, and gave so full an Account of every Day's Action, from the Time that He went to Sea to the Day of his Return, and of his having never done any Thing of Importance, nor having left any Thing undone, but with and by the Advice of the Council of War, upon the Orders He had received, that both the King and the Duke could not but absolve him from all the Imputations of Negligence or Inadvertency.

And makes an ingenuous Acknowledgment of his Imprudence.

But for the breaking Bulk and the Circumstances that attended it, They declared They were unsatisfied. And He confessed "that He had been much

" to blame," and asked Pardon, and with such Ex-
 cuses as He thought might in some Degree plead for
 him. He protested, " it seemed to him to have had
 " some Necessity: That the whole Fleet was in a
 " general Indisposition, and complained that for all
 " that Summer-Action" (which indeed had been full
 of Merit) " They had Nothing given to them, not
 " without some muttering that They would have
 " Somewhat out of those *India* Ships before They
 " would part with them; insomuch as He had a real
 " Apprehension that They had a Purpose to plunder
 " them. And He should have feared more, if He
 " had not complied with the Flag-Officers Importu-
 " nity: And thereupon He consented that They
 " should have each of them the Value of one thou-
 " sand Pounds, and which He was most confident
 " the Goods which had been delivered to them did
 " not exceed." He confessed " He had not enough
 " considered the Consequence, and that They who
 " had not received any Donative would be more
 " displeas'd, than They who had it were satisfi'd
 " with it; which He acknowledged was the Case:
 " That He was heartily sorry for permitting any such
 " Thing to be done, and more for having taken any
 " himself, and humbly asked Pardon for Both; and
 " desired that his own Part, which remained entire,
 " might be restor'd to the Ship from whence it had
 " been taken, which He would cause to be done."

A more ingenuous Acknowledgment could not
 be made: And They who could not but observe
 many Persons every Day excus'd for more enor-
 mous Transgressions, did hope that He, who had
 so few Faults to answer for, would have been

With which
the King is
satisfied.

absolved for that Trespafs. And the King himself used him very graciously, and so did the Duke; and He was sent back to the Fleet, to give Order for the sending out a Winter-Guard and ordering all other maritime Affairs, and for the sending up the *India* Ships into the River, with great Care that none of the Seamen should go on Shore, where the Plague still raged little if at all less than it had done in the Summer: And so He himself and most other Men believed and were glad, that an ill Business was so well composed. But Sir *William* did not intend that it should end there

The East-India
Prizes sold for
the Service of
the War.

The present Business, that must admit no Interruption, was the raising what Money might be to supply the present Necessities of the Fleet, to pay the Seamen, and to make all Preparations to set out the Fleet against the Spring, when the *French* Ships would be infallibly ready to join with the *Dutch*; and the Money that was given by the Parliament would not be paid till long after; and the Affairs of the Bankers were in such Disorder by the Death of Servants, and the Plague having been in some of their Houses, that the usual Course of advancing Moneys by Assignations could not be depended upon. The General had written to the Lord Treasurer, "that He thought that there could not be so good Chapmen for those Ships as the *East-India* Company, some whereof had been with him to know the King's Pleasure; and if Authority were granted to any Man to treat upon that Affair, They would send for Members enough of their Company, who were dispersed in the Country,

to

“ to be present at a Court, which would authorize a
 “ Committee to treat and contract with them : ” And
 He said, “ that He was confident that Half the Mo-
 “ ney would be paid upon the making the Bargain.”
 The King was no sooner advertised of this Overture;
 than He sent Sir *George Carteret* and Mr. *Ashburnham*
 to *London* to confer with the General and to be advi-
 sed by him, and granted Authority to them three to
 sell those two Prizes to those who would give most.
 And They found no Overtures to be so advantage-
 ous as those which were made by that Company:
 And yet They made so much Use of the Advantage
 of the Time, when all Men of notorious Wealth
 were out of the Town, that They thought not fit to
 make any Agreement till They gave the King an
 Account of the whole Transaction, with their Opini-
 ons upon Conference with other Men of Business;
 and to that Purpose the two Persons who had been
 sent to the General returned safe to *Oxford*.

It hath been mentioned before, that it was thought
 a great Presumption in any Body to presume to inter-
 pose in the maritime Affairs, which was interpreted
 to be an Invasion of the Duke's peculiar Province;
 and by this Means the Credit of Sir *William Coventry*
 was so absolute, that the Disposal of all was in his
 Power. He had persuaded the Duke, and the Lord
Arlington who was in firm Conjunction with him
 had prevailed with the King to believe, “ that the
 “ House of Commons was so incensed against the
 “ Lord *Sandwich* for his late Presumption, that it
 “ would not be possible to hinder them in their next
 “ assembling ” (which was appointed or resolved to

The King pers-
 suaded to re-
 move Lord
Sandwich
 from the Com-
 mand of the
 Fleet.

“ be in *April*, if it pleased God to extinguish the
 “ Sickneſs) “ from falling very feverely upon the Earl
 “ of *Sandwich*, which would be a very great Diſho-
 “ nor to the King if He were at that Time in the
 “ Command of the Fleet; and that there was no
 “ Way to preſerve him ” (for that was their Method
 when They had a Mind to ruin a Man, to pretend a
 great Care that He might not be undone) “ but by
 “ diſmiſſing him from that Charge, which probably
 “ might preſerve him from being further queſtioned,
 “ ſince it would be interpreted a Punishment in-
 “ flicted on him by the King for his Crime, and ſo
 “ might ſtop him from being further proſecuted for
 “ the ſame Offence.” To which They added, “ that
 “ it would be neceſſary in another Reſpect; for that
 “ many of the Officers as well as common Seamen
 “ had opened their Mouths very wide againſt him,
 “ eſpecially after it was generally known that the
 “ King and the Duke were offended with him, and
 “ had not been at all reſerved in charging him with
 “ ſeveral Reproaches: And that if the ſame Com-
 “ mand were ſtill continued in him, it could not be
 “ preſumed that thoſe Men would ever put them-
 “ ſelves under his Command whom They had ſo
 “ much provoked.”

Theſe Arguments urged by Men who were not
 known; at leaſt by the King and Duke, to be his
 Enemies, and one of them thought to be (and in
 Truth was but for his Conjunction with the other)
 his Friend, and to wiſh him very well, prevailed
 upon the Judgments of Both of them; inſomuch as
 They reſolved to confer with the Chancellor, whom

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. 51

They knew to be much the Earl's Friend. And They Both expressed " very much Kindness to and Confidence in the Affection and Integrity and Courage of the Earl of *Sandwich* , though He was to be blamed for his late Indiscretion , and a Resolution with their utmost Power to defend him from undergoing any Disgrace by it : But that it would contribute most to his preservation, that He quitted the Employment, and that some other Persons should be sent to command the next Fleet in the Spring. For if He should again go to Sea, and the Parliament should press to have him sent for to answer what They had to object against him, his Majesty must either refuse to consent to it, which would make a Breach with his Parliament, or by consenting disorder his maritime Affairs to that Degree, that the Enemy could not but take very great Advantage of it." Therefore They commanded the Chancellor to confer with him and discourse the whole Matter to him, to assure him of the King's and Duke's Favor, and that They were in this Particular moved only by their Tenderness to him; and that some Expedient should be first found out to remove him with Honor before any Notice should be taken of the Purpose to remove him, and before any other Person should be deputed to the Command; and that He himself should either propose the Expedient, if any such occurred to him that would be grateful, or judge of any that should be proposed to him. "

The Chancellor did presume to declare, " that He thought that They were persuaded to apprehend

The King resolves to dismiss him with Honor.

The Chancellor against removing him.

“ Somewhat that could not fall out. That He would
 “ not take upon him to excuse the Earl of *Sandwich*
 “ for any Offence He had committed: If it were of
 “ that Magnitude that his Majesty thought fit to
 “ move him from his Command, Nobody could
 “ confute it; and it may be in a Time of so much
 “ Licence the Severity might be thought seasonable.
 “ But the Apprehension that the Parliament would
 “ take more Notice of what the Earl had done, than
 “ They would of any other Breach of Order that
 “ was every Day committed, was without any just
 “ Reason.” But that Argument was presently silenced by their undertaking to know Somewhat that the other could not do, and that there was no other Way to preserve him but that which was proposed.

An Account of
 Sir Richard
 Fanshaw's
 Embassy in
 Spain.

There was at that Time an Opportunity in View, that might give the Earl of *Sandwich* an Employment very worthy of him, and which no Man could imagine would be assigned to any Man who was in Disgrace. Sir *Richard Fanshaw* who was a Gentleman very well known and very well beloved, had been first Ambassador in *Portugal*, and had behaved himself so well there, that when He returned from thence He was recommended, and upon the Matter desired, by that Crown to be sent to *Spain*, as the fittest Person to mediate in the King's Name between *Spain* and *Portugal*; and the King had before designed to send him Ambassador into *Spain*, as well to settle a Treaty between *England* and *Spain* (for there was none yet), as to do all the Offices between those other Crowns which were requisite to the End aforesaid. No Man

knew that Court better or was so well versed in the Language, having lived many Years before in that Court in much better Times. He had remained now about two Years, with such frequent Mortifications as Ministers use to meet with in Courts irresolute and perplexed in their own Affairs, as the Counsels of *Madrid* were in the last Years of the King, as his Indisposition increased or by relaxing administered some Hope. He had made a Journey to *Lisbon* upon the earnest Desire of *Spain*, and returned without Effect. The Peace was equally desired and equally necessary to Both Nations: But the *Portugal* was unmoveable in the Conditions of it, preferring the Worst that could fall out, even the abandoning their Country, rather than to be without the Sovereignty of it; and the *Spaniard* as positive not to part with their Title, though They had no Hope of their Subjection. Nor did *Spain* appear solicitous to conclude any Treaty with *England*, except either *Portugal* might be comprehended in it or abandoned by it.

On a sudden, when the Recovery of the King grew more desperate (which is never a Thing notoriously known in that Court), a Project for a Treaty was sent to the Ambassador, containing more Advantages in Trade to the Nation (which are the most important Matters in all those Treaties), and insisting upon fewer inconvenient Conditions, than had ever been in any former Treaties; without any Mention of *Tangier* or *Jamaica*, which had hitherto in the Entrance into any Treaty since the King's Return made the Progress impossible: Only it was

urged, " that it might either be presently accepted
" and signed by the Ambassador, with a Covenant
" that it should be confirmed by the King within so
" many Days after it should be presented to him, or
" else that there should be no more Mention or
" Discourse of it."

The Ambassador, surpris'd with this Overture, compared what was offer'd with what He was to demand by his Instructions; and what was defective in those Particulars. He added to the Articles presented to him, with such Additions as upon his own Observation and Conference with the Merchants occurred to him, or which seem'd probable to be granted from Somewhat themselves had offer'd more than had been demanded by him. These Alterations and Amendments were approved and consented to, and quickly return'd engross'd and signed by the King, on Condition to be presently signed by him, with the Undertaking that is formerly mention'd. It had been wisely done by the Ambassador, and no more than his Duty, if He had first acquainted his Master or the Ministers with all that had pass'd, and expected a particular Order before He had signed it. But that being expressly refus'd, without concealing the Reason or the King's Weakness, " which" They declared " might make such an Alteration in Coun-
" sels, that if it were not done in his Life-Time
" They knew not what might happen after:" This was thought as good an Argument by him for the Despatch as it was to them; and that if He should not make Use of this Conjunction, there would never be the like advantageous Treaty offer'd again.

Hereupon He presently signed the Treaty, with some secret Article which was not to the Advantage of *Portugal*, otherwise than that He concluded, by what had been said to him at *Lisbon*, it would have been acceptable to them.

This Treaty was no sooner brought to the King by the *Spanish* Ambassador (who had received it by an Express) and perused at the Council-Table, but many gross Faults were found to be in it. Besides the Gentleman's Absence, who would with greater Abilities have defended himself than any of those who had reproached him, it was no Advantage to him that He was known to be much in the Chancellor's Confidence: And therefore the more Pain was taken to persuade the King that He was a weak Man (which the King himself knew him not to be); and They put such a Gloss upon many of the Articles, and rejected others as unprofitable which were thought to contain Matters of great Moment, that They would not consent that a Trade to the *West-Indies* could be any Benefit to *England*, and the like. In the End, the King concluded that He would not sign the Treaty; for which He had some Access of Reason within a Month after, by the Death of the King of *Spain*.

When all these Reproaches were cast upon the Ambassador, and Notice given that the King did disavow the Treaty and refused to sign it; it was reasonably resolved that He ought not to remain there longer as Ambassador, but to be recalled. But the Plague driving the King from *London* and dispersing the Council, the pursuing this Resolution was no

more assumed, till the Business of the Earl of *Sandwich* made it thought on as a good Expedient; and the Chancellor was directed in his Discourse with the Earl to mention it, as a proper Expedient in his Condition to be laid Hold on and embraced.

The Chancellor entered upon the whole Discourse with that Freedom and Openness that became a Man who He knew was not suspected by him. He told him all that himself knew of the Affair, and the Apprehension the King had of the Parliament, and the Expedient He had thought of to remove him out of the Reach or Noise of Clamor, of which He made him the Judge; and “if He did not like this Employment for *Spain*, some other should be thought of and published before it should be known, and before the Command of the Fleet should be committed to any other.”

The Earl of *Sandwich* lamented “that it had been in any Body’s Power to make so ill Impressions in the King and the Duke, upon his having committed a Trespass for which He was heartily sorry;” and confessed “it was a Presumption and Indiscretion, the ill Consequence whereof He had not Wit enough to discover: However He did not yet think it so great, as to make him fear to give an Account of it before the Parliament, or any Thing that They could do upon it.” He seemed not to be ignorant of the Offices Sir *William Coventry* did him “in drawing Complaints and Reproaches from those who had neither Cause nor Inclination to speak to his Disadvantage. He was sensible of the General’s Want of Justice towards him, which He

“ knew not to what to impute but to his Pride and
 “ Weakness. He did acknowledge it great Bounty
 “ in the King, since He thought him unfit and un-
 “ worthy to continue in the Command He had, that
 “ He would yet assign him to so honorable an Em-
 “ ployment; which, though it could not wipe off
 “ the Reproach of being dismissed from the other
 “ Charge, was yet a sufficient Evidence that He was
 “ not out of his Majesty's good Opinion and Con-
 “ fidence: And therefore He did with all Cheerful-
 “ ness submit to his Majesty's Pleasure, and would
 “ be ready for his Journey to *Spain* as soon as his
 “ Despatch should be prepared.”

He told him then, “ that He was in one Respect
 “ glad to be removed from his present Command,
 “ He was confident that He would see no more great
 “ Matters done at Sea, for that the common Men
 “ were weary of the War; and that Sir *William*
 “ would never suffer any Peace to be in the Fleet, but
 “ had Creatures ready to do all ill Offices amongst
 “ them, whom He cherished and preferred before
 “ the best Officers;” and told him many other
 Things which fell out afterwards, and said “ Sir *Wil-*
 “ *liam* would make any Man who should succeed
 “ him weary of his Command, by sending such Va-
 “ riety of Orders that He would not know what to
 “ do.” And shortly after He gave him a perfect
 Journal of his last Expedition, in which there were
 indeed many Orders which must needs startle and
 perplex a Commander in Chief, it being his usual
 Course to signify the Duke's Pleasure in Matters of
 the greatest Importance without the Duke's Hand;

which yet **They** durst not disobey, nor produce in their own Justification, being such as in Truth were no such Warrants as **They** ought to obey, and yet would reflect upon his Royal Highness: and told him likewise of the ill Inventions **He** had set on Foot, by which Prince *Rupert* was stopped from being joined with him in the Command of the last Fleet.

The Earl of Sandwich sent Ambassador Extraordinary into Spain.

When the Chancellor had informed the King of the Earl of *Sandwich* his Submission to his Pleasure, and that **He** would be ready to undertake the Employment for *Spain* as soon as his Majesty pleased; hereupon the King declared his Resolution in Council to send the Earl of *Sandwich* his Extraordinary Ambassador, as well to correct and amend the Mistakes and Errors in the late Treaty, as farther to mediate the Peace with *Portugal*, which upon the Death of the King was in some Respect more practicable. And to that Purpose **He** sent Sir *Robert Southwell*, one of the Clerks of the Council, Envoy into *Portugal*, that the Earl might the better know the Inclinations of that People: And all Instructions necessary were presently to be prepared to Both those Ends.

The King thinks of appointing Prince *Rupert* and the General joint Admirals.

This first Work being thus despatched, it remained to settle the Command, for the ensuing Year, of the Fleet; and there can be little Doubt made, but that the King and the Duke had resolved this at the same Time that **They** determined that the Earl of *Sandwich* should not continue in it: However it was communicated to Nobody, till the Designation of the other was published. Then the King told the

Chancellor, " that his Brother and He had long considered that Affair, and could not think of any Expedient so good for the Performance of that Service, as a Conjunction between Prince *Rupert* and the General, and making them Both joint Commanders in Chief of the Fleet for the next Expedition." There had many Exception occurred to them against committing the Charge to either of them singly; nor were They without Apprehension of some which might fall out by joining them together, which would be much greater, if They were not Both well prepared to embrace the Occasion, and themselves to like the Designation. For the doing this the Chancellor was again thought to be the fittest Man, being believed to have the greatest Interest in Both of them, and most in him from whom the greatest Difficulties were expected to arise which was Prince *Rupert*. It was easy to know Prince *Rupert's* Mind, who was in the House: Yet They were Both in Cases of that Nature desirous always to impart what They desired by others, rather than to debate it first themselves. But then the General was at *London*, besieged by the Plague; and the Matter was not fit to be communicated by Letter, because, if He should make any Scruple of concurring in it, it was to be declined.

Upon these Considerations it was resolved, first, that the Chancellor should prepare Prince *Rupert*, and then that the General should be sent for to *Oxford* upon Pretences, of which enough would occur. The Prince, though He was much more willing to have gone alone, willingly conformed to the King's

Prince *Rupert*
willingly ac-
cepts of a joint
Commission:

Pleasure: And so Both the King and Duke spake at large with him upon all that was necessary to be adjusted. And the General was sent to, “ that it was “ necessary for the King to confer with him upon “ some Propositions, which were made to him upon “ the *East India Ships* ” (which Transaction was not at that Time yet concluded); “ and therefore that “ on such a Day He should come from *London* early “ in the Morning ” (for it was deep Winter) “ in his “ own Coach to *Beaconsfield*, where He should find “ another Coach ready to receive him, and another “ at another Stage; so that He might be with Ease “ at *Oxford* the same Night .” as He was, and very graciously received by the King, as he deserved to be. But as He had no Manner of Imagination of the true Reason why He was sent for, so neither his Majesty nor the Duke would impart it to him, out of real Imagination that it would not be grateful to him; but that was left to be imparted and dexterously managed by the Chancellor, in whom, as was said before, it was generally believed that He had great Confidence.

The Chancellor confers with the General upon the Subject.

He the next Morning entered into Conference with him, and after general Discourses told him, “ that the King had disposed the Earl of *Sandwich* “ to another Employment, for which He did not “ seem sorry; and that it must now be thought of, “ who was fit to command in his Place: That there “ was no Hope of Peace, instead whereof there “ would be an entire Conjunction between *France* “ and the *Dutch*; and that the *French Fleet* ” (the Ambassadors being about this Time gone) “ would

“ be ready to join with them as soon as They should
 “ put to Sea; and there was much Doubt that the
 “ *Dane* would betake himself to the same Alliance;
 “ and all would be at Sea before We should be, ex-
 “ cept extraordinary Diligence were used, which
 “ the Continuance of the Plague would hardly ad-
 “ mit.” The General presently answered, “ that no
 “ Person was so fit for that Command as Prince
 “ *Rupert*, who understood the Seas well, and had that
 “ Courage that was necessary in this Conjunction.”
 The Chancellor told him, “ that the King had
 “ great Confidence in the Affection and unquestion-
 “ able Courage of Prince *Rupert*: But He was not
 “ sure, that the Quickness of his Spirit and the
 “ Strength of his Passion might not sometimes stand
 “ in Need of the Advice and Assistance of a Friend,
 “ who should be in equal Authority with him; and
 “ had therefore thought of finding some fit Person
 “ to be joined with and so make one Admiral of two
 “ Persons.” To which the other not replying sud-
 “ denly, He continued his Discourse, saying, “ that
 “ the King had such a Person in his View, whom He
 “ would never acquaint with it, until He might find
 “ some Way to discover that the proposing it would
 “ not be ingrateful to him; and that He was obliged
 “ to make this Discovery, and that the Person in
 “ the King’s View was himself; and that if He and
 “ Prince *Rupert* were joined in the Command of the
 “ Fleet and undertook it, his Majesty would believe
 “ that He had done all that was in his Power, and
 “ would with great Hope commit all the rest to God
 “ Almighty,” He said, He thought He had behaved

“ himself most like a Friend in telling him shortly
 “ and plainly what the King’s Drift was, towards
 “ which, though the Secret was known to none but
 “ the Duke of *York*, yet such an Advance was
 “ made, that his Majesty was well assured that Prince
 “ *Rupert* would readily comply with his Pleasure.”
 Upon the whole Matter He desired him “ to deal as
 “ like a Friend with him, and to tell him freely if
 “ He had no Mind to the Employment; and He
 “ would take upon him to prevent the making the
 “ Proposition to him, and that neither the King nor
 “ Duke should take it unkindly.”

The General appeared really surpris’d and full of
 Thoughts: and after a short Pause He desired him
 “ not to believe that He made the least Difficulty in
 “ his Thoughts of undertaking the Service; but
 “ many Things had occurred to him in the Dis-
 “ course, which He would mention anon.” He said,
 “ that for his own Part He should be willing to go
 “ out of *London* To-morrow, and think himself
 “ much safer in any Action against the *Dutch* than
 “ He could be in the Post He was, where every
 “ Day Men died about him and in his View; and as
 “ He thought that He had done the King better
 “ Service by staying in *London*, than He could have
 “ done in any other Place, so He believed if the
 “ Sicknefs should continue” (as it was like enough
 to do, there appearing yet very little Decrease), “ his
 “ Majesty might think that his Presence might be as
 “ necessary there as it had been.” The Chancellor
 replied, “ that his Majesty had foreseen that Con-
 “ tingency; and had already resolv’d that if that

“ fell out to be the Case, He should rather desire his
 “ Residence should be where it had been (though
 “ He was much troubled to expose him to so much
 “ Hazard) than in any other Place: But that his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Confidence in the Mercy of God , that He
 “ would take off this heavy Visitation before the
 “ End of Winter, had suggested the other Designa-
 “ tion of him to the Service of the Fleet, upon the
 “ good Conduct whereof his own and the King-
 “ dom’s Happiness so much depended. ”

The General quickly replied, “ that for that Mat-
 “ ter He was so willing to engage himself, that if the
 “ King pleased He would most readily serve under
 “ the Command of Prince *Rupert* ; ” To which the
 other answered as readily, “ that the King would
 “ never consent to that. ” And so They resolved
 presently to go to the King, that his Majesty and the
 Duke, might know what would please them so much.
 And as They were going, the General said smiling,
 “ that He would tell him now what the true Cause
 “ was , that had made that Pause in him upon the
 “ first Discourse of the Business ; and that it would
 “ be necessary for him, after all Things should be ad-
 “ justed with the King and Duke and Prince *Rupert*,
 “ that what concerned him should still remain a
 “ Secret, and Prince *Rupert* be understood to have
 “ that Command alone. For if his Wife should come
 “ to know it, before He had by Degrees prepared
 “ her for it, She would break out into such Passions
 “ as would be very uneasy to him: But He would
 “ in a short Time dispose her well enough ; and in
 “ the mean Time Nothing should be omitted on his

The General
 submits to the
 King’s Plea-
 sure.

“ Part, that was necessary for the Advancement of the Service.” Hereupon the King, the Duke, the Prince and the General consulted of all that was to be done: And He at the End of two Days returned to *London* with the same Expedition that He came to *Oxford*, together with Sir *George Carteret* the Treasurer of the Navy, and all Orders that were requisite for the Sale of the *East-India* Ships, upon which all Provisions for the Fleet were to be made.

Though the Parliament at *Oxford* had preserved that excellent Harmony that the King had proposed, and hardly wished any Thing in which They had not concurred, infomuch as never Parliament so entirely sympathized with his Majesty; and though it passed more Acts for his Honor and Security than any other had ever done in so short a Session: Yet it produced a Precedent of a very unhappy Nature, the Circumstances whereof in the present were unusual and pernicious, and the Consequences in the future very mischievous, and therefore not unfit to be set out at large.

The Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry*, closely united in the same Purposes and especially against the Chancellor, had a great Desire to find some Means to change the Course and Method of the King's Counsels; which They could hardly do whilst the same Persons continued still in the same Employments. Their Malice was most against the Chancellor: Yet They knew not what Suggestions to make to the King against him, having always pretended to his Majesty, how falsely soever, to have a great Esteem of him. Their Project therefore

was

was to remove the Treasurer, who was as weary of his Office and of the Court as any Body could be of him: But his Reputation was so great, his Wisdom so unquestionable, and his Integrity so confessed, that They knew in neither of those Points He could be impeached. And the King himself had Kindness and Reverence towards him, though He had for some Years thought him less active, and so less fit for that Administration, than every Body else knew him to be: And these Men had long insinuated unto his Majesty, " how ill all the Business of the Exchequer was managed by the continual Infirmities of the Treasurer who between the Gout and the Stone had not Ease enough to attend the painful Function of that Office, but left the Whole to be managed and governed by his Secretary Sir *Philip Warwick*;" upon whose Experience and Fidelity He did in Truth much rely, as He had Reason to do, his Reputation for Both being very signal and universal. And towards fastening this Reproach They had the Contribution of the Lord *Ashley*, who was good at looking into other Men's Offices, and was not pleased to see Sir *Philip Warwick's* Credit greater than his with the Treasurer, and his Advice more followed. And the other two had craftily insinuated to him, that He would make much a better Treasurer; which, whilst He thought They were in Earnest, prevailed with him not only to suggest Materials to them for that Reproach, but to inculcate the same to the King upon several Occasions: But when He discovered that They intended Nothing of Advantage to his Particular, He withdrew

from that Intrigue, though in all other Particulars He sided with them.

The King was too easy in making Assignations upon his Revenue, which would make it incapable to satisfy others which were more necessary, and to grant Suits by Lease or Farm (sometimes to worthy Men), which were of mischievous Consequence to all the Measures which could be taken; and those the Treasurer found himself obliged to stop: And commonly upon informing the King of it and of his Reasons, his Majesty was very well pleased with what He had done, and (as hath been said before) did often give himself Ease from the Importunity of many, by signing the Warrants They brought to him, in Confidence that either the Chancellor or Treasurer would not suffer them to pass. However it raised Clamor; and there were Men enough who had the same Provocation to make a great Noise; and They easily found Countenance from others, who desired it should be believed, “that it was a high
“ Arrogance and Presumption in any Subject to stop
“ any Signature of the King, and so make his Ma-
“ jesty’s Grace and Bounty to be ineffectual, if his
“ Approbation and Consent was not likewise pro-
“ cured.” There was visibly great Want of Money, though there were vast Sums raised; which They labored to persuade the King proceeded from the Unskillfulness or Unactivity of the Treasurer, who was again tired with the Vexation and Indignity, when He had so frequently presented the King with the Particulars of the Receipts and Disbursements, and made it demonstrable how much his Expenses

exceeded all his Income ; and how impossible it would be, without lessening these , to provide wherewithal to supply necessary Occasions : But this was an ungracious Subject, and opened more Mouths than could easily be stopped.

There was a Man who hath been often named , *Sir George Downing* , who by having been some Years in the Office of one of the Tellers of the Exchequer , and being of a restless Brain , did understand enough of the Nature of the Revenue and of the Course of the Receipt, to make others who understood less of it to think that He knew the Bottom of it, and that the Expedients, which should be proposed by him towards a Reformation , could not but be very pertinent and practicable. And He was not unhurt in the Emoluments of his own Office, which were lessened by the Assignations made to the Bankers , upon the Receipts themselves , without the Money's ever passing through the Tellers Office ; by which, though They did receive their just Fees, They had not what They would have taken if the Money had passed through their own Hands. He was a Member of Parliament , and a very voluminous Speaker, who would be thought wiser in Trade than any of the Merchants , and to understand the Mystery of all Professions much better than the Professors of them. And such a Kind of Chat is always acceptable in a Crowd (where few understand many Subjects), who are always glad to find those put out of Countenance who thought They understood it best : And so They were much pleased to hear *Sir George Downing* inveigh against the Ignorance of those ,

who could only smile at his Want of Knowledge:

This Gentleman was very grateful to Sir *William Coventry* as well as to Lord *Arlington*, and was ready to instruct them in all the Miscarriages and Oversights in the Treasury, and to propose Ways of Reformation to them. "The Root of all Miscarriage
 " was the unlimited Power of the Lord Treasurer,
 " that no Money could issue out without his parti-
 " cular Direction, and all Money was paid upon no
 " others Rules than his Order; so that let the King
 " want as much as was possible, no Money could
 " be paid by his without the Treasurer's Warrant;" which to Men who understood no more than They did seemed a very great Incongruity. "But," He said, "if there were such a Clause inserted into the
 " Bill which was to be passed in the House of Com-
 " mons for Money, it might prevent all Inconve-
 " niences, and the King's Money would be paid
 " only to those Persons and Purposes to which his
 " Majesty should assign them; and more Money
 " would be presently advanced upon this Act of
 " Parliament, than the Credit of the Bankers could
 " procure;" for He foresaw, that would be a very natural Objection against his Clause and the Method He proposed.

A Project of
 Sir George
 Downing to
 new-model
 the Treasury.

He made his Discourse so plausible to them that They were much pleased with it; and it provided for so many of their own Ends, that They neither did nor were able to consider the Reverse of it, but were most solicitous that there might no Obstructions arise in the Way. If it should come to the Knowledge of the Chancellor, He would oppose it for the Novelty,

and the Consequences that might attend it; and if the Treasurer had Notice of it, He would not consent to it for the Indignity that his Office was subjected to: They therefore discoursed it to the King as a Matter of high Importance to his Service if it were secretly carried; and then brought the Projector, who was an indefatigable Talker, to inform his Majesty of the many Benefits which would accrue to his Service by this new Method that He had devised, and the many Mischiefs which would be prevented.

There were many Things which were suggested, that were agreeable to some Fancies that the King himself had entertained; there would not need now so many Formalities, as Warrants and Privy-Seals, before Monies could be paid; and Money might hereafter issue out and be paid without the Treasurer's Privy; in which many Conveniences seemed to appear: Though besides the Innovation and Breach of all old Order, which is ever attended by many Mischiefs unforeseen, there were very great Inconveniences in View in those very Particulars which They fancied to be Conveniences. But it was enough that the King so well liked the Advice upon Conference with them three, that He resolved to communicate it with no others; but appointed that when the Bill for Supply should be brought into the House (it being to be, as was said before, for the Sum of.....), at the Commitment *Downing* should offer that *Proviso*, which had been drawn by himself, and read to the King and the other two. And because it was foreseen, that it would be opposed by many of those who were known to be

very affectionate to the King's Service, They had all Authority privately to assure them, that it was offered with the King's Approbation.

A Clamor raised against the Bankers.

Against the Time that the Bill was to be brought in, They prepared the House by many unseasonable, bitter Invectives against the Bankers, called them Cheats, Bloodsuckers Extortioners, and loaded them with all the Reproaches which can be cast upon the worst Men in the World, and would have them looked upon as the Causes of all the King's Necessities, and of the Want of Monies throughout the Kingdom: All which was a plausible Argument, as all Invectives against particular Men are; and all Men who had Faculties of depraving, and of making ill Things appear worse than they are, were easily engaged with them. The Bankers did not consist of above the Number of five or six Men, some whereof were Aldermen and had been Lord Mayors of *London*, and all the rest were Aldermen or had fined for Aldermen. They were a Tribe that had risen and grown up in *Cromwell's* Time, and never were heard of before the late Troubles, till when the whole Trade of Money had passed through the Hands of the Scriveners: They were for the most Part Goldsmiths, Men known to be so rich, and of so good Reputation, that all the Money of the Kingdom would be trusted or deposited in their Hands.

The Advantage arising from the Bankers.

From the Time of the King's Return, when though great and vast Sums were granted, yet such vast Debts were presently to be paid, the Armies by Land and Sea to be presently discharged, that the Money that was to be collected in six and six Months would

not provide for those present unavoidable Issues; but there must be two or three hundred thousand Pounds gotten together in few Days, before They could begin to disband the Armies or to pay the Seamen off; the deferring whereof every Month increased the Charge to an incredible Proportion: None could supply those Occasions but the Bankers, which brought the King's Minister first acquainted with them; and They were so well satisfied with their Proceedings, that They did always declare, "that They were so necessary to the King's Affairs, "that They knew not how to have conducted them "without that Assistance."

The Method of Proceeding with them was thus. The Method of treating with them. As soon as an Act of Parliament was passed, the King sent for those Bankers (for there was never any Contract made with them but in his Majesty's Presence): And He being attended by the Ministers of the Revenue, and commonly the Chancellor and others of the Council, the Lord Treasurer presented a particular Information to the King of the most urgent Occasions for present Money, either for disbanding Troops, or discharging Ships, or setting out Fleets (all which are to be done together and not by Parcels); so that it was easily foreseen what ready Money must be provided. And this Account being made, the Bankers were called in, and told, "that the King had "Occasion to use such a Sum of ready Money within "such a Day; They understood the Act of Parliament, and so might determine what Money They "could lend the King, and what Manner of Security "would best satisfy them." Whereupon one said,

“ He would within such a Time pay one hundred thousand Pounds, ” another more, and another less, as They found themselves provided : for there was no joint Stock amongst them, but every one supplied according to his Ability. They were desirous to have eight in the Hundred, which was not unreasonable to ask and the King was willing to give : But upon better Consideration amongst themselves, They thought fit to decline that Demand as being capable of turning to their Disadvantage, and would leave the Interest to the King’s own Bounty, declaring “ that themselves paid six in the hundred “ for all the Money with which They were intrusted, ” which was known to be true.

Then They demanded such a Receipt and Assignment to be made to them by the Lord Treasurer, for the Payment of the first Money that should be payable upon that Act of Parliament, or a Branch of that Act, or Tallies upon the Farmers of the Customs or Excise, or such other Branches of the Revenue as were least charged; having the King’s own Word and the Faith of the Treasurer, that They should be exactly complied with; for let the Security be what They could desire, it would still be in the Power of the King or of the Lord Treasurer to divert what was assigned to them to other Purposes. Therefore there is Nothing surer, than that the Confidence in the King’s Justice, and the unquestionable Reputation of the Lord Treasurer’s Honor and Integrity, was the true Foundation of that Credit which supplied all his Majesty’s Necessities and Occasions; and his Majesty always treated

those Men very graciously as his very good Servants, and all his Ministers looked upon them as very honest, and valuable Men. And in this Manner for many Years after his Majesty's Return, even to the unhappy Beginning of the *Dutch War*, the public Expenses were carried on, it may be, with too little Difficulty, which possibly increased some Expenses; and Nobody opened his Mouth against the Bankers, who every Day increased in Credit and Reputation, and had the Money of all Men at their Disposal.

The Solicitor General brought in the Bill for Supply according to Course, in that Form as those Bills for Money ought and used to be: And after it had been read the second Time, when it was committed Downing offers a new Proviso in the Bill for the Supply. *Downing* offered his *Proviso*, the End of which was, "to make all the Money that was to be raised by this Bill to be applied only to those Ends to which it was given, which was the carrying on the War, and to no other Purpose whatsoever. by what Authority soever;" with many other Clauses in it so monstrous, that the Solicitor and many others who were most watchful for the King's Service declared against it, as introductive to a Commonwealth, and not fit for Monarchy. It was observed, "that the Which is opposed by the Solicitor General. Assignment of the Money that was given by Act of Parliament to be paid in another Manner and to other Persons than had been formerly used, though there wanted not plausible Pretences, was the Beginning of the late Rebellion, and furnished the Parliament with Money to raise a Rebellion, when the King had none to defend himself; which had made *Cromwell* wise enough never to permit

“ any of those Clauses, or that the Impositions which
 “ were raised should be disposed to any Uses or by
 “ any Persons but by himself and his own Orders.”
 And by such and other Arguments, which the Con-
 trivers had not foreseen, the *Proviso* had been abso-
 lutely thrown out, if Sir *William Coventry* and *Down-
 ing* had not gone to the Solicitor and others who
 spake against it, and assured them, “ that it was
 “ brought in by the King’s own Direction, and for
 “ Purposes well understood by his Majesty.” Upon
 which They were contented that it should be com-
 mitted, yet with Direction “ that such and such Ex-
 “ pressions should be reformed and amended.”

The King
 commands
 him not to op-
 pose it farther.

In the Afternoon the King sent for the Solicitor,
 and forbid him any more to oppose that *Proviso*, for
 that it was much for his Service. And when He would
 inform him of many Mischiefs which would inevi-
 tably attend it, some were of those which He had no
 Mind to prevent, being to lessen their Power who
 He thought had too much, and the other He cared
 not to hear; and said only, “ that He would bear the
 “ Inconveniencies which would ensue upon his own
 “ Account, for the Benefits which would accrue,
 “ and which it was not yet seasonable to communi-
 “ cate with other Members of the House of Com-
 “ mons, whom He thought not to be so able to dis-
 “ pute it with him.” **

He enlarged more in Discourse, and told them,

** Something seems to be wanting to make the Sense clear. *Qu.*
 Whether what follows was spoken by *Downing* to the King, *Arlington*
 and *Coventry*; or, by the King to the Solicitor. In the latter Case *told*
them (as it is in the *M.S.*) should be altered to *told him*.

" that this would be an Encouragement to lend Mo-
 " ney, by making the Payment with Interest so cer-
 " tain and fixed, that there could be no Security in
 " the Kingdom like it, when it should be out of any
 " Man's Power to cause any Money that should be
 " lent Tomorrow to be paid before that which was
 " lent Yesterday, but that all should be infallibly
 " paid in Order; by which the Exchequer (which
 " was now Bankrupt and without any Credit)
 " would be quickly in that Reputation, that all
 " Men would deposite their Money there: And that
 " He hoped in few Years, by observing the Method
 " He now proposed, He would make his Exchequer
 " the best and the greatest Bank in *Europe*, and where
 " all *Europe* would, when it was once understood,
 " pay in their Money for the certain Profit it would
 " yield, and the indubitable Certainty that They
 " should receive their Money." And with this Dis-
 course the vain Man, who had lived many Years in
Holland, and would be thought to have made himself
 Master of all their Policy, had amused the King,
 and his two Friends, undertaking to erect the King's
 Exchequer into the same Degree of Credit that the
 Bank of *Amsterdam* stood upon, the Institution where-
 of He undertook to know, and from thence to make
 it evident, " that all that should be transplanted into
 " *England*, and all Nations would sooner send their
 " Money into the Exchequer, than into *Amsterdam*
 " or *Genoa* or *Venice*." And it cannot be enough
 wondered at, that this Intoxication prevailed so far
 that no Argument would be heard against it, the
 King having upon those Notions, and with the

Advice of those Counsellors, in his own Thoughts new-modelled the whole Government of his Treasury, in which He resolved to have no more superior Officers. But this was only reserved within his own Breast, and not communicated to any but those who devised the Project, without weighing that the Security for Monies so deposited in Banks is the Republic itself, which must expire before that Security can fail; which can never be depended on in a Monarchy, where the Monarch's sole Word can cancel all those formal Provisions which can be made (as hath since been too evident), by vacating those Assignations which have been made upon that and the like Acts of Parliament, for such Time as the present Necessities have made counselable; which would not then be admitted to be possible.

It is passed by
the Commons.

And so without any more Opposition, which was not grateful to the King, that Act passed the House of Commons, with the Correction only of such Absurdities as had not been foreseen by those who framed the *Proviso*, and which did indeed cross their own Designs: And so it was sent from the Commons to the House of Peers for their Consent.

Bills of that Nature which concern the raising of Money seldom stay long with the Lords; but as of Custom, which They call Privilege, they are first begun in the House of Commons, where they endure long Deliberation, so when they are adjusted there, they seem to pass through the House of Peers with the reading twice and formal Commitment, in which any Alterations are very rarely made, except in any Impositions which are laid upon their own Persons,

for which there are usually Blanks left, the filling up whereof is all the Amendment or Alteration that is commonly made by the Lords: So that the same Engrossment that is sent up by the Commons is usually the Bill itself that is presented to the King for his Royal Assent. Yet there can be no reasonable Doubt made, but that those Bills of any Kind of Subsidies, as Excise, Chimney-Money, or any other Way of Imposition, are as much the Gift and Present from the House of Peers as they are from the House of Commons, and are no more valid without their Consent than without the Consent of the other; and They may alter any Clause in them that They do not think for the Good of the People. But because the House of Commons is the immediate Representative of the People it is presumed that They best know what They can bear or are willing to submit to, and what They propose to give is proportionable to what They can spare; and therefore the Lords use not to put any Stop in the Passage of such Bills, much less diminish what is offered by them to the King.

And in this Parliament the Expedition that was used in all Business out of Fear of the Sickness, and out of an impatient Desire to be separated, was very notorious: And as soon as this Bill for Supply was sent to the Lords, very many Members of the House of Commons left the Town and departed, conceiving that there was no more left for them to do; for it was generally thought, that at the passing that Act with the rest which were ready, the King would prorogue the Parliament. Yet the Novelty in this Act so surpris'd the Lords, that They thought it

worthy a very serious Deliberation, and used not their customary Expedition in the passing it. It happened to be in an ill Conjunction, when the terrible cold Weather kept the Lord Treasurer from going out of his Chamber for Fear of the Gout, of which the Chancellor labored then in that Extremity, that He was obliged to remain in his Bed; and neither of them had received Information of this Affair. Many of the Lords came to them and advertised them of this new *Proviso*; and some of them went to the King to let him know the Prejudice it would bring him, and censured the ill Hand that had contrived it.

Some Lords remonstrate to the King against this *Proviso*.

The Lord *Ashley*, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and had been privy in the first Cabal in which this Reformation was designed, whether because He found himself left out in the most secret Part of it, or not enough considered in it, passionately inveighed against it both publicly and privately, and according to the Fertility of his Wit and Invention found more Objections against it than any Body else had done, and the Consequences to be more destructive; with which He so alarmed the King, that his Majesty was contented that the Matter should be debated in his Presence; and because the Chancellor was in his Bed, thought his Chamber to be the fittest Place for the Consultation: And the Lord Treasurer, though indisposed and apprehensive of the Gout, could yet use his Feet, and was very willing to attend his Majesty there, without the least Imagination that He was aimed at in the least.

The King consults the private Committee upon it.

The King appointed the Hour for the Meeting, where his Majesty with his Brother was present, the

Chancellor in his Bed, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord *Ashley*, the Lord *Arlington*, and Sir *William Coventry*; the Attorney General and the Solicitor were likewise present to word any Alterations which should be fit to be made; and Sir *George Downing* likewise attended, who the King still believed would be able to answer all Objections which could be made. The Chancellor had never seen the *Proviso* which contained all the Novelty (for all the other Parts of the Bill were according to the Course) and the Treasurer had read it only an Hour or two before the Meeting: The Lord *Ashley* therefore, who had heard it read in the House of Peers and observed what that House thought of it, opened the whole Business with the Novelty, and the ill Consequence that must inevitably attend it; all which He enforced with great Clearness and Evidence of Reason, and would have enlarged with some Sharpness upon the Advisers of it.

But the King himself stopped that by declaring,
 “ that whatsoever had been done in the whole Trans-
 “ action of it had been with his Privy and Appro-
 “ bation, and the whole Blame must be laid to his
 “ own Charge, who it seems was like to suffer most
 “ by it.” He confessed, “ He was so fully convinced
 “ in his own Understanding, that the Method pro-
 “ posed would prove to his infinite Advantage and
 “ to the Benefit of the Kingdom. that He had con-
 “ verted many in the House who had disliked it;
 “ and that since it came into the House of Peers,
 “ He had spoken with many of the Lords who
 “ seemed most unsatisfied with it: And He was

“ confident He had so well informed many of them;
 “ that They had changed their Opinion and would
 “ be no more against that *Proviso* However He
 “ confessed that some remained still obstinate against
 “ it, and They had given some Reasons which He
 “ had not thought of, and which in Truth He could
 “ not answer: He wished therefore that They would
 “ apply themselves to the most weighty Objections
 “ which were in View, or which might probably
 “ result from thence, and think of the best Reme-
 “ dies which might be applied by Alterations and
 “ Amendments in the House of Lords, which He
 “ doubted not but that the Commons would con-
 “ cur in.”

Objections
 made against
 it, there.

The first Objection was “ the Novelty, which in
 “ Cases of that Nature was very dangerous, remem-
 “ bering what hath been mentioned before of the
 “ Beginning of the late Rebellion, by putting the
 “ Money to run in another Channel than it had
 “ used to do: And that when once such a Clause
 “ was admitted in one Bill, the King would hardly
 “ get it left out in others of the same Kind hereaf-
 “ ter; and so his Majesty should never be Master
 “ of his own Money, nor the Ministers of his
 “ Revenue be able to assign Monies to defray any
 “ casual Expenses of what Nature soever; but that
 “ upon the Matter the Authority of the Treasurer
 “ and Chancellor of the Exchequer must be invested
 “ in the Tellers of the Exchequer, who were sub-
 “ ordinate Officers, and qualified to do Nothing but
 “ by the immediate Order of those their superior
 “ Officers. And though there are four Tellers in
 “ equal

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“equal Authority, yet Sir *George Downing* would
“in a short Time make his Office the sole Receipt,
“and the rest neither receive nor pay but by his
“Favor and Consent.”

The King had in his Nature so little Reverence or Esteem for Antiquity, and did in Truth so much contemn old Orders, Forms and Institutions, that the Objections of Novelty rather advanced than obstructed any Proposition. He was a great Lover of new Inventions, and thought them the Effects of Wit and Spirit, and fit to control the superstitious Observation of the Dictates of our Ancestors: So that Objection made little Impression. And for the Continuance of the same Clause in future Bills, He looked for it as necessary in Order to the Establishment of his Bank, which would abundantly recompense for his Loss of Power in the Disposal of his own Money. And though it was made appear by very solid Arguments, that the Imagination of a Bank was a mere Chimera in itself, and the erecting it in the Exchequer must suppose that the Crown must be always liable to a vast Debt upon Interest, which would be very ill Husbandry; and that there was great Hope, that after a happy Peace should be concluded, and Care should be taken to bring the Expenses into a narrower Compass, the King might in a short Time be out of Debt: Yet all Discourse against a Bank was thought to proceed from pure Ignorance. And Sir *George* was let loose to instruct them how easy it was to be established, who talked imperiously “of the Method
“by which it came to be settled in *Holland* by the

“ Industry of very few Persons, when the greatest
 “ Men despaired of it as impracticable; yet the Ob-
 “ stinacy of the other prevailed, and it was now
 “ become the Strength, Wealth and Security of the
 “ State: That the same would be brought to pass
 “ much more easily here, and would be no sooner
 “ done, than *England* would be the Seat of all the
 “ Trade of *Christendom*.” And then assuming all
 He said to be Demonstration, He wrapped himself up,
 according to his Custom, in a Mist of Words that
 Nobody could see Light in, but They who by often
 hearing the same Chat thought They understood it.

The next Objection was “ against the Injustice of
 “ this Clause, and the ill Consequence of that In-
 “ justice. The Necessities of the Crown being still
 “ pressing, and the Fleet every Day calling for
 “ Supply, Money had been borrowed from the
 “ Bankers upon the Credit of this Bill, as soon as
 “ the first Vote had passed in the House of Com-
 “ mons for so considerable a Supply; and the Trea-
 “ surer had made Assignments upon several Bran-
 “ ches of the Revenue, which had been preserved
 “ and designed for the Army and the immediate
 “ Expenses of the King’s and Queen’s Household,
 “ and the like unavoidable Issues, upon Presump-
 “ tion that enough would come in from this new
 “ Act of Parliament to be replaced to those Pur-
 “ poses, before the Time that would require it
 “ should come. But by this *Proviso* especial Care
 “ was taken, that none of the Money that should
 “ be raised should be applied to the Payment of
 “ any Debt that was contracted before the Royal

“ Assent was given to the Bill: So that both the
“ Money lent by the Bankers upon the Promise
“ made to them must be unpaid and unsecured, and
“ the Money that had been supplied from other
“ Assignations must not be applied to the original
“ Use; by which the Army and Household would
“ be unprovided for, the Inconvenience whereof
“ had no Need of an Enlargement.”

“ Besides that the Bankers had the King's Word,
“ and the Engagement of the Ministers of the Re-
“ venue, that all new Bills of Supply should still
“ make good what former Securities were not suffi-
“ cient to do; as by this heavy Visitation of the
“ Plague, the Assignations which had been made
“ upon the Excise and Chimney-Money, and by the
“ Decay of Trade that the War and Sicknes together
“ had produced, the Assignations made upon
“ the Customs, had brought in so little Money,
“ that the Debt to the Bankers, which but for those
“ Obstructions might by this Time have been much
“ abated, remained still very little less than it was
“ near a Year before. And when it should be known,
“ that this Sum of Money that was to be raised was
“ exempt from the Payment of any of those and the
“ like Debts, it would be a great Heartbreaking to
“ all those, who had not only lent all their own
“ Estates, but the whole Estates of many thousands
“ of other Men, to the King, and must expect to be
“ called upon by all who have trusted them for their
“ Money, which by this Invention They have no
“ Means to pay: And for the future, let the Ne-
“ cessities be what they will that the Crown may

“ be involved in, there is no Hope of borrowing
“ any Money, since it is not in the Power of the
“ King himself to make any Affigment upon this
“ new Imposition.”

Very much of this had been so absolutely unthought of by the King, that He was very much troubled at it; and He had in his own Judgment a just Esteem of the Bankers, and looked upon any Prejudice that They should suffer as hurtful to himself, and a great Violation of his Honor and Justice. But it was plain enough that the principal Design of the Contrivers was to prejudice the Bankers, nor did They care what Ruin befel them, and so talked loosely and bitterly “ of their cozening the King,
“ and what ill Bargains had been made with them;” though it was made manifest, that no private Gentleman in *England* did upon any real or personal Security borrow Money, but considering the Brokerage He pays, and the often renewing his Security, it costs him yearly much more than the King paid to the Bankers.

They slighted what was past as sufficiently provided for; and for the future confidently undertook the King should never more have Need of the Bankers, “ for that this Act would be no sooner passed,
“ but upon the Credit of it Money should be poured
“ into the Exchequer faster than it could be told.” And when They were told, “ that Expectation would
“ deceive them, and that great Sums would not
“ come in, and small Sums would do Hurt, because they would but stop up the Security from
“ giving Satisfaction to others, because whatever

“ was first paid in must be first paid:” All this was answered confidently, “ that vast Sums were ready to their Knowledge to be paid in as soon as the Bill should pass;” which fell out as was foretold. For after ten or twenty thousand Pounds were delivered in by themselves and their Friends to save their Credit, there was no more Money like to come; and that Sum did more Harm than Good, by interrupting the Security.

But notwithstanding all their Answers, the King remained unsatisfied in many Particulars which He had not foreseen, and wished “ that the Matter had been better consulted;” and confessed “ that *Down-
ing* had not answered many of the Objections;” and wished “ that Alterations might be prepared to be offered in the House of Peers as Amendments, and transmitted to the Commons, without casting out the *Proviso*:” the Foundation and End of which still pleased him for those Reasons which He would not communicate, and for which only it ought to have been rejected. But as it had been very easy to have had it quite left out, which was the only proper Remedy; so the mending it would leave much Argument for Debate, and would spend much Time. And it was to be apprehended, that there were so many of the best affected Members of the House of Commons gone out of the Town as having no more to do, that when it should be sent down thither again, it might be longer delayed there than would be convenient for the Public; and so the Parliament be kept longer from a Prorogation, than would be grateful to them or agreeable to the King.

It is passed by
the Lords.

The Parlia-
ment pro-
rogued

The King
much offended
with the
Chancellor in
this Affair.

And therefore upon the whole Matter his Majesty chose that no Interruption should be given to it in the House of Peers, and only such small Amendments, which would be as soon consented to in Both Houses as read, should be offered, rather than run the other Hazard of Delay: And so accordingly it was passed; and upon the doing thereof, the Parliament was prorogued to *April* following.

In this Debate, upon the insolent Behaviour of *Downing* in the Defence of that which could not be defended, and it may be out of the Extremity of the Pain which at that Time He endured in his Bed, the Chancellor had given some very sharp Reprehensions to *Downing*, for his Presumption in undertaking to set such a Design on Foot that concerned the whole Fabric of the Exchequer (in which He was an inferior Officer), and such a Branch of the King's Revenue, without first communicating it to his superior Officers and receiving their Advice; and told him, "that it was impossible for the King
" to be well served, whilst Fellows of his Condition
" were admitted to speak as much as They had a
" Mind to; and that in the best Times such Pre-
" sumptions had been punished with Imprisonment
" by the Lords of the Council, without the King's
" taking Notice of it:" Which, with what Sharpness soever uttered (in which He naturally exceeded in such Occasions), in a Case of this Nature, in which with Reference to any Disrespect towards himself He was not concerned, He thought did not exceed the Privilege and Dignity of the Place He held; and for which there were many Precedents in the past Times.

At the present there was no Notice taken, nor Reply made to what He said. But They who knew themselves equally guilty, and believed They were reflected upon, found quickly Opportunity to incense the King, and to persuade him to believe, “ that the Chancellor’s Behaviour was a greater Affront to him than to *Downing*: That a Servant should undergo such Reproaches in the King’s own Presence, for no other Reason but having with all Humility presented an Information to his Majesty, which was natural for him to understand in the Office in which He served him, and afterwards followed and observed the Orders and Directions which himself had prescribed; that this must terrify all Men from giving the King any Light in his Affairs, that He may know Nothing of his own nearest Concernments but what his chief Ministers thought fit to impart to him.” All which, and whatsoever else was natural to Wit sharpened with Malice to suggest upon such an Argument, They enforced with Warmth that They desired might be taken for Zeal for his Service and Dignity, which was prostituted by those Presumptions of the Chancellor.

And herewith They so inflamed the King that He was much offended, and expressed to them such a Dislike that pleased them well, and gave them Opportunity to add more Fuel to the Fire; and told them, “ that the Chancellor should find that He was not pleased,” as indeed He did by a greater Reservedness in his Countenance than his Majesty used to carry towards him; the Reason whercof his

Innocence kept him from comprehending, till in a short Time He vouchsafed plainly to put him in Mind of his Behaviour at that Time, and to express a great Resentment of it, and urged all those Glosses which had been made to him upon it, and “ what Interpretation all Men must make of such an Action, “ and be terrified by it from offering any Thing, of “ what Importance soever to his Service, if it would “ offend his Ministers;” and all this in a Choler very unnatural to him, which exceedingly troubled the Chancellor, and made him more discern, though He had Evidence enough of it before, that He stood upon very slippery Ground.

The Chancel-
lor satisfies his
Majesty.

He told his Majesty, “ that since He thought his
“ Behaviour to be so bad in that Particular, for
“ which till then his own Conscience or Discretion
“ had not reproached him, He must and did believe
“ He had committed a great Fault, for which He
“ did humbly ask his Pardon; and promised here-
“ after no more to incur his Displeasure for such Ex-
“ cesses, which He could never have fallen into at
“ that Time and upon that Occasion, but upon the
“ Presumption, that it had been impossible for his
“ Majesty to have made that Interpretation of it
“ which it seems He had done, or that any Body
“ could have Credit enough with him to persuade
“ him to believe, that He desired that his Majesty
“ should not have a clear View, and the most dis-
“ cerning Insight, into the darkest and most intri-
“ cate Parts of all his Affairs, which They knew in
“ their Consciences to be most untrue. And He must
“ with great Confidence appeal to his Majesty, who

“ knew how much He had desired , and taken some
 “ Pains , that his Majesty might never set his Hand
 “ to any Thing, before He fully understood it upon
 “ such References and Reports; as , according to
 “ the Nature of the Business , were to be for his full
 “ Information.”

He besought him to remember “ how often He
 “ had told him , *that it was most absolutely necessary*
 “ *that He should make himself entirely Master of his*
 “ *own Business for that there would be no Acquiescence*
 “ *in any Judgment but his own; and that his Majesty*
 “ knew with what Boldness He had often lamented
 “ to himself, *that He would not take the Pains per-*
 “ *fectly to understand all his own Affairs , which exposed*
 “ *his Ministers to the Censures of half-witted Men, and*
 “ *was the greatest Discouragement to all who served*
 “ *him honestly: And He desired his Pardon again*
 “ for saying that. He would hereafter find that They
 “ who had advised him in this late Transaction, in
 “ the handling whereof He had taken the Liberty
 “ that had offended his Majesty, had but a very dim
 “ Insight into that Business which They took upon
 “ themselves to direct.”

But his Majesty was not willing to enter again
 into that Discourse, and concluded with forbidding
 him to believe , “ that it was or could be in any
 “ Men’s Power to make him suspect his Affection or
 “ Integrity to his Service,” and used many other very
 gracious Expressions to him, nor ever after seemed
 to remember that Action to his Prejudice. But with-
 in a short Time the Bishopric of *Salisbury* becoming
 void by the never enough lamented Death of Dr.

Earle, his Majesty conferred that Bishopric upon *Dr. Hyde*, the Dean of *Winchester*, upon the Chancellor's Recommendation, whose near Kinsman He was. Nor was his Credit with the King thought to be lessened by any Body but himself, who knew more to that Purpose than other People could do: Yet He judged more from the Credit that He found his Enemies got every Day, than from the King's withdrawing his Trust and Kindness from him; nor did the King believe that They had then that Design against him, which shortly after They did not dissemble.

The King persuaded to desire the Treasurer would resign.

The Purpose of making the Alteration in the Government of the Treasury was pursued very industriously. And since that *Proviso* with all the Circumstances thereof had not produced the Effect They proposed, for They had believed that the Indignity of the Affront would have wrought so far upon the great Heart of the Treasurer, that He would thereupon have given up his Staff; which He was too much inclined to have done, if He had not been prevailed with by those who He knew were his Friends, not to gratify those who desired him out of their Way, in doing that which They of all Things wished: Therefore that Plot not succeeding, They persuaded the King to try another Expedient. For They all knew, that it was too envious a Thing for his Majesty himself to remove him from his Office by any Act of his, and that it would be loudly imputed to them. But if He could be himself persuaded to quit that which every Body knew He was weary of, it would prevent all Inconveniences: And They

had been told that the Chancellor only had dissuaded him from doing it, which He would not presume to do, if He were clearly told that the King desired that He should give it up.

Hereupon the King one Day called the Chancellor to him, and told him, "that He must speak with him in a Business of great Confidence, and which required great Secrecy;" and then enlarged in a great Commendation of the Treasurer (whom in Truth He did very much esteem). "of his great Parts of Judgment, of his unquestionable Integrity, and of his general Interest and Reputation throughout the Kingdom. But with all this," He said, He was not fit for the Office He held: That He did not understand the Mystery of that Place, nor could in his Nature go through with the necessary Obligations of it. That his bodily Infirmities were such, that many Times He could not be spoken with for two or three Days, so that there could be no Despatch; of which every Body complained, and by which his Business suffered very much. That all Men knew that all the Business was done by Sir *Philip Warwick*, whom, though He was a very honest Man, He did not think fit to be Treasurer; which He was to all Effects, the Treasurer himself doing Nothing but signing the Papers which the other prepared for him, which was neither for the King's Honor nor his." The Truth was, that his Understanding was too fine for such gross Matters as that Office must be conversant about, and that if his Want of Health did not hinder him, his Genius did not carry him that Way; nor would

the Laziness of his Nature permit him to take that Pains, that was absolutely necessary for the well discharging that great Office.

His Majesty concluded, "that He loved him too well to disoblige him, and would never do any Thing that would not be grateful to him: But He had some Reason, even from what He had sometimes said to him, to think that He was weary of it, and might be easily persuaded to deliver up his Staff, which his Majesty would be very glad of; and therefore He wished that He, the Chancellor, who was known to have most Interest in him, would persuade him to it, in which He would do his Majesty a singular Service."

The King wishes the Chancellor to advise him to it.

The Chancellor presently asked him, "if He were so unfit, whom He would make Treasurer in his Room." The King as presently answered, "that He would never make another Treasurer, which was an Office of great Charge, and would be much more effectually executed by Commissioners; which had been done in *Cromwell's* Time, as many Offices had been: And that his Majesty found by Experience, that in Offices of that Kind Commissioners were better than single Officers; for-though Sir *William-Compton* was a very extraordinary Man, of great Industry and Fidelity, yet that the Office of the Ordnance was neither in so good Order nor so thriftily managed whilst He was Master of it, as it hath been since his Death, since when it hath been governed by Commissioners; and so He was well assured his Treasury would be."

The Chancellor replied, " that He was very sorry
 " to find his Majesty so much inclined to Com-
 " missioners, who were indeed fittest to execute all
 " Offices according to the Model of a Common-
 " wealth, but not at all agreeable to Monarchy:
 " That if He thought the Precedent of *Cromwell's*
 " Time fit to be followed, He should be in the
 " Posture that *Cromwell* was, with an Army of one
 " hundred thousand Men, which made him have no
 " Need of the Authority and Reputation of a Trea-
 " surer, either to settle his Revenue or to direct the
 " levying it; He could do Both best himself." But
 He very passionately besought his Majesty to believe,
 " That They who advised him to this Method of
 " Government, though They might have good Af-
 " fection to his Person and his Service, were very
 " unskilful in the Constitution of this Kingdom and
 " in the Nature of the People. That the Office of
 " Treasurer had sometimes upon the Death of a
 " present Officer been executed by Commissioners,
 " but very seldom for any Time, or longer than
 " whilst the King could deliberately make Choice
 " of a fit Minister. That himself had been twice a
 " Commissioner for the Treasury, once in the Time
 " of his Father, and again upon his Majesty's Re-
 " turn: And therefore that He could upon Experi-
 " ence assure him, that Commissioners, in so active
 " a Time as this, could never discharge the Duty
 " of that Office; and that the Dignity of the Person
 " of the Treasurer was most necessary for his Ser-
 " vice, both towards the procuring the raising of
 " Money in Parliament, and the improving his Re-

“ venue by the Grant of Additions there, as like-
 “ wise for the collecting and conducting it after-
 “ wards. For the present Treasurer,” He said, there
 “ was no Question but if He knew that his Majesty
 “ was weary of his Service, and wished to have the
 “ Staff out of his Hand, He would most readily de-
 “ liver it: But that They who gave the Counsel,
 “ and thought it fit for his Majesty’s Service, were
 “ much fitter to give him that Advertifement, than
 “ He who in his Conscience did believe, that the
 “ following it would be of the most pernicious Con-
 “ sequence to his Service of any Thing that could
 “ be done.”

The Chancel-
 lor earnestly
 petitions him
 against this
 Measure.

He most humbly and with much Earnestness be-
 sought his Majesty “ seriously to reflect, what an ill
 “ Savour it would have over the whole Kingdom,
 “ at this Time of a War with at least two powerful
 “ Enemies abroad together, of so great Discontent
 “ and Jealousy at Home, and when the Court was
 “ in no great Reputation with the People, to re-
 “ move a Person the most loved and revered by
 “ the People for his most exemplary Fidelity and
 “ Wisdom, who had deserved as much from his
 “ blessed Father and himself as a Subject can do
 “ from his Prince, a Nobleman of the best Quality,
 “ the best allied and the best beloved; to remove
 “ at such a Time such a Person and with such Cir-
 “ cumstances from his Councils and his Trust: For
 “ Nobody could imagine, that, after such a Mani-
 “ festation of his Majesty’s Displeasure, He would
 “ be again conversant in the Court or in the Coun-
 “ cil, Both which would be much less esteemed

“ upon such an Action. That many with the same
 “ Diseases and Infirmities had long executed that
 “ Office, which required more the Strength of the
 “ Mind than of the Body : All were obliged to at-
 “ tend him, and He only to wait upon his Majesty.”

“ That it was impossible for any Man to discharge
 “ that Office without a Secretary : And if the whole
 “ Kingdom had been to have preferred a Secretary
 “ to him, They would have commended this Gen-
 “ tleman to him whom He trusted, who had for
 “ many Years served a former Treasurer in the same
 “ Trust, in the most malignant, captious and calum-
 “ niating Time that hath been known, and yet
 “ without the least Blemish or Imputation; and
 “ who, ever since that Time, had served his Father
 “ in and to the End of the War, and himself since
 “ in the most secret and dangerous Affairs” (for He
 had been trusted by the Persons of the greatest
 Quality to hold Intelligence with his Majesty to the
 Time of his Return), “ so that all Men rather ex-
 “ pected to have found him preferred to some good
 “ Place, than in the same Post He had been in
 “ twenty Years before; which He would never have
 “ undertaken under any other Officer than one with
 “ whom He had much Confidence, and who He
 “ knew would serve his Majesty so well. Yet,” He
 said, “ that whoever knew them could never be-
 “ lieve that Sir *Philip Warwick* could govern the
 “ Lord Treasurer.”

The King said, “ He had a very good Opinion of
 “ Sir *Philip Warwick*, and had never heard any Thing
 “ to his Prejudice.” But upon the main Point of

the Debate He seemed rather moved and troubled than convinced, when by good Fortune the Duke of York came into the Room, who had been well prepared to like the King's Purpose and to believe it necessary; and therefore his Majesty was glad of his Presence, and called him to him, and told him what He had been speaking of; and the Chancellor informed him of all that had passed between the King and him, and told him, "that He could never do a better Service to the King his Brother, than by using his Credit with him to restrain him from prosecuting a Purpose that would prove so mischievous to him" And so the Discourse was renewed: And in the End the Duke was so entirely converted, that He prevailed with his Majesty to lay aside the Thought of it; which so broke all the Measures the other Contrivers had formed their Counsels by, that They were much out of Countenance. But finding that They could not work upon the Duke to change his Mind, and to return to the former Resolution, They thought not fit to press the King farther for the present; and only made so much Use of their Want of Success, by presenting to his Majesty his Irresoluteness; which made the Chancellor still impose upon him, that the King did not think the better of the Chancellor or the Treasurer, for his receding at that Time from prosecuting what He had so positively resolved to have done, and promised them "to be firmer to his next Determination."

And at length prevailed.

After *Christmas* the Rage and Fury of the Pestilence began in some Degree to be mitigated, but so little, that Nobody who had left the Town had yet
the

the Courage to return thither: Nor had They Reason; for though it was a considerable Abatement from the Height it had been at, yet there died still between three and four thousand in the Week, and of those, some Men of better Condition than had fallen before. The General writ from thence, "that there still arose
 " new Difficulties in providing for the setting out
 " the Fleet, and some of such a Nature, that He
 " could not easily remove them without Commu-
 " nication with his Majesty, and receiving his more
 " positive Directions; and how to bring that to
 " pass He knew not, for as He could by no Means
 " advise his Majesty to leave *Oxford*, so He found
 " many Objections against his own being absent from
 " *London*." *Windfor* was thought upon as a Place where the King might safely reside, there being then no Infection there: But the King had adjourned the Term thither, which had possessed the whole Town; and He was not without some Apprehension, that the Plague had got into one House.

In the End, towards the End of *February*, the King resolved that the Queen and Dutches and all their Families should remain in *Oxford*; and that his Majesty and his Brother, with Prince *Rupert*, and such of his Council and other Servants as were thought necessary or fit, would make a quick Journey to *Hampton-Court*, where the General might be every Day and return again to *London* at Night, and his Majesty give such Orders as were requisite for the carrying on his Service, and so after two or three Days Stay there return again to *Oxford*; for no Man did believe it counselable, that his Majesty should

The King ~~res~~
 moves from
 Oxford to
 Hampton
 Court.

reside longer there, than the Despatch of the most important Business required: And with this Resolution his Majesty made his Journey to *Hampton-Court*.

The Plague
decreases.

It pleased God, that the next Week after his Majesty came thither, the Number of those who died of the Plague in the City decreased one thousand; and there was a strange universal Joy there for the King's being so near. The Weather was as it could be wished, deep Snow and terrible Frost, which very probably stopped the spreading of the Infection, though it might put an End to those who were already infected, as it did, for in a Week or two the Number of the Dead was very little diminished. The General came and went as was intended: But the Business every Day increased; and his Majesty's Remove to a farther Distance was thought inconvenient, since there appeared no Danger in remaining where He was.

The King
returns to
Whitehall.

And after a Fortnight's or three Weeks Stay, He resolved, for the quicker Despatch of all that was to be done, to go to *Whitehall*, when there died above fifteen hundred in the Week, and when there was not in a Day seen a Coach in the Streets, but those which came in his Majesty's Train; so much all Men were terrified from returning to a Place of so much Mortality. Yet it can hardly be imagined, what Numbers flocked thither from all Parts upon the Fame of the King's being at *Whitehall*, all Men being ashamed of their Fears for their own Safety, when the King ventured his Person. The Judges at *Windſor* adjourned the last Return of the Term to *Westminster-Hall*, and the Town every Day filled marvellously;

and which was more wonderful, the Plague every Day decreased. Upon which the King changed his Purpose, and instead of returning to *Oxford*, sent for the Queen and all the Family to come to *Whitehall*: So that before the End of *March* the Streets were as full, the *Exchange* as much crowded, and the People in all Places as numerous, as They had ever been seen, few Persons missing any of their Acquaintance, though by the weekly Bills there appeared to have died above one hundred and threescore thousand Persons: And many, who could compute very well, concluded that there were in Truth double that Number who died; and that in one Week, when the Bill mentioned only six thousand, there had in Truth fourteen thousand died. The frequent Deaths of the Clerks and Sextons of Parishes hindered the exact Account of every Week; but that which left it without any Certainty was the vast Number that was buried in the Fields, of which no Account was kept. Then of the *Anabaptists* and other Sectaries, who abounded in the City, very few left their Habitations; and Multitudes of them died, whereof no Church-warden or other Officer had Notice; but They found Burials, according to their own Fancies, in small Gardens or the next Fields. The greatest Number of those who died consisted of Women and Children, and the lowest and poorest Sort of the People: So that, as I said before, few Men missed any of their Acquaintance when They returned, not many of Wealth or Quality or of much Conversation being dead; yet some of either Sort there were.

The Number
supposed to
have died of
the Plague

Preparations
for setting out
the Fleet
again.

The Business of the King and of all about him was, that the Fleet might be ready and at Sea with all the possible Expedition: And in or towards this there was less Disturbance and Interruption than could reasonably have been expected, an universal Cheerfulness appearing in all who could obstruct or contribute towards it, the People generally being abundantly satisfied in the King's Choice of the Commanders. Prince *Rupert* was very much beloved, for his confessed Courage, by the Seamen; and the People believed that They could not but have the Victory where the General commanded, who only underwent Unquietness and Vexation from the tempestuous Humor of his Wife. She, from his Return from *Oxford*, and from the Time that She had the first Intimation that the King had designed her Husband for the Command of the Fleet, was all Storm and Fury; and, according to the Wisdom and Modesty of her Nature, poured out a thousand full-mouthed Curses against all those who had contributed to that Counsel: But the Malice of all that Tempest fell upon the Chancellor. She declared, "that this was a Plot of his to remove her Husband from the King, that He might do what He had a Mind to;" and threw all the ill Words at him which She had been accustomed to hear, accompanied with her good Wishes of what She would have befall him. But the Company She kept, and the Conversation She was accustomed to, could not propagate the Reproaches far; and the poor General himself felt them most, who knew the Chancellor to be his very fast and faithful Friend, and that He



would not be less so because his Wife was no wiser than She was born to be. He was indefatigable in taking Pains Night and Day, that the Fleet might be at Sea.

The Duke of *Beaufort*, Admiral of *France*, was already gone to *Brest*, and had taken Leave of the King at *Paris*, whither He was not to return till after the Summer's Service at Sea, and had appointed a Rendezvous of all the Ships to be at *Brest* by the Middle of *March*, which They reported should consist of fifty Ships of War.

The French
Fleet pre-
pared.

The Rupture was declared on Both Sides with *Denmark*. That King had appeared much troubled at the ill Accident at *Bergen*, which had fallen out merely by the Accidents of Weather, which had hindered the positive Orders from arriving in the precise Time: And He seemed still resolved to detain the *Dutch* Ships there, and only to fear the Conjunction of the *Swede* with the *Hollander*, which the King's Agent, *Sir Gilbert Talbot*, assured him He need not to fear. Which the better to confirm, *Mr. Clifford*, who had been present at *Bergen*, and is before mentioned to be sent after that by the King to *Denmark*, went from thence into *Sweden* (where *Mr. Coventry* yet remained) with a Project of such a Treaty as would have been with little Alterations consented to in *Sweden*, who had good Inclinations to the King, and resolved to join with the Bishop of *Munster*, when He should advance according to his Engagement. But the *Danish* Resident in *Sweden* delayed to conclude, and pretended to have received less positive Orders than the Nature of the Affair

Denmark
joins the
Dutch.

required, and that He expected fuller: And so all Matters were deferred, till Ambassadors came from *Holland* with no Expostulations, and a Desire to renew their Alliance, and release some Engagements They had upon the *Sound*, which had been very grievous to the *Dane*; and many other Conditions were granted which were very convenient to them. An Ambassador likewise arrived in the Nick of Time from *France*, to dispose them to a Conjunction with *Holland*, and to warrant the Performance of whatsoever the *Hollander* should promise, and likewise to undertake that *France* would protect them against *England*, and therefore that They should not apprehend any Danger from a War from thence; and *De Ruyter* was now gone with the Fleet for *Bergen*.

Upon all these Motives concurring in the same Conjunction, the poor King embraced that Party; and then declared and complained, "that the *English*"
 "had broken the Law of Nations in violating the"
 "Peace of his Ports, and endeavouring to fire his"
 "Town, when they were hospitably received and"
 "treated there under the Protection of his Castle."
 He denied that He had ever made such an Offer or Promise as Sir *Gilbert Talbot* still charged him with, and which He had not denied to Mr. *Clifford* when He came first thither. But now He reproached Sir *Gilbert Talbot* "for falsifying his Words, at least for"
 "mistaking them, and sending that to the King his"
 "Master which He gave him no Liberty to do."
 And now Sir *Gilbert* found his Error in not having drawn from him or his Servant *Gabell*, in Writing,

some Evidence of the Engagement: But after many Indignities He left the Court and returned to *England*. All *English* Ships in *Denmark* or *Norway* were seized upon, and the Persons of all Merchants and others who were his Majesty's Subjects, and to some of whom the King of *Denmark* owed great Sums of Money which They had lent to him, were imprisoned, and their Goods seized and confiscated.

All which Proceedings provoked the King to give the like Orders, and to look upon them as Enemies, and to emit a Declaration of the Motive He had to send his Fleet to *Bergen*, "which He could never have done but upon the Invitation and Promise of that King; which was evident enough by the Reception his Ships had there, and Expectation the Governor had of their Arrival, and his Allegation, *that He expected that very Night fuller Orders than He had yet received*; and lastly, his suffering them to depart securely, after all the Acts of Hostility had passed in the Port." Much of this was denied with many indecent Expressions, and such Evasions as made all that was said believed by equal Considerers: And so the War was declared.

And then in the Beginning of the Year 1666, a Year long destined by all Astrologers for the Production of dismal Changes and Alterations, throughout the World, and by some for the End of it, the King found his Condition so much worse than it had been the last Year, as the Addition of *France* and *Denmark* could make it; against all which, and the Prodigies which the Year was to produce (and it did truly produce many), the King prepared with his accustomed

Vigor and Resolution, though the Predictions had a strange Operation upon vulgar Minds.

Negotiations
of the French
at this Time.

The Proclamation of the War in *France*, and the Seizure upon the Estates of the *English* with some Circumstances in the Point of Time, and other Actions very unjust and unusual, the great maritime Preparations there, and the visible Assistance of Force that was sent thence to the *Dutch*, did not trouble nor hurt the King so much as the secret and invisible Negotiations of that Crown. From the first Declaration of the Bishop of *Munster* of his Resolution to make a War upon *Holland* (with which He acquainted the King of *France* before He declared it, and received such an Answer that made him very confident (as hath been remembered before upon his first Address to the King of *Great Britain*) that He should meet with no Obstruction from thence; and upon that Confidence the Treaty was concluded with the King, and great Sums of Money paid to the Bishop upon his Promise and Engagement, “that
“ He would fix himself with his Army within the
“ Territories of the *States General* before the Winter
“ was ended; and that against the Spring, when the
“ King’s Fleet should be ready for the Sea, He
“ would at the same Time march with an Army of
“ twenty thousand Foot and five thousand Horse
“ into the Heart of their Country;” and what the Effect of that would have been in that Conjunction may be in some Degree guessed at by what hath since fallen out): I say, *France*, from the first Knowledge They had of his Purpose, and before They declared on the Behalf of the *Dutch*, secretly sent to the

neighbour Princes “not to join with the Bishop, and to do all that was in their Power to hinder his Levies;” and prevailed with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had given Hopes to the Bishop of a powerful Assistance upon the Expectation of the Restoration of *Wesel*, and other Towns then possessed by *Holland*, totally to decline any Conjunction with him, upon Promise “that He should find his own Account better from the Friendship of *France*.” The Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, who had made the Bishop believe that They would join with him, and had made Levies of Soldiers to that Purpose, having abundant Argument of Quarrel with *Holland*, were now persuaded by the same Way not only to desist from helping, but to declare themselves Enemies to the Bishop if He would not desist, and “that They would serve the *Dutch* with their Forces.”

They deter the neighbouring States from assisting the Bishop of Munster.

When all this could not discourage the Bishop from prosecuting his Intention, but that He still gathered Troops, and gave new Commissions to Officers who had prepared for their Levies farther in *Germany*; the King of *France* sent an Envoy expressly to the Bishop himself, and offered his Mediation and Interposition with the *Dutch*, “that They should do him all the Right that in Justice He could demand from them, and if this were not accepted by him, that He must expect what Prejudice the Arms of *France* could bring upon him;” and then sent to all those Princes who had permitted Levies to be made in their Countries, “that They should not suffer those Troops to march out of their

“Country,” but offered “to receive and entertain them in his own Army.” With this He sent to the other Princes of *Germany* and to the Emperor himself, “that if They did not prevent this Incur- sion of the Bishop of *Munster*” (to which They all wished well), “They would involve the Empire in a War.”

When all this could not terrify the Bishop, who defended himself by his Engagement to the King of *Great Britain*, “that He would not enter into Treaty nor give over his Enterprize without his Consent,” and drew his Forces together to a Rendezvous, and had got Permission from the Marquis of *Castel Roderigo*, then Governor of *Flanders*, to make Levies in those Provinces without Noise or avowing it, and marched with his Army into the *States* Dominions, and took a Place or two even in the Sight of Prince *Maurice* (who drew as many of the *States* Troops together as could be spared out of their Garrisons, but thought not fit to engage with them, after He had found in some light Skirmishes that They were not firm); so that the Bishop, by the Advantage of the Situation of which He was possessed, began to fasten himself in full Assurance of increasing his Army, in Spite of all Discouragements, before the Spring (and He had already received some Troops out of *Flanders*, and Advertisement from other of his Officers, that They were well advanced in their Levies): The King of *France* in this Conjunction, in the imperious Style He customarily used in those Cases, sent to the Governor of *Flanders* for a Licence for such Troops, as He had Occasion to send into

Germany, to pass through such a Part of his Government; which as He had no Mind to grant, so He durst not deny, having Orders from *Spain* to be very careful, that no Disgusts might be given to *France* which might give any Occasion, or Pretence, or Opportunity for a Breach, which They well knew was desired and longed for.

Upon this Permission the *French* Troops marched into *Flanders*: And in the first Place, whether in their Way or out of their Way, They fell upon the Levies which were made for the Bishop, and routed and dispersed them, or took them Prisoners. In one Place, by the Strength of their Quarter and a neighbour Church, They defended themselves, imagining the Country would relieve them, without suspecting that They had Licence and Permission to march through: But They were so much inferior in Number or Strength, that after some of them were killed, the rest were glad to throw down their Arms and become Prisoners at Mercy, the Officers not comprehending what declared Enemy could fall upon them in those Quarters. With this Triumph They marched, and joined with Prince *Maurice* by the Time the Bishop had Notice of the Disaster, and speedily advanced upon his Quarters, and beat some of his Troops.

Upon which the poor Bishop (who instead of the Supplies and Commissions and other Countenance that He had Reason to expect from those Princes, who had been privy and with great Promises encouraged his Enterprize, received every Day Arguments from them against his proceeding farther,

And at length
force him to
make a Peace
with the
Dutch.

with many Conjurations that He would entirely submit to the King of *France* his Determination) found himself necessitated to comply, and even heartbroken signed a Treaty with the *French*, who then were careful enough both of his Honor and Interest in the Conditions with the *Dutch*, as for an Ally of whom They meant to make more Use in another Conjunction. Upon all which the Bishop had been much more excusable, if He had not received some of the King's Money, even after He saw that He should be obliged to sign the Treaty; which He ought not to have done, though it had been due, and it may be expended, before He had any such Intention, and to which it cannot be denied He had most forcible Compulsions.

This was the most sensible Blow, but the Plague, that the King had felt from the Beginning of the War, and was Instance enough how terrible the King of *France* was to all the neighbour Kings and Princes, who had so suddenly departed from their own Inclinations and Resolutions and from their own Interest, only upon his Insinuations, which became Orders to them. And *Spain*, if They knew that which all the World besides discerned, could not but believe that *France* would break all Treaties as soon as the other King should die, the News of which was expected and provided for every Week. But the drowsy Temper of that Monarch, who had been so much disquieted throughout his whole Reign, extended so far only as to prepare a Stock of Peace that would last during his own Time, that He saw would be very short, and to leave his Dominions and his infant

Son, to shift for themselves when He was dead: And it was an unhappy Maxim of that State, that it was the best Husbandry to purchase present Peace and present Money at how dear Interest soever for the future, which would be assisted with some new Expedients, as *Spain* had always been.

All these Disadvantages made the King the more solicitous to have but one Enemy to struggle with, though it were *France*: And therefore He was very solicitous by all Ways He could devise to make Peace with *Holland*, and to leave *Denmark* to their own Inventions; and He had some Encouragement to believe, that it was not impossible to separate *Holland* from *France*. They were sensible enough, that They had been upon the Matter betrayed into the War, by the positive Promise of Assistance, and a firm Conjunction from *France* in the Instant that the War should be entered upon, without any Mention of Mediation or Interposition for Peace, which was against their Desire; and that They had looked on very unconcernedly, or rather well pleased to see them beaten, and their own People ready to rise against the Government. Then They knew that *France* did already provide for an Expedition against *Flanders*, which could not long defend itself with its own Forces; and that They depended upon this War between *England* and the *Dutch*, as what must hinder Both those Nations from giving it Assistance: And They as well knew what their own Portion must be, when that Screen was removed, that, was their best Security against so mighty a Neighbour. And this *De Wit* himself, who was the

The King desirous of uniting with *Holland* against *France*.

The Dutch jealous of *France*.

chief Supporter of the War, frequently observed and confessed to those with whom He had most Conversation, and in whom He was believed to have most Trust: And all those Advertisements were transmitted to the King by those whose Integrity could not be suspected, and who did not dissemble being of the *States* themselves, to be very desirous of Peace and very jealous of *France*.

Character of
M. Bewett a
Gentleman of
great Weight
in Holland.

There was a Gentleman, one *Monsieur Bewett*, of a good Family in *France* and born there, but long bred in *Holland* whilst the Wars were there, and who had been Captain in the last Prince of *Orange's* Horse-Guards, and in very particular Favor with him, by which He was married to a Woman of *Holland* very rich, and very nearly allied to many of those who had the greatest Influence upon the Government; and who was now looked upon rather as a *Dutchman* than a *Frenchman*, and conversed most familiarly amongst the *Burgomasters*, and other principal Persons of the *States*. And by this Interest, after the Death of the Prince of *Orange*, that Troop was still preserved for a Guard to the *States*, and was the only Horse-Troop that remained constantly in the *Hague*. And for the better pleasing the People, it was still called the Prince of *Orange's* Guard, and continued to wear the same Livery it had always done: And the young Prince took much Delight to see them, and to hear himself called by them their Captain; and the Commander thereof, *Bewett*, professed and paid the same Devotion to him that He had done to his Father.

This Gentleman was generally beloved, and held

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. III

a Man of great Sincerity, brave in Point of Courage, and of good Parts of Wit and Judgment, save that He was immoderately given to Wine and to the Excess of it, which, being the Disease or rather the Health of the Country, made him not the worse thought of or less fit for Business. He was well known to the King, and well thought of by him, and had great Familiarity with some of the Bedchamber, and others near the King and trusted by him. He had made a Journey once, since the King's Return, into *England*, only to kiss his Hand, and profess the same Affection and Duty He had often done when his Majesty was abroad, which had always made him acceptable to him.

He was a bold Speaker, and from the Time that the War was begun against *England* much inveighed against the Counsel that persuaded it, as very pernicious to the Affairs of that Country; and in this Argument used not more Freedom with any than with *De Wit* himself, who loved his Person and his Spirit, and conversed very freely with him, though He knew his Friendships were chiefly with the Dependents upon the House of *Orange*, and with others of the *States* who were of his own Opinion with Reference to the War: And the publishing his Opinion drew many of the greatest Interest amongst the *Burgomasters* to delight in his Conversation, and to trust him much. With those He consulted freely what Means should be used to procure a Peace, and prevent the Mischief that must attend the Continuance of the War, with good Sense and Judgment: But those Consultations were always in the Exercise

of Drinking, which never ended without the utmost Excess, though without Noise or Disquiet or Unkindness, which are never the Effects of those Excesses amongst that People.

After the first Battle, when the *Dutch* were so much beaten, and the People in that Consternation that They called aloud for Peace, and reviled all those who were thought to be against it, and amongst those *De Wit* principally, who had the more Enemies, and Peace the more Friends, for the Differences which had arisen amongst the Officers of the Fleet upon the Death of *Opdam*, and upon the Disgrace which *Trump* had undergone by the Power and Injustice, as They said, of *De Wit* upon personal Dislikes, and because He was known to have great Affection for the Prince of *Orange* (and *Van Trump* himself, as hath been said, was not only of much Interest amongst the Seamen, but very popular in the Government, and had his Sisters married to *Burgomasters* in some of the greatest Towns; so that the Disgrace of him increased the Number of *De Wit's* Enemies): In this Conjunction *Bewett* cultivated the best He could all those ill Humors, how mutinous soever, which grew most importunate for Peace; yet without any Reflection upon the Person of *De Wit*, with whom He was known by the Company He most kept to have much Familiarity, and whom He did at that Time really believe to be inclined to Peace, and declared He did think so to those who knew the contrary, yet did not think the worse of him for being deceived, being assured He would never deceive them for Want of Integrity.

His endeavours to bring about a Peace.

But

But He took Advantage of this general Distemper and of the Prejudice the People had against him, to talk very frankly to *De Wit* of Both; and admired, "since He did, as He professed, desire Peace, that He would not find some Way to undeceive the People, which was necessary for his own Security; and it might easily be effected, by giving a Beginning to such a Consultation as might look towards an Accommodation." *De Wit* had his Spies in all Places, and knew well what Company *Bewell* most delighted in, though his Acquaintance was universal and agreeable to all Men: And He was informed too of his particular Behaviour with Reference to him, and that He did constantly and confidently vindicate him from many Imputations, in the Presence of those who were not pleased with his Contradictions; so that He looked upon him as his Friend, and one that might by his Interest and Credit divert some of that popular Envy and Malice, of which He had no Contempt, but much Apprehension.

He renewed his former Professions of his Desire of Peace, and gave so good Reasons for it as might naturally gain Belief; amongst which one was always a vehement Jealousy of *France*, "which," He said, "though it had at last declared War against *England*, which They ought to have done so long before, had done it only to draw *England* into some Conditions which might facilitate their own Enterprise upon *Flanders*, which it concerned them to prevent by all the Ways possible; of which none would be so probable as a Peace between *England*

De Wit pretends to desire a Peace.

“ and them, which would immediately make each
 “ solicitous for their own Interest. But how to set
 “ any Thing on Foot that might contribute to this
 “ He knew not; and the doing that which the other
 “ had proposed, by declaring himself, was the Way
 “ only to slacken all the Provisions for War, the ex-
 “ pediting of which would most advance a Peace.”

Bewett replied, “ that He knew He had many
 “ Friends in the *English* Court, whereof some were
 “ of near Trust about his Majesty, for whose Secrecy
 “ He would be accountable;” and named the Lord
Arlington, who had lately married a Lady of the
Hague, the Daughter of *Monsieur Beverwaert*, a Per-
 son in his Quality and Fortune in the first Rank.
 He offered to him, “ that He would himself write
 “ such a Letter to the Lord *Arlington* in his own
 “ Name, which He should first see and approve,
 “ without which He would not send it, as should
 “ only testify his own good Wishes for a Peace be-
 “ tween the two Nations, which were not unknown
 “ to the King himself; and would make no other
 “ Mention of him, than that He had Reason to be-
 “ lieve, that *Monsieur De Wit* (in whose good Opi-
 “ nion He had the Honor to be known to have some
 “ Place) would not be unwilling to promote any
 “ good Overture that should be made.” After some
 Debate He was content that He should write, pro-
 vided that He would promise to write Nothing but
 what He should first see, and would still bring the
 Answers to him which He should receive; to which
 the other consented.

Bewett enters
 into a Corre

Upon this Encouragement He begun his Corre

spondence with the Lord *Arlington*, and acquainted his Bosom Friends with it, to dispose them the more to hope for Peace, and to look upon *De Wit* as not averse to it. But what He writ was with so much Wariness, being dictated upon the Matter by the Pensioner, that it could draw no other Answers from the Secretary but of the same Style, with Expressions of his Majesty's Desire of Peace and Esteem of *De Wit*, and as if He expected some Overtures to arise from thence. This Intelligence had not been long on Foot, but He begun to suspect the Sincerity of *De Wit*, and that indeed He was not so well inclined to Peace as He had pretended to be: His Countenance was not so open, nor He so vacant when He came as He used to be; He grew less jealous of the *French*, and more composed himself, and less apprehensive of the People, as He found them more composed, and a greater Concurrence in the making all Things ready for the Fleet. All which Observations He likewise imparted to his Companions, who were glad to find him begin to be undeceived; and from that Time He was apter to concur with them in the fiercer Counsels, how to compass a Peace in Spite of him by a Majority of Votes in the *States*, with the Help of the People, for the Suppression of any accidental Insurrection whereof, there were no other Forces in View than those Horse-Guards that were commanded by him.

spondence
with the Eng-
l: a Court
with De-
Wit's Con-
sent.

He soon sus-
pects De-
Wit's Sinc-
erity.

And resolves
to get a Peace
in Opposition
to him.

Hereupon He took a new Resolution, but would not lose the Advantage He had by the Knowledge *De Wit* had of his Correspondence, and therefore showed him a Letter that He had received from the

Lord *Arlington*, in which He pressed him "to inform
 " him, what Particulars would dispose the *States* to
 " Peace and to separate from the *French*," and had
 sent him a Cipher for the more free and safe Commu-
 nication; which Cipher He deposited in the Hands
 of *De Wit*, having received his Directions and ob-
 served them by using the same Cipher, which the
 other examined and kept, and hoped by the Answer
 to put an End to that Correspondence, of which
 He grew weary, and less confident of the Person,
 because He heard that He was grown less zealous in
 his Defence than He had been.

He settles a
 secret Corre-
 spondence
 with the
 English Court.

Bewett upon this grew more resolute one Way
 and less apprehensive the other Way, and sent a Per-
 son with whom He had great Friendship, and who
 was well known to the King and most about him,
Monfieur Silvius, a Servant to the late Princess Royal,
 and a Native of *Orange*, with a full Account "of the
 " State of the Counsels at the *Hague*, and his Disco-
 " very that *De Wit* did not in Truth desire a Peace,
 " nor would consent to it but upon very unreason-
 " able Terms," whereof some were mentioned in
 " his Letter in Cipher which He had dictated; "but
 " that He was most assured, that He should be com-
 " pelled at the next Assembly of the *States* to submit
 " to more reasonable Conditions." He gave the King
 an Account of the Ground of his Confidence, and
 an Information of the Persons who were combined
 together to press it in the *States*, amongst which
 there were some of the greatest Power: And by their
 Advice He offered the Substance of a Message They
 wished the King should send to the *States-General* at

the Time of their convening, in which there was Nothing contained against which any Thing could be objected on his Majesty's Behalf; and "upon the Delivery thereof there would so few adhere to *De Wit*, that He should not be able to prevent a Treaty though *France* should protest against it." He sent likewise at the same Time, and by the same Person, another Cipher to the Lord *Arlington*, with Direction "that in such Letters as were intended for the View of the Pensioner the former Cipher should be used, and in the other Letters, which were to be concealed from him, and which were for the most Part to contain Intelligence and Advice against him, the latter Cipher was only to be made Use of."

Those Informations by *Silvius*, who was a Man of Parts, and had Dependance upon the Duke of *York*, and meant not to return into *Holland* except upon a pressing Occasion, when He durst adventure to go, being looked upon as an Inhabitant of the *Hague*, having been always bred there, and his Relation to the Duke scarce yet taken Notice of; I say, those Informations the King thought to be worthy to be well considered, and conferred with the Chancellor upon the Whole, and appointed the Lord *Arlington* to inform him of all that had passed from the Beginning; and that *Silvius*, who was concealed, that They might have no Advertisement in *Holland* of his having been in *England*, should likewise attend him in some Evening; which He shortly after did, and made him an ample and clear Relation of the State of the Counsels at the *Hague*, and the several

Factions amongst them, and the Distemper of the People. He had himself spoken with many of the *Burgomasters* and others in Authority, who were privy to his Coming, and communicated the Method They meant to proceed in towards the depressing *De Wit*, by mingling the Proposition for Peace with the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, which the People thought to be inseparable.

In Fine, He gave a perfect good Account of all to which He was instructed, with great Modesty: And when the Chancellor, to whom *Bewett* and He were Both well known, would have induced him to deliver Somewhat of his own Judgment, whether He thought that Combination to be strong enough to over-rule *De Wit*; He could draw no other Answer from him than the magnifying the Credit and Interest of *Bewett*, which He seemed principally to rely upon, and the Impossibility that He should fail in Point of Integrity or Courage.

Silvius had settled a sure Way of Correspondence, and by every Post received fresh Intelligence of the Preparations and Progress *Bewett* and his Friends made in their Designs, of the Success whereof They were every Day more confident, and thought their Party so much to increase, that as They did not apprehend any Discovery like to be made by Treachery, so They did not seem to fear it, if *De Wit* himself should know all that They intended: And They pressed very earnestly, "that the King's Letter, in the Manner They had proposed, might be at the *Hague* when the *General-States* were to meet," the Time whereof approached.

The King called those to him to whom the whole Negotiation had been imparted, to advise what was to be done. On the King's Part Nothing was considerable, but whether He should write to the *States* at all, and what He should write: And against writing there seemed to be no Objection, and as little against writing what They advised, which was no more than He had formerly writ, and always said to their Ambassadors. And that this might be a more favorable Conjunction for the good Reception of it, and hearkening to it, his Majesty was reasonably to believe those who meant to second and promote it with their own Reasons: And therefore the Time and the Manner of the Delivery of it was left to be resolved amongst themselves, the King having no Minister there to present it.

The Way that They had thought of was, that *Bewett* should at the proper Time deliver it to *De Wit*, who durst not conceal it, and if He should, there would be Ways enough to publish it to his Reproach; nor could He take any Advantage of *Bewett* for his Correspondence with their Enemies, because it had been entered into with his Approbation. But for the better Security in the sending it, and the better Information of the Persons engaged of all the Reflections which had been made by the King, and those with whom He had conferred by his Majesty's Order, it was thought best that *Silvius* should return; and if *Bewett* thought fit to decline the Delivery of the King's Letter, and no better Way could be found for the Delivery of it, He might present it in the Manner his Friends there

should direct, and avow his having been at *London* to solicit his own Pretences since the Death of the Princess Royal his Mistress, and that He had received the Letter from the King's own Hand. This being the concurrent Opinion of all, and the Gentleman himself willing to undertake it; *Silvius* was despatched.

In the Debate of the Matter, the King asked the Chancellor " what He thought of the Design, and " whether He thought it would succeed;" who said, " He doubted it much, and that it would conclude " in the Loss of poor *Bewell's* Head, who had not " a Talent for the Managery of an Affair of that " Weight, which would require great Secrecy and " great Sobriety, and the Consideration of more " Particulars at once than his Comprehension could " contain together." Then He did not like the Method They proposed, of joining the Demand of Peace with the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, which, though it might probably follow the Peace and be an Effect of it, would not be seasonable to be joined with it in Regard of his Infancy; and that many did heartily desire the Peace, who had no Mind that the Prince should be restored to the Offices of his Father and Family, or that there should be any Debate of it, till the Prince came to the Age that was provided by the solemn Act and Declaration of the *States*: Which had been the Reason that his Majesty (who had all the Tenderness for his Nephew that a Parent could have) would never be persuaded to mention him (though it had been proposed by many, and even by the Elector of

Brandenburgh and the Princess Dowager) in the Conditions of the Peace; the King foreseeing that *De Wit* would have been glad to have that Advantage, as to observe to the People, that the King would prescribe to them what Officers They should chuse and admit into their Government, and that They must have no Peace, except They would take a General and a Stadtholder and an Admiral of his Nomination, which was to make them subject to himself.

And this was the Reason, that in all Conferences with the *French* Ambassadors, who sometimes would mention the Prince of *Orange* with Compassion for the Ingratitude of the *States* towards him, and add, "that They doubted not their Master would be ready to join with his Majesty in doing him all Offices;" and sometimes when the *Dutch* Ambassador (who was of that Party that did really with the Restoration of the Prince) in Conference would seem to wish and to believe, that the restoring the Prince of *Orange* would be the Consequence of the Peace: The King never gave other Answer, than "that He should be very glad that the *States* would gratify his Nephew; but that it was a Matter He had Nothing to do to interpose in, it depending wholly upon their own Good-Will and Pleasure."

The rest who were present had much more Esteem of *Bewett* than the Chancellor had (who thought as well of his Courage and Integrity as They did), and believed He would have Success in what He designed, his Interest in the Right of his Wife being confessedly very great amongst the *States*, and his jolly

Course of Living having rendered him very acceptable and grateful to Men of the most different Affections; and then of all the Officers of the Militia He was most esteemed, which was like to be of Moment if the Dispute brought the Matter to a Struggle: But the Event showed the Contrary.

After *Silvius's* Departure, Letters passed between them, as they had used to do, for two or three Posts. And *Bewett* one Day meeting *De Wit* when He came from his good Fellows; and They walking a Turn together in common Discourse, *De Wit* asked him, "when He had any Letter from *England*, and "how Affairs went there:" To which He suddenly answered, "that He came just then from receiving one, which He had not yet deciphered," and put his Hand into his Pocket, and took thence a Letter; and casting his Eyes (which were never good, and now worse by the Company He had left) upon the Supercription, He gave it to him, and said, "He would go with him that They might decipher it together according to Custom.

Bewett's secret Correspondence accidentally discovered by *De Wit*.

De Wit presently found that it was not the accustomed Cipher (for He had delivered the wrong Letter, that which He ought not to see), and desired him: "that He would walk before, and He would presently overtake him, after He had spoken a few Words at a House in his Way." And so leaving him, He took present Order for the apprehending him and searching his Pockets; and at the same Time sent to his House, and caused his Cabinet, where all his Papers were, to be examined and sealed up. And so poor *Bewett*, whilst He stayed at the

other's House that They might decipher the Letter, was apprehended, and all his Papers taken out of his Pockets, and He sent to Prison. The other Cipher was quickly found, and many Letters and other Papers, which discovered many Secrets. Whereupon a Court of Justice was speedily erected: And within three Days, according to the Expedition used there in such Cases, a Scaffold was erected, and the poor Gentleman brought thither in the Sight of all his Friends; and there, with his known Courage, and in few Words declaring "that He had honest Purposes to the Country," lost his Head.

Upon which
He is executed.

Silvius quickly heard of his Imprisonment, and as soon thought it necessary to make his own Escape, and arrived in *England* before He heard of his last Misfortune, which He did not suspect, nor knew how the Discovery had been made. The Knot, thus broken, dispersed themselves: Most of them got into *Flanders*; the *Burgomaster* of *Rotterdam*, and two or three others of Note, made all the Haste They could into *England*; some thought themselves secure in *Antwerp* and other Parts of *Flanders*; and some were seized upon in several Places of the *States* Dominions, and imprisoned with all the Circumstances of Severity, though upon the Want of clear Proofs few of them were put to Death. The Troop of Guards was reformed, or rather transformed, under new Officers, and assigned for a constant Guard to the *States*, without the least formal Relation to the Prince of *Orange*, or using his Name or Livery, or Permission to pay any Reverence to him. And so the Prince was much lower than before, and all Hopes of reviving

His Friends
obliged to fly.

almost extinguished or expired; *De Wit* stood firmer upon his own Feet than ever, and directed all Preparations for the War without Control; and all the present Expectation in *England* vanished: Whilst the Pensionary informed *France* of the Dangers He had escaped for them, and what great Matters had been offered to him if He would have departed from their Interest; and made the Plot to contain all that He fancied it might have done.

When the Parliament at *Oxford* was prorogued, it was to a Day in *April*: But the King had Reason to believe that They would not so soon be in good Humor enough to give more Money, which was the principal End of calling them together. And the Dregs of the Plague still remaining, and venting its Malignity in many Burials every Week, his Majesty thought fit to dispense with their Attendance at that Time by a Proclamation: And He caused it at the Day to be prorogued to the twentieth of *September* following. In the mean Time the Court abounded in all its Excesses. There had been some Hope during the Abode at *Oxford*, that the Queen had been with Child; and whilst that Hope lasted, the King lived with more Constraint and Caution, and prepared to make himself worthy of that Blessing: And there are many Reasons to believe, besides his own natural good Inclinations, that if God had vouchsafed to have given him a Child, and the Queen that Blessing to have merited from him, He would have restrained all those inordinate Appetites and Delights; and that He would seriously have applied himself to his Government, and cut of all those extravagant Expences

of Money and Time, which disturbed and corrupted the Evenness of his own Nature and the Sincerity of his Intentions, and exposed him to the Temptations of those who had all the Traps and Snares to catch and detain him.

The Imagination of the Queen's Breeding was one Cause of her Stay there; and her Stay there was the longer, because She miscarried when She intended to begin her Journey. And though the Doctors declared that it was a real Miscarriage, ripe enough to make a Judgment of the Sex; yet some of the Women who had more Credit with the King assured him, "that it was only a false Conception, and that "She had not been at all with Child:" Infomuch that his Majesty, who had been so confident upon a former Occasion, as to declare to the Queen his Mother and to others, "that upon his own Knowledge "her Majesty had miscarried of a Son," suffered himself now to be so totally convinced by those Ladies and other Women, that He did as positively believe that She never had, never could be, with Child. And from that Time He took little Pleasure in her Conversation, and more indulged to himself all Liberties in the Conversation of those, who used all their Skill to supply him with Divertisements, which might drive all that was serious out of his Thoughts, and make him undervalue those whom He had used, and still did most trust and employ, in what He thought most important; though He sometimes thought many Things not of Importance, which in the Consequence were of the highest.

The Lady, who had never declined in Favor,

The Queen
miscarries.

Great Licence
in the Court.

was now greater in Power than ever: She was with Child again, and well enough contented that his Majesty should entertain an Amour with another Lady, and made a very strict Friendship with her, it may be the more diligently out of Confidence that He would never prevail with her, which many others believed too. But without Doubt the King's Passion was stronger towards that other Lady, than ever it was to any other Woman: And She carried it with that Discretion and Modesty, that She made no other Use of it than for the Convenience of her own Fortune and Subsistence, which was narrow enough; never seemed disposed to interpose in the least Degree in Business, nor to speak ill of any Body; which Kind of Nature and Temper the more inflamed the King's Affection, who did not in his Nature love a busy Woman, and had an Aversion from speaking with any Woman, or hearing them speak, of any Business but to that Purpose. He thought them all made for, however They broke in afterwards upon him to all other Purposes.

The Lady herself, who every Day (as was said before) grew in Power and Credit, did not yet presume to interpose in any other Business, than in giving all the imaginable Countenance She could to those who desired to depend upon her, and, in their Right as well as her own, in depressing the Credit of those who She knew wished her's much less than it was; but in this last Argument She was hitherto wary, and took only such Opportunities as were offered, without going out of her Way to find them. Her principal Business was to get an Estate for her-

self and her Children, which She thought the King at least as much concerned to provide as She to solicit; which however She would not be wanting in, and so procured round Sums of Money out of the Privy-Purse (where She had placed Mr. *May*), and other Assignations in other Names, and so the less taken Notice of, though in great Proportions: All which yet amounted to little more than to pay her Debts, which She had in few Years contracted to an unimaginable Greatness, and to defray her constant Expenses, which were very excessive in Coaches and Horses, Clothes and Jewels, without any Thing of Generosity, or gratifying any of her Family, or so much as paying any of her Father's Debts, whereof some were very clamorous. Her Name was not used in any Suits for the Grant of Lands; for besides that there was no avowing or public Mention of natural Children, She did think the Chancellor and Treasurer willing to obstruct such Grants, and desired not to have any Occasion to try the Kindness of either of them: And so all the Suits She made of that Kind were with Reference to *Ireland*, where They had no Title to obstruct, nor natural Opportunity to know, what was granted; and in that Kingdom She procured the Grant of several great Quantities of Land, like to prove of great Benefit and Value to her or her Children.

The chief Design They now began to design, and the worst They could ever design, was to raise a Jealousy in the King of his Brother, to which his Majesty was not in any Degree inclined, and had in Truth a just Affection for him and Confidence

An Attempt to raise Jealousies in the King of his Brothers

in him, without thinking better of his natural Parts than He thought there was Cause for; and yet, which made it the more wondered at, He did very often depart in Matters of the highest Moment from his own Judgment to comply with his Brother, who was instructed, by those who too well knew the King's Nature, to adhere to any Thing He once advised, and to be importunate in any Thing He proposed; in which He prevailed the more easily, because He never used it in any Thing that concerned himself or his own Benefit.

The Temper
and Disposition
of the
Stuart Family.

The Truth is: It was the unhappy Fate and Constitution of that Family; that They trusted naturally the Judgments of those, who were as much inferior to them in Understanding as They were in Quality, before their own which was very good; and suffered even their Natures, which disposed them to Virtue and Justice, to be prevailed upon and altered and corrupted by those, who knew how to make Use of some one Infirmity that They discovered in them; and by complying with that, and cherishing and serving it, They by Degrees wrought upon the Mass, and sacrificed all the other good Inclinations to that single Vice. They were too much inclined to like Men at first Sight, and did not love the Conversation of Men of many more Years than themselves, and thought Age not only troublesome but impertinent. They did not love to deny, and less to Strangers than to their Friends; not out of Bounty or Generosity, which was a Flower that did never grow naturally in the Heart of either of the Families, that of *Stuart* or the other of *Bourbon*, but out of an
Unskilfulness

Unskilfulness and Defect in the Countenance : And when They prevailed with themselves to make some Pause rather than to deny, Importunity removed all Resolution, which They knew neither how to shut out nor to defend themselves against, even when it was evident enough that They had much rather not consent; which often made that which would have looked like Bounty lose all its Grace and Lustre.

If the Duke seemed to be more firm and fixed in his Resolutions, it was rather from an Obstinacy in his Will, which He defended by Aversion from the Debate, than from the Constancy of his Judgment, which was more subject to Persons than to Arguments, and so as changeable at least as the King's, which was in greatest Danger by Surprise: And from this Want of Steadiness, and Irresolution (whencesoever the Infirmary proceeded) most of the Misfortunes, which attended either of them or their Servants who served them honestly, had their Rise and Growth; of which there will be shortly an Occasion, and too frequently, to say much more. In the mean Time it cannot be denied, and was observed and confessed by all, that never any Prince had a more humble and dutiful Condescension and Submission to an elder Brother, than the Duke had towards the King: His whole Demeanour and Behaviour was so full of Reverence, that it might have given Example to be imitated by those, who ought but did not observe a greater Distance. And the Conscience and Resentment He had within himself,

Particularly of
the King and
Duke.

for the Sally He had made in *Flanders*, made him after so wary in his Actions, and so abhorring to hear any Thing that might lessen his Awe for the King, that no Man who had most Credit with him durst approach towards any Thing of that Kind, so that there was never less Ground of Jealousy than of him. And (as was said before) the King (who was in his Nature so far from any Kind of Jealousy, that He was too much inclined to make Interpretations of many Words and Actions, which might reasonably harbour other Apprehensions) was as incapable of any insinuations which might lessen his Confidence in his Brother, as any noble and virtuous Mind could be. And therefore those ill Men, who began about this Time to sow that cursed Seed that grew up to bear a large Crop of the worst and rankest Jealousy in the succeeding Time, did not presume to make any Reflection upon the Duke himself, but upon his Wife, "upon the State She assumed, and " the Height of the whole Family, that lived in " much more Plenty," They said, "than the King's, and were more regarded abroad."

Endeavours
used to lessen
the King's Esteem
of the
Dutchess.

Such Kind of People are never without some particular Stories of the Persons whom They desire to deprave: And so They had many Instances, which They used upon all Occasions, of some Levity or Vanity, of some Words affected by the Dutchess, or some outward Carriage, true or false, which for the most Part concluded in Mirth and Laughter, and seemed ridiculous; which was the Method They used in all their Approaches of that Kind towards the highest Acts of Malice, first to make the Person,

whom They hoped to ruin in the End, less esteemed, by the acting and Presentation of his Words and Gestures and Motions; which commonly is attended with Laughter. And this is the first Breach They make upon any Man's Reputation; and the frequent Custom of this Kind of Laughter and Mirth, which is easily produced without any Malice, doth in the End open a Space large enough to let in Calumny and Scandal enough to weaken, if not to destroy, the best built Reputation.

This was the Course They held with Reference to the Dutches, whom the King had from the Beginning treated with great Grace and Favor, and considered her as a Woman of more than an ordinary Wit and Understanding: And the Queen-Mother had from the Reconciliation used her with that abundant Affection and Familiarity that was very wonderful; and the Heights She assumed, and all that Greatness which many thought too much, were not only inculcated, but enjoined by the Queen as a Duty due to her Husband, of whose high Degree She thought She could no be too tender and careful. And She had the Happiness so well to behave herself towards the Duke, that He was exceedingly pleased with her, and lived towards her with an Affection so remarkable and notorious, that it grew to be the public Discourse and Commendation; and which made the Liberties that were taken elsewhere the more spoken of and censured. It was very visible that He liked her Company and Conversation very well, and was believed to communicate all his Counsels, and all He knew or thought, without

Reserve to her, which, being so contrary to the professed Doctrine of the Court, administered Occasion to the Men of Mirth, in those Seasons which took up a good Part of every Night, to be very pleasant upon the Government of the Dutchess, and the Submission of the Duke; in which there were always some witty Reflections upon the Chancellor. And this Kind of Liberty, being first grateful to the King for the Wit that accompanied it and the Mirth that it produced, grew by the Custom of it the more acceptable; and it may be the general and public Observation of the Disparity in the Lives of the two Brothers made it wished, that there were no more of that Strictness in the one Place than in the other, towards which there wanted not Application and Advice accordingly as well as Example.

In the mean Time the Chancellor had a hard Part to act, being neither able to do the Good He constantly endeavoured on one Side, nor remove the Ill He disliked on the other Side; for He saw well the Mischief that would inevitably follow the great Expences of the Duke, which exceeded all Limits and could never be provided for; and thought the Dutchess to be blamed for what She spent upon herself, and used all the Credit He had with Both to begin in Time to reform what Necessity would shortly do with more Dishonor: But the Disease had grown from the first ill Digestion.

The Lord *Berkeley* had upon the King's first Arrival formed a Family without Rule or Precedent, and made the Servants in a much better Condition than the Master, by assigning liberal Pensions and Allow-

ances to them, who had paid him dear for their Places, without considering from what Fund they should arise: And now They all would have the Duke believe, “that He spent not too much; but “that He had too little Provision assigned to him “for his Quality and Relation, and that this proceeded from the Neglect in the Chancellor, who “was able, if He endeavoured it, to persuade the “King to enlarge it to a just Proportion.” And this was as much urged to the Dutches as to the Duke, and it made in her a greater Impression; and though She had in all other Respects a very entire Affection and even a Duty and Resignation to her Father, yet in this He had no Authority with her, nor did She think him a competent Judge what Expenses Princes should make: And having seen the State and Lustre in which the Duke of *Anjou* lived in *France*, and having received many Infusions from the Queen, of the great Defect in the Customs of *England*, in providing either for the Respect or for the Support of the younger Sons of the Crown, She thought that the Chancellor should rather use his Credit for the enlarging that Narrowness, which the King was enough disposed to, than to reform their Expenses. But of this enough.

The Plague had really swept away and destroyed so many Seamen (*Stepney* and the Places adjacent, which were their common Habitations, being almost depopulated) that now, all other Obstructions being removed, there seemed even an Impossibility to procure Sailors and Mariners enough to set out the Fleet; infomuch as They found it necessary to pres

many Watermen, and to disfurnish all Merchant-Ships which were prepared to be sent out to the Plantations or to other Places of Trade: All which turned not so much to Benefit one Way, as it did to Loss another Way. But the best Way to expedite all Things was the two Admirals going to the Fleet themselves, that They who resolved to go might hasten thither, and that They who had no Mind to go might, out of Shame, likewise accompany them.

There appeared great Unanimity and Consent between them. Only Prince *Rupert* had a great Desire to go in a Ship apart, and that They might not be Both in one Ship: But upon Debate it appeared to be unpracticable, and that in a Time of Action the Orders could not be the same, if They who gave them were not together and in the same Place; and so the Prince was persuaded not to be positive in that Particular. And so They Both went together, and took Leave of the King towards the End of *April*, and labored so effectually (as They were Both Men of great Dexterity and indefatigable Industry in such Conjunctions), that They carried the Fleet out to Sea, well fitted and provided, by the Middle of *May*; with which They presently visited the Coast of *Holland*, and took many Prizes; and by the Intelligence They met with concluded that the *Dutch* Fleet would not be ready in a Month, of which They gave the King Advertisement, and returned into the *Downs*. And Prince *Rupert* at the same Time expressed an Inclination to go himself with Part of the Fleet to meet the Duke of *Beaufort*, who was reported to be under Sail to join with the

The Fleet puts
to Sea under
Prince Ru-
pert and the
General.

The Occasion
of the Divi-
sion of the
Fleet.

Dutch, and “ that They would not put to Sea till
“ They foresaw that They were like to join about
“ *Calais*.”

At or near the same Time the Lord *Arlington* received Intelligence, “ that the *Dutch* were not yet
“ well manned; and that the Ships which were in
“ the *Texel*, and were to join with the other under
“ *De Ruyter* in the *Wierings*, were more unprovid-
“ ed:” Though at the same Time Secretary *Morrice*
(who had always better Intelligence from *Holland*)
was assured from thence, “ that all the Ships in Both
“ Places were so ready that they would join within
“ very few Days.” But the Lord *Arlington*, who
thought He ought to be more believed, received as
positive Advertisement from *France*, “ that the Duke
“ of *Beaufort* set sail from *Brest* on such a Day:”
And though the Wind had not been yet directly
favorable for him, it was concluded that He must
be well advanced in his Way, and He had no Port
to Friend till He came to the Coast of *France* near
Calais.

Upon this there seemed a great Desire that Prince
Rupert might take the Course He had proposed; for
the Convenience was agreed to be very great, if the
French could be met with before the Conjunction.
However the Council was so wary that at that Time
attended the King at *Worcester-House*, the Chancellor
being affected with the Gout, that They advised the
King “ not to send positive Orders for the dividing
“ the Fleet, which by many Accidents might pro-
“ duce Inconveniences; but rather to send two of
“ the Council to the Fleet, with an Account of all

“ the Intelligence, and the Reflections which occurred to the King upon it.” And hereupon Sir *George Carteret* and Sir *William Coventry* were presently sent, and carried such Orders with them, as would be necessary if the General had not other Intelligence, or did think that the Division was not liable to more Objections than had been in View. And this Caution I set down more particularly, because the Council underwent Reproaches which it did not deserve.

The two Counsellors used such Expedition, and found so good Conveniences by Land and Water, that They returned to the King the next Day with an Account, “ that the State of the *Dutch* Fleet was confirmed to be the same that his Majesty had heard, and that They believed the other concerning the Duke of *Beaufort* to be very probable; whereupon They had concluded with a mutual Consent and Approbation, that *Prince Rupert* should take twenty of the Ships, which He had already chosen, to meet the French, though They were superior in Number, whilst the General remained in the Downs with the rest: And in Order to this that the Prince went aboard his Ship before They came away, and the rather, because the Wind was so much against him, that his Majesty’s Orders, if He found Cause to send any, would be sure for some Days to find him upon the Western Coast; and the Wind that was against him was so favorable to the Duke of *Beaufort*, that it was probable They might speedily meet, and in a Place to be wished.” The King saw no Cause yet to

send Orders to the contrary; and this was the Reason, and all the Circumstances, of the Separation of the Fleet that proved unfortunate.

It appeared very soon after, which Secretary had the better Intelligence: For the very next Day after the Departure of the Prince, the General, who remained in the *Downs*; had certain Intelligence that the *Dutch* were come out of their Harbours, having it seems received Intelligence likewise of the *French* Fleet's being at Sea, and being obliged to meet them, and had been long ready to do so; which had deceived the Court, They believing that They stayed because They were not ready to come out, whereas They were ready and expected only the other Advertisement.

As soon as the General was informed, He sent Notice presently to the Duke late in the same Evening, who, informing the King of it, gave Orders to Sir *William Coventry* to prepare Orders to Prince *Rupert* immediately to return; and if those Orders had been carefully despatched, they might have come to the Prince before the Morning. But Sir *William Coventry* thought He had done his Part when He got the Orders signed, which was about twelve of the Clock at Night, and then sent them by his Servant to the Lord *Arlington*, whose Part He thought it was to charge a Messenger with them: But He was gone to Bed, and his Servants durst not disquiet him, a Tenderness not accustomed to be in the Family of a Secretary. But whether They did not wake him, as He pretended, or being awake He deferred it, it was not sent away till the next

A Note is
to be sent
an Order to
Prince Rupert
to return the
Fleet.

Day, and never came to Prince *Rupert's* Hand till He turned his Sails upon the Thunder of the Cannon; and He no sooner endeavoured to return, but the Wind chopped about to retard him, that He could make little Way that Day or the Night following. Whose Fault it was that these important Orders were not sent with more Expedition, whether Sir *William Coventry* ought not to have taken Care for the conveying them, at least to have given the Lord *Arlington* Notice what the Contents of them were, of which He denied to have any Notice, was disputed with some Warmth between themselves, and so came to be published: But it was never examined any where else, though the Negligence was very mischievous in its Effect; but They were Both too great Men to be questioned in any Judicatory.

The Dutch
Fleet comes
out.

The General, after the Notice He had received of the Motion of the *Dutch*, ordered the Fleet to weigh Anchor about three of the Clock in the Morning upon the first of *June* 1666, to sail to the *Buoy of the Gunfleet* to join with some other Ships which lay there, to get more Men, being then but ill manned: And about seven of the Clock in the Morning the Scouts came in, and brought the General Notice, that the *Dutch* Fleet was to the Leeward; and probably intended to decline fighting till They might join with the *French*. And it had been to be wished that the *English* had stood off too, upon Confidence that Prince *Rupert*, whom the Wind had kept from being far off, as They could not but know, would receive Direction from Court to return. But the General (who was as impatient upon the Sight of an

Enemy to engage with him as Prince *Rupert* himself, and had a natural Contempt of the *Dutch*) called his Flag-Officers to Council, and quickly resolved, "that it was not convenient nor safe nor honourable to decline the Battle, lest it might take off the present Courage of the Seamen." And truly in all those Consultations, upon the like Occasions, whoever proposed any wary Advice run great Hazard of being reputed a Coward. And so They bore up with a full Wind upon the Enemy, notwithstanding the visible Disadvantage They were in, in Respect of the Strength of the Enemy, for in the Absence of Prince *Rupert* there remained little above fifty Sail with the General; whereas *De Ruyter's* Fleet consisted of above fourscore Sail, who easily perceived his Advantage, and that a great Part of the *English* Fleet was absent, and so willingly embraced the Occasion, and made what Sail He could to meet with them.

It was about two of the Clock in the Afternoon when the Engagement began; and the *English* had got the Wind, which was so high that They could not carry out their lower Tiers. The Admiral was so shattered in his Rigging and Masts, that He was compelled to get off and anchor, that He might mend what was amiss; and many of his Squadron had their Main-yards shot off, and received such Damage in their Tackling, which was the chief Aim of the *Dutch*, that They could hardly govern their Ships. And by this Means the Enemy got the Wind; and the Battle continued with great Fierceness, and Loss of many Men on Both Sides, till nine or ten

The second
general Engage-
ment.
The first Day's
Action.

of the Clock at Night, when all were willing to have some Rest.

The second
Day's Action.

That Night was spent in repairing Masts and Rigging: And at six of the Clock in the Morning the Battle began again with the same Fierceness, and lasted till Night. And that Day the *Dutch* suffered much, and one of their Vice-Admirals was boarded and afterwards sunk, as many of their other Ships likewise were; so that They began to fall off: When sixteen new great Ships came to their Aid, which gave them new Courage; so that They renewed and maintained the Fight with great Resolution, and killed many Men of the *English* and disabled many of the Ships, till the Night again parted them.

The Dutch
reinforced.

The English
retire.

Upon the Account the General received that Night, and the new Access of Force to the *Dutch*, He thought it necessary to retire; for though He had lost no Ship, very many were so disabled, that there was Reason to fear they would hardly hold out to recover the Shore. And thereupon He caused all those Ships to be put before and make all the Sail they could, and himself with sixteen Ships in a Breadth went in the Rear: Which as soon as the Enemy perceived, They pursued, but came not within Reach of their Guns till four of the Clock in the Afternoon; and then though They shot hard, They did very little Harm, the Sternpieces of the *English* over-reaching their Broadfides, which made many of them get off as quickly as They could. But by this Time the *English* descried about twenty Sail of Ships standing towards them, which They concluded to be Prince *Rupert* (as it proved): And so

The third
Day's Action.

being earnest to join, They edged up towards them, but so unfortunately, that many of the Flag-Ships were on Ground off the *Galloper-Sand*. But with much ado they all got off safe, the *Royal Prince* only excepted, which for this last Age, and till the late War, was held the best Ship in the World. This brave Ship stuck so fast that no Art or Industry could move her; so that the Enemy, when They found They could not carry her off, set her on Fire, and took the Captain Sir *George Ayscue* and all the Company Prisoners, and without Distinction used all with great Barbarity, in which They pretended only to use Retaliation. That Night Prince *Rupert* joined: And then They bore to the Northward, that They might get clear of the Sands; and thereby the Enemy got the Wind again.

Prince Rupert comes up with his Squadron.

The fourth Day of the Battle, which was the fourth of *June*, the Enemy being to Windward about three Leagues, the Generals in the Morning made all Sail towards them: And They lay with their Sails to the Masts to stay for them, which They would not have had the Courage to have done, if They had not had Intelligence from the Prisoners of the *Prince*, in how tattered a Condition the Fleet was. The Battle began about eight of the Clock in the Morning with extraordinary Confidence on Both Sides, the *Dutch* continuing their old Guard to spend all their Shot upon the Rigging and Masts, and to defend themselves from being boarded, which the *English* most intended and labored to do. But the Design of the others succeeded better: Infomuch that one of the Vice-Admirals of a Squadron, and

The fourth Day's Action.

other of the best Ships, were so disabled that They bore off from the Battle, that They might mend and repair; which gave no small Encouragement to the Enemy. But the two Generals were invincible, and continued the Battle all the Day in several Forms, and by the Advantage of the Wind fired six or seven of their Ships, and sunk others, and had two or three of their own likewise sunk. And between six and seven at Night, as if by Consent (and no Doubt Both Sides were very weary of the Encounter), They separated without looking after each other, and hastened to their several Coasts; many of the *English* being so hurt in Yards, Masts, Rigging and Hulls, many of them wanting Men to ply their Guns, and their Powder and Shot near spent, that with very much Difficulty they got into Harbour: And so concluded that great Action, wherein either Side pretended to have Advantage, and Both lost very much.

Both Sides
Claim the
Victory.

The next Day after the Battle was spent in fitting their Masts and repairing their Rigging, that They might be able to reach the Coast: And when They came near it, the Generals called a Council about disposing those Ships which could not remain at Sea, and sent them to such several Places as they might be soonest repaired in; and gave every Captain very strict Order, "that all possible Diligence and Expedition should be used to get their Ships ready, and "furnished with whatsoever was wanting;" and the Commissioners of the Navy were required to be assistant in all Places. And so wonderful Diligence was used (which appears almost incredible) that the

whole Fleet was so well fitted, that by the seventeenth Day of the same Month, within a Fortnight after so terrible a Battle, it was gathered together to a Rendezvous to the *Buoy of the Nore*. The Enemy made as much Haste, rather to meet with the *French*, who were every Day still expected, than to fight with the *English*, and kept as near to their own Coast as conveniently They could: So that how ready soever the Generals were (who had never left their Ships) with the Fleet by the seventeenth of the Month, the Winds were so averse or so calm, that it was the four-and-twentieth Day of that Month before They could reach the Sight of the Enemy.

And the next Day, which was the twenty-fifth, the *English* made all the Sail They could, and by ten in the Morning engaged in as hot an Encounter as had hitherto been in any Engagement: And though the *Dutch* seemed not to fight with the same Spirit and Mettle, yet the Battle held till two in the Afternoon, when by the Advantage of the Wind They bore away faster than the *English* could follow. However here They took Vice-Admiral *Banchart*, and his Ship of threescore Guns and three hundred Men was burned; and another Ship of seventy Guns and three hundred Men was likewise taken and burned; which the Generals thought better, than to undergo the possible Inconvenience of keeping them: And so They kept up as close to the Enemy in the Night as They could do. The next Morning They used all their Sails, and designed to board *De Ruyter*, which, the Wind lessening, They could not effect, He fighting very well but

The third general Engagement.

The English victorious.

running faster: And so, though very well pursued, He got into his Fastness at the *Wierings*, with those who were nearest to him. But the rest who were farther off, and were like to have the Benefit of the Night, tacked about: Which They who attacked *De Ruyter* perceiving, and that They could follow him no farther, and that the rest were five-and-forty Sail, They followed them, the Generals doing all They could with their Squadron to put themselves between them and the Coast; but the Wind growing on a sudden calm, about Midnight They dropped their Anchors, that They might not be driven farther than They had a Mind to be. But in the Morning, when They weighed Anchor to pursue them, and made all the Way They could with a little Wind, the Enemy got so close to their own Shore, their Ships drawing less Water than the *English*, that there could be no farther Pursuit.

Another Part of the Fleet, which was separated when *De Ruyter* got into the *Wierings*, and which the Generals looked upon as their own, was so unhappily pursued, though by Men of very good Name, that they escaped; which raised a great Distemper in the Fleet, whilst some Officers of the prime and most unquestionable Courage charged and accused others, who had always given great Testimony that They durst do any Thing, “of base
“declining to fight when the Enemy was in their
“Power, and that They chose rather to suffer them
“to escape than to encounter them.” And this Dispute and Expostulation, between Men who had many Seconds, divided the Generals, one declaring
himself

himself on the one Side as the other did on the other; but They wisely laid aside the Debate, till They should be at more Leisure with less Inconvenience to determine it.

The Generals thereupon, having thus scattered the Enemy, resolved to ply upon the *Dutch Coast* to take all Ships of Trade, which They did; and off the *Texel* and the *Flie* took many Prizes, both homeward and outward bound, of great Value. And They having now Nothing to do but to lie still, there was a *Dutch Captain*, one *Laurence Van Humskerke*, who after the first Battle, in the Faction between *Evertson* and *Van Trump*, had given *De Wit* so great an Advantage, that if He had not made his Escape He had been hanged, who from that Time had always been on Board with *Prince Rupert*: This Man, whilst the Fleet lay in this Posture, advised *Prince Rupert* to attempt a Place near the *Flie*, which was so locked in the Land that it was always looked upon as very secure (and where all Ships laden at *Amsterdam* for the *Straits* and those Parts, when they were outward bound, used to lie two or three Days, as in a safe Port, until all Things which might be forgotten were prepared, and all the Company came together), and had never been invaded in any War; and by it was a pretty large Village, called *Schelling*, which had many good Houses in it, besides others inhabited by, and for the Entertainment of, Seamen.

This Enterprize was committed to Sir *Robert Holmes*, a very bold and expert Man; who with a Number of small Vessels very well manned, besides a Body of stout Foot to land upon Occasions, being

The Attempt
upon the
Island of
Schelling.

The chief
Town and a

Large Fleet of
Merchant
Ships burnt.

assisted by the *Dutchman*, so vigorously assaulted it, that He burned all the *Dutch* Ships lying there, being of inestimable Value, all outward bound, and some of them worth above one hundred thousand Pounds each Ship. They burned likewise the whole Town of *Schelling*; which Conflagration, with that of the Ships, appearing at the Break of Day so near *Amsterdam*, put that Place into that Consternation that They thought the Day of Judgment was come, not thinking of their Ships there, as being out of the Power or Reach of any Enemy: And no Doubt it was the greatest Loss that State sustained in the whole War, that is, greater than all the rest. And as this Victory, if it can be called a Victory when there is no Resistance, occasioned great Triumph in *England*, so it raised great Thoughts of Heart in *De Wit*, and a Resolution of Revenge before any Peace should be consented to; which They effected to a good Degree the next Year.

The Dutch
Fleet puts to
Sea again.

There appeared no more Likelihood of the *Dutch* coming out again: So about the fifteenth of *August* the Generals returned to *Southwold Bay* to receive a Recruit of Men, Provisions and Ammunition, having left Ships enough upon the Coast of *Holland* to take Prizes, and Scouts upon the Coast to get Intelligence in what Readiness the Enemy's Fleet was, and what was done within the Land. And about the twenty-seventh a little Pink, that waited upon the Coast of *Zealand*, brought Notice that the Enemy, consisting of about fourscore Sail of Ships, were ready to come out from the *Wierings*; and the next Day They were assured that They were come

out and bound Westward, by which They concluded that they had Hope to join the *French Fleet*. Whereupon the Generals gave present Orders to unmoor the Fleet; and weighing Anchor about seven of the Clock in the Morning stood to Sea, and about Noon discovered the *Dutch Fleet* about four Leagues to the Leeward. The Generals made all Sail towards them: But the Enemy stood away for the Coast of *Flanders*, whilst the *English* were so entangled upon the *Galloper-Sands*, that They could not stand after the Enemy till late in the Afternoon; so that it was Night before They came near each other, and then several Guns were fired to little Purpose.

The next Morning, being the first of *September*, the Season when the Winds begin to grow boisterous, They had upon the breaking of the Day lost the Sight of the Enemy, though They believed that They had bore up in the Night for them: But when it was Light, They found that They were to the Leeward as far as They could discover, near *St. John's Bay* beyond *Calais*. The *English* pursued them, and making some Stay for the Fireships, which could not make Haste by Reason of the blustering Weather, it was four in the Afternoon before the Fleet came up together to them; when *De Ruyter* made a Show as if He would draw off from the Shore towards them. But when He saw the *English* stand with him and advance with their usual Resolution, He tacked back again, and stood close in to the Shore, where the rest of the Fleet was, in the Bay of *Staples*. And then the Night came, and the Wind blew so violently, that the *English* were forced to

The English
Fleet dispersed
by a Storm.

tack, and many of the Ships were forced to the Leeward, the Night being so foul, that neither the Generals nor the chief Flags could be discerned. And though the Storm continued very violent the next Day, a good Part of the Fleet got again together, and stood to the Bay of *Staples*, where the *Dutch* still remained close under the Shore at Anchor, but could not be invited to come out. So the *English* found it necessary to stand farther out to the Sea; and then They discovered the rest of the Fleet at a great Distance to the Leeward, and so bore after them, and at Night They all arrived at *St. Helen's Point*. And though the Tempest still increased, a Squadron went every Day out to the Coast of *France*.

The French Fleet, has a narrow Escape

In this Tempest the *French* Fleet had a very narrow Escape, by a Providence They are seldom without. A Gentleman of good Quality of that Nation returned at this Time out of *England*, (whither They repaired with as much Liberty and were as kindly treated as if there were no War, whilst no *Englishman* could be safe there); and landing at *Calais*, and finding that the Duke of *Beaufort* was every Day expected, He despatched two or three Barks to find him, with Information how and where the *English* lay; one of which came so luckily to him towards the Evening, that He changed his Course, and by the Darknes of the Night got into the Road of *Dieppe*, where He dropped his Anchors. But his Vice-Admiral, being the biggest and the best Ship but one in the Fleet, and carrying seventy Pieces of Cannon, pursuing the Course He was directed, in the Dark of the Night fell amongst the *English*, as

the rest had done if it had not been for that Advertisement; and after a little defending himself, which He saw was to no Purpose, was taken Prisoner, and desired to be brought to Prince *Rupert*, who knew him well, and treated him as a gallant Person ought to be, and caused many Things which belonged to his own Person to be restored to him; and when He was brought into *England*, He found another Kind of Reception (though He was Prisoner in the *Tower*) than any of the *English*, though of the same Quality, met with abroad. By this Accident the *French* Fleet made a happy Escape: And the Continuance of the Storm for many Days kept the *English* and the *Dutch* from any farther Engagement. But the same Winds, and at the same Time, did much more Mischief at Land than at Sea.

It was upon the first Day of that *September*, in the dismal Year of 1666 (in which many Prodigies were expected and so many really fell out), that that memorable and terrible Fire brake out in *London*, which began about Midnight, or nearer the Morning of *Sunday*, in a Baker's House at the End of *Thames Street* next the *Tower*, there being many little narrow Alleys and very poor Houses about the Place where it first appeared; and then finding such Store of combustible Materials, as that Street is always furnished with in Timber-Houses, the Fire prevailed so powerfully, that that whole Street and the Neighbourhood was in so short a Time turned to Ashes, that few Persons had Time to save and preserve any of their Goods; but were a Heap of People almost as dead with the sudden Distraction, as the Ruins were

The Fire of
London.

which They sustained. The Magistrates of the City assembled quickly together, and with the usual Remedies of Buckets, which They were provided with: But the Fire was too ravenous to be extinguished with such Quantities of Water as those Instruments could apply to it, and fastened still upon new Materials before it had destroyed the old. And though it raged furiously all that Day, to that Degree that all Men stood amazed, as Spectators only, no Man knowing what Remedy to apply, nor the Magistrates what Orders to give: Yet it kept within some Compass, burned what was next, and laid Hold only on Both Sides; and the greatest Apprehension was of the *Tower*, and all Considerations entered upon how to secure that Place.

But in the Night the Wind changed, and carried the Danger from thence, but with so great and irresistible Violence, that as it kept the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets from grappling when they were so near each other, so it scattered the Fire from pursuing the Line it was in with all its Force, and spread it over the City: So that They, who went late to Bed at a great Distance from any Place where the Fire prevailed, were awakened before Morning with their own Houses being in a Flame; and whilst Endeavour was used to quench that, other Houses were discovered to be burning, which were near no Place from whence They could imagine the Fire could come; all which kindled another Fire in the Breasts of Men, almost as dangerous as that within their Houses.

Monday Morning produced first a Jealousy, and then an universal Conclusion, that this Fire came

not by Chance, nor did They care where it began; but the breaking out in several Places at so great Distance from each other made it evident, that it was by Conspiracy and Combination. And this Determination could not hold long without Discovery of the wicked Authors, who were concluded to be all the *Dutch* and all the *French* in the Town, though They had inhabited the same Places above twenty Years. All of that Kind, or, if They were Strangers, of what Nation soever, were laid Hold of; and after all the ill Usage that can consist in Words, and some Blows and Kicks, They were thrown into Prison. And shortly after, the same Conclusion comprehended all the *Roman Catholics*, who were in the same Predicament of Guilt and Danger, and quickly found that their only Safety consisted in keeping within Doors; and yet some of them, and of Quality, were taken by Force out of their Houses and carried to Prison.

When this Rage spread as far as the Fire, and every Hour brought Reports of some bloody Effects of it, worse than in Truth there were, the King distributed many of the Privy-Council into several Quarters of the City, to prevent, by their Authorities, those Inhumanities which He heard were committed. In the mean Time, even They or any other Person thought it not safe to declare, "that They
 " believed that the Fire came by Accident, or that
 " it was not a Plot of the *Dutch* and the *French* and
 " *Papists* to burn the City;" which was so generally believed, and in the best Company, that He who said the Contrary was suspected for a Conspirator, or

at best a Favourer of them. It could not be conceived, how a House that was distant a Mile from any Part of the Fire could suddenly be in a Flame, without some particular Malice; and this Case fell out every Hour. When a Man at the farthest End of *Bread-Street* had made a Shift to get out of his House his best and most portable Goods, because the Fire had approached near them; He no sooner had secured them. as He thought, in some Friend's House in *Holborn*, which was believed a safe Distance, but He saw that very House, and none else near it, in a sudden Flame. Nor did there want, in this woful Distemper, the Testimony of Witnesses who saw this Villany committed, and apprehended Men who They were ready to swear threw Fireballs into Houses, which were presently burning.

The Lord *Hollis* and Lord *Ashley*, who had their Quarters assigned about *Newgate-Market* and the Streets adjacent, had many brought to them in Custody for Crimes of this Nature; and saw, within a very little Distance from the Place where They were, the People gathered together in great Disorder; and as They came nearer saw a Man in the Middle of them without a Hat or Cloak, pulled and hauled and very ill used, whom They knew to be a Servant to the *Portugal* Ambassador, who was presently brought to them. And a substantial Citizen was ready to take his Oath, “ that He saw that Man put his
 “ Hand into his Pocket, and throw into a Shop a
 “ Fireball; upon which He saw the House immedi-
 “ ately on Fire: Whereupon, being on the other
 “ Side of the Way, and seeing this, He cried out to

“ the People to stop that Gentleman , and made all
 “ the Haste He could himself; ” but the People had
 first seized upon him , and taken away his Sword ,
 which He was ready to draw ; and He not speaking
 nor understanding *English* , They had used him (in
 the Manner set down before. The Lord *Hollis* told
 him what He was accused of, and “ that He was seen
 “ to have thrown Somewhat out of his Pocket,
 “ which They thought to be a Fireball, into a House
 “ which was now on Fire : ” and the People had
 diligently searched his Pockets to find more of the
 same Commodities , but found Nothing that They
 meant to accuse him of. The Man standing in great
 Amazement to hear He was so charged, the Lord
Hollis asked him , “ what it was that He pulled out
 “ of his Pocket, and what it was He threw into the
 “ House : ” To which He answered, “ that He did
 “ not think that He had put his Hand into his Pock-
 “ et; but He remembered very well, that as He
 “ walked in the Street He saw a Piece of Bread upon
 “ the Ground, which He took up and laid upon a
 “ Shelf in the next House ; ” which is a Custom or
 Superstition so natural to the *Portuguese* , that if the
 King of *Portugal* were walking, and saw a Piece
 of Bread upon the Ground, He would take it up
 with his own Hand, and keep it till He saw a fit
 Place to lay it down.

The House being in View, the Lords with many
 of the People walked to it, and found the Piece of
 Bread just within the Door upon a Board, where
 He said He laid it; and the House on Fire was two
 Doors beyond it, which the Man who was on the

other Side of the Way, and saw this Man put his Hand into the House without staying, and presently after the Fire break out, concluded to be the same House; which was very natural in the Fright that all Men were in: Nor did the Lords, though They were satisfied, set the poor Man at Liberty; but, as if there remained Ground enough of Suspicion, committed him to the Constable, to be kept by him in his own House for some Hours, when They pretended They would examine him again. Nor were any Persons who were seized upon in the same Manner, as Multitudes were in all the Parts of the Town, especially if They were Strangers or *Papists*, presently discharged, when there was no reasonable Ground to suspect; but all sent to Prison, where They were in much more Security than They could have been in full Liberty, after They were once known to have been suspected; and most of them understood their Commitment to be upon that Ground, and were glad of it.

The Fire and the Wind continued in the same Excess all *Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday* till Afternoon, and flung and scattered Brands burning into all Quarters; the Nights more terrible than the Days, and the Light the same, the Light of the Fire supplying that of the Sun. And indeed whoever was an Eyewitness of that terrible Prospect, can never have so lively an Image of the last Conflagration till He beholds it; the Faces of all People in a wonderful Dejection and Discomposure, not knowing where They could repose themselves for one Hour's Sleep, and no Distance thought secure from the Fire,

which suddenly started up before it was suspected; so that People left their Houses and carried away their Goods from many Places which received no Hurt, and whither They afterwards returned again; all the Fields full of Women and Children, who had made a Shift to bring thither some Goods and Conveniences to rest upon, as safer than any Houses, where yet They felt such intolerable Heat and Drought, as if They had been in the Middle of the Fire. The King and the Duke, who rode from one Place to another, and put themselves into great Dangers amongst the burning and falling Houses, to give Advice and Direction what was to be done, underwent as much Fatigue as the meanest, and had as little Sleep or Rest; and the Faces of all Men appeared ghastly, and in the highest Confusion. The Country sent in Carts to help those miserable People who had saved any Goods: And by this Means, and the Help of Coaches, all the neighbour Villages were filled with more People than they could contain, and more Goods than they could find Room for; so that those Fields became likewise as full as the other about *London* and *Westminster*.

It was observed that where the Fire prevailed most, when it met brick Buildings, if it was not repulsed, it was so well resisted that it made a much slower Progress; and when it had done its Worst, that the Timber and all the combustible Matter fell, it fell down to the Bottom within the House, and the Walls stood and enclosed the Fire, and it was burned out without making a farther Progress in many of those Places; and then the Vacancy so interrupted the

Fury of it, that many Times the two or three next Houses stood without much Damage. Besides the spreading, infomuch as all *London* seemed but one Fire in the Breadth of it, it seemed to continue in its full Fury a direct Line to the *Thames* Side, all *Cheapside* from beyond the *Exchange*, through *Fleetstreet*; infomuch as for that Breadth, taking in Both Sides as far as the *Thames*, there was scarce a House or Church standing from the Bridge to *Dorset-House*, which was burned on *Tuesday* Night after *Baynard's Castle*.

On *Wednesday* Morning, when the King saw that neither the Fire decreased nor the Wind lessened, He even despaired of preserving *Whitehall*, but was more afraid of *Westminster-Abbey*. But having observed by his having visited all Places, that where there were any vacant Places between the Houses, by which the Progress of the Fire was interrupted, it changed its Course and went to the other Side; He gave Order for pulling down many Houses about *Whitehall*, some whereof were newly built and hardly finished, and sent many of his choice Goods by Water to *Hampton-Court*; as most of the Persons of Quality in the *Strand*, who had the Benefit of the River, got Barges and other Vessels, and sent their Furniture for their Houses to some Houses some Miles out of the Town. And very many on Both Sides the *Strand*, who knew not whither to go, and scarce what They did, fled with their Families out of their Houses into the Streets, that They might not be within when the Fire fell upon their Houses.

The Fire decreases.

But it pleased God, contrary to all Expectation,

that on *Wednesday*, about four or five of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Wind fell: And as in an Instant the Fire decreased, having burned all on the *Thames* Side to the New Buildings of the *Inner-Temple* next to *White-Friars*, and having consumed them, was stopped by that Vacancy from proceeding farther into that House; but laid Hold on some old Buildings which joined to *Ram-Alley*, and swept all those into *Fleet-Street*. And the other Side being likewise destroyed to *Fetter-Lane*, it advanced no farther; but left the other Part of *Fleet-Street* to the *Temple-Bar*, and all the *Strand*, unhurt, but what Damage the Owners of the Houses had done to themselves by endeavouring to remove; and it ceased in all other Parts of the Town near the same Time: So that the greatest Care then was, to keep good Guards to watch the Fire that was upon the Ground, that it might not break out again. And this was the better performed, because They who had yet their Houses standing had not the Courage to sleep, but watched with much less Distraction; though the same Distemper still remained in the utmost Extent, "that all this had fallen out by the Conspiracy of the *French* and *Dutch* with the *Papists*;" and all Gaols were filled with those who were every Hour apprehended upon that Jealousy; or rather upon some Evidence that They were guilty of the Crime. And the People were so sottish, that They believed that all the *French* in the Town (which no Doubt were a very great Number) were drawn into a Body, to prosecute those by the Sword who were preserved from the Fire: And the Inha-

bitants of a whole Street have ran in a great Tumult one Way, upon the Rumor that the *French* were marching at the other End of it; so terrified Men were with their own Apprehensions.

When the Night, though far from being a quiet one, had somewhat lessened the Consternation, the first Care the King took was, that the Country might speedily supply Markets in all Places, that They who had saved themselves from burning might not be in Danger of starving; and if there had not been extraordinary Care and Diligence used, many would have perished that Way. The vast Destruction of Corn, and all other Sorts of Provisions, in those Parts where the Fire had prevailed, had not only left all that People destitute of all that was to be eat or drank; but the Bakers and Brewers, which inhabited the other Parts which were unhurt, had forsaken their Houses, and carried away all that was portable: Infomuch as many Days passed, before They were enough in their Wits and in their Houses to fall to their Occupations; and those Parts of the Town which God had spared and preserved were many Hours without any Thing to eat, as well as They who were in the Fields. And yet it can hardly be conceived, how great a Supply of all Kinds was brought from all Places within four-and-twenty Hours. And which was more miraculous, in four Days, in all the Fields about the Town, which had seemed covered with those whose Habitations were burned, and with the Goods which They had saved, there was scarce a Man to be seen: All found Shelter in so short a Time, either in those Parts which

remained of the City and in the Suburbs, or in the neighbour Villages; all Kind of People expressing a marvellous Charity towards those who appeared to be undone. And very many, with more Expedition than can be conceived, set up little Sheds of Brick and Timber upon the Ruins of their own Houses, where They chose rather to inhabit than in more convenient Places, though They knew They could not long reside in those new Buildings.

The King was not more troubled at any Particular, than at the Imagination which possessed the Hearts of so many, that all this Mischief had fallen out by a real and formed Conspiracy; which, albeit He saw no Color to believe, He found very many intelligent Men, and even some of his own Council, who did really believe it. Whereupon He appointed the Privy-Council to sit both Morning and Evening, to examine all Evidence of that Kind that should be brought before them, and to send for any Persons who had been committed to Prison upon some Evidence that made the greatest Noise; and sent for the Lord Chief Justice, who was in the Country, to come to the Town for the better Examination of all Suggestions and Allegations of that Kind, there having been some malicious Report scattered about the Town, "that the Court had so great a Prejudice
 " against any Kind of Testimony of such a Conspi-
 " racy, that They discountenanced all Witnesses
 " who came before them to testify what They
 " knew;" which was without any Color of Truth. Yet many, who were produced as if their Testimony would remove all Doubts, made such senseless

Relations of what They had been told, without knowing the Condition of the Persons who told them, or where to find them, that it was a hard Matter to forbear smiling at their Evidence. Some *Frenchmen's* Houses had been searched, in which had been found many of those Shells for Squibs and other Fireworks, frequently used in Nights of Joy and Triumph; and the Men were well known, and had lived many Years there by that Trade, and had no other: And one of these was the King's Servant, and employed by the Office of Ordnance for making Grenades of all Kinds, as well for the Hand as for Mortar-pieces. Yet these Men were looked upon as in the Number of the Conspirators; and remained still in Prison till their Neighbours solicited for their Liberty. And it cannot be enough wondered at, that in this general Rage of the People no Mischief was done to the Strangers, that no one of them was assassinated outright, though many were sorely beaten and bruised.

Hubert's
Strange Con-
fession.

There was a very odd Accident that confirmed many in what They were inclined to believe, and startled others, who thought the Conspiracy impossible, since no Combination not very discernible and discovered could have effected that Mischief, in which the immediate Hand of God was so visible. Amongst many *Frenchmen* who had been sent to *Newgate*, there was one *Hubert*, a young Man of five or six-and-twenty Years of Age, the Son of a famous Watchmaker in the City of *Roan*; and this Fellow had wrought in the same Profession with several Men in *London*, and had for many Years

Both

both in *Roan* and in *London* been looked upon as distracted. This Man confessed " that He had set
 " the first House on Fire, and that He had been
 " hired in *Paris* a Year before to do it: That there
 " were three more combined with him to do the
 " same Thing, and that They came over together
 " into *England* to put it in Execution in the Time
 " of the Plague; but when They were in *London*,
 " He and two of his Companions went into *Sweden*,
 " and returned from thence in the latter End of
 " *August*, and He resolved to undertake it; and that
 " the two others went away into *France*."

The whole Examination was so senseless, that the Chief Justice, who was not looked upon as a Man who wanted Rigor, did not believe any Thing He said. He was asked, " who it was in *Paris* that subscribed him to this Action: To which He answered, " that He did not know, having never seen
 " him before;" and in the enlarging upon that Point He contradicted himself in many Particulars. Being asked " what Money He had received to perform a
 " Service of so much Hazard," He said, " He had received but a *Pistole*, but was promised five *Pistoles*
 " more when He should have done his Work;" and many such unreasonable Things, that Nobody present credited any Thing He said. However They durst not slight the Evidence, but put him to a Particular, in which He so fully confirmed all that He had said before, that They were surpris'd with Wonder, and knew not afterwards what to say or think. They asked him, " if He knew the Place
 " where He first put Fire;" He answered, " that

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“ He knew it very well , and would show it to any “ Body.” Upon this the Chief Justice , and many Aldermen who sat with him , sent a Guard of substantial Citizens with the Prisoner , that He might show them the House ; and They first led him to a Place at some Distance from it , and asked him “ if “ that were it ;” to which He answered presently , “ No , it was lower , nearer to the *Thames*.” The House and all which were near it were so covered and buried in Ruins , that the Owners themselves , without some infallible Mark , could very hardly have said where their own Houses had stood : But this Man led them directly to the Place , described how it stood , the Shape of the little Yard , the Fashion of the Door and Windows , and where He first put the Fire , and all this with such Exactness , that They who had dwelt long near it could not so perfectly have described all Particulars .

This silenced all farther Doubts . And though the Chief Justice told the King , “ that all his Discourse “ was so disjointed that He did not believe him “ guilty ;” nor was there one Man who prosecuted or accused him : Yet upon his own Confession , and so sensible a Relation of all that He had done , accompanied with so many Circumstances (though without the least Show of Compunction or Sorrow for what He said He had done , nor yet seeming to justify or to take Delight in it ; but being asked whether He was not sorry for the Wickedness , and whether He intended to do so much , He gave no Answer at all , or made Reply to what was said ; and with the same Temper died) , the Jury found him guilty , and He was executed accordingly . And though no Man

could imagine any Reason why a Man should so desperately throw away his Life, which He might have saved though He had been guilty, since He was only accused upon his own Confession; yet neither the Judges nor any present at the Trial did believe him guilty, but that He was a poor distracted Wretch weary of his Life, and chose to part with it this Way. Certain it is, that upon the strictest Examination that could be afterwards made by the King's Command, and then by the Diligence of the House, that upon the general Jealousy and Rumor made a Committee, that was very diligent and solicitous to make that Discovery, there was never any probable Evidence (that poor Creature's only excepted) that there was any other Cause of that woful Fire, than the Displeasure of God Almighty: The first Accident of the Beginning in a Backer's House, where there was so great a Stock of Faggots, and the Neighbourhood of much combustibile Matter, of Pitch and Rosin and the like, led it in an Instant from House to House through *Thames-Street*, with the Agitation of so terrible a Wind to scatter and disperse it.

Upon which
He is executed.

Let the Cause be what it would, the Effect was very terrible; for above two Parts of three of that great City were burned to Ashes, and those the most rich and wealthy Parts of the City, where the greatest Warehouses and the best Shops stood. The *Royal-Exchange* with all the Streets about it, *Lombard-Street*, *Cheapside*, *Paternoster-Row*, *St. Paul's Church*, and almost all the other Churches in the City, with the *Old-Bailey*, *Ludgate*, all *Paul's Church-Yard* even to the *Thames*, and the greatest Part of

Fleet-Street, all which were Places the best inhabited, were all burned without one House remaining.

The inestimable Loss sustained by the Fire.

The Value or Estimate of what that devouring Fire consumed, over and above the Houses, could never be computed in any Degree: For besides that the first Night (which in a Moment swept away the vast Wealth of *Thames-Street*) there was not any Thing that could be preserved in Respect of the Suddenness and Amazement (all People being in their Beds till the Fire was in their Houses, and so could save Nothing but themselves), the next Day with the Violence of the Wind increased the Distraction; nor did many believe that the Fire was near them, or that They had Reason to remove their Goods, till it was upon them and rendered it impossible. Then it fell out at a Season in the Year, the Beginning of *September*, when very many of the substantial Citizens and other wealthy Men were in the Country, whereof many had not left a Servant in their Houses, thinking themselves upon all ordinary Accidents more secure in the Goodness and Kindness of their Neighbours, than They could be in the Fidelity of a Servant; and whatsoever was in such Houses was entirely consumed by the Fire, or lost as to the Owners. And of this *Classis* of absent Men, when the Fire came where the Lawyers had Houses, as They had in many Places, especially *Serjeants-Inn* in *Fleet-Street*, with that Part of the *Inner-Temple* that was next it and *White-Friars*, there was scarce a Man to whom those Lodgings appertained who was in Town: So that whatsoever was there, their Money, Books and Papers, besides the Evidences

of many Men's Estates deposited in their Hands, were all burned or lost, to a very great Value. But of particular Men's Losses could never be made any Computation.

It was an incredible Damage that was and might rationally be computed to be sustained by one small Company; the Company of Stationers, in Books, Paper, and the other lesser Commodities which are vendible in that Corporation, which amounted to no less than two hundred thousand Pounds: In which prodigious Loss there was one Circumstance very lamentable. All those who dwelt near *Paul's* carried their Goods, Books, Paper, and the like, as others of greater Trades did their Commodities, into the large Vaults which were under *St. Paul's* Church, before the Fire came thither: Which Vaults, though all the Church above the Ground was afterwards burned, with all the Houses round about, still stood firm and supported the Foundation, and preserved all that was within them; until the Impatience of those who had lost their Houses, and whatsoever They had else, in the Fire, made them very desirous to see what They had saved, upon which all their Hopes were founded to repair the rest.

It was the fourth Day after the Fire ceased to flame, though it still burned in the Ruins, from whence there was still an intolerable Heat, when the Book-sellers especially, and some other Tradesmen, who had deposited all They had preserved in the greatest and most spacious Vault, came to behold all their Wealth, which to that Moment was safe: But the Doors were no sooner opened, and the Air from

without fanned the strong Heat within, but first the driest and most combustible Matters broke into a Flame, which consumed all, of what Kind soever, that till then had been unhurt there. Yet They who had committed their Goods to some lesser Vaults, at a Distance from that greater, had better Fortune; and having learned from the second Ruin of their Friends to have more Patience, attended till the Rain fell, and extinguished the Fire in all Places, and cooled the Air: And then They securely opened the Doors, and received all from thence that They had there.

If so vast a Damage as two hundred thousand Pounds besel that little Company of Stationers in Books and Paper and the like, what shall we conceive was lost in Cloth (of which the Country-Clothiers lost all that They had brought up to *Blackwell-Hall* against *Michaelmas*, which was all burned with that fair Structure), in Silks of all Kinds, in Linen, and those richer Manufactures? Not to speak of Money, Plate and Jewels, whereof some were recovered out of the Ruins of those Houses which the Owners took Care to watch, as containing Somewhat that was worth the looking for, and in which Deluge there were Men ready enough to fish.

The Lord Mayor, though a very honest Man, was much blamed for Want of Sagacity in the first Night of the Fire, before the Wind gave it much Advancement: For though He came with great Diligence as soon as He had Notice of it, and was present with the first, yet having never been used to such Spectacles, his Consternation was equal to that of other

Men, nor did He know how to apply his Authority to the remedying the present Distress; and when Men who were less terrified with the Object pressed him very earnestly, "that He would give Order for the present pulling down those Houses which were nearest, and by which the Fire climbed to go farther" (the doing whereof at that Time might probably have prevented much of the Mischief that succeeded), He thought it not safe Counsel, and made no other Answer, "than that He durst not do it without the Consent of the Owners." His Want of Skill was the less wondered at, when it was known afterwards, that some Gentlemen of the *Inner-Temple* would not endeavour to preserve the Goods which were in the Lodgings of absent Persons, nor suffer others to do it, "because," They said; "it was against the Law to break up any Man's Chamber."

The so sudden Repair of those formidable Ruins, and the giving so great Beauty to all Deformity (a Beauty and a Lustre that City had never before been acquainted with), is little less wonderful than the Fire that consumed it.

It was hoped and expected that this prodigious and universal Calamity, for the Effects of it covered the whole Kingdom, would have made Impression, and produced some Reformation in the Licence of the Court: For as the Pains the King had taken Night and Day during the Fire, and the Dangers He had exposed himself to, even for the saving the Citizens Goods, had been very notorious, and in the Mouths of all Men, with good Wishes and Prayers

The King seriously affected with this Calamity.

for him; so his Majesty had been heard during that Time to speak with great Piety and Devotion of the Displeasure that God was provoked to. And no Doubt the deep Sense of it did raise many good Thoughts and Purposes in his Royal Breast. But He was narrowly watched and looked to, that such melancholic Thoughts might not long possess him, the Consequence and Effect whereof was like to be more grievous than that of the Fire itself; of which that loose Company that was too much cherished, even before it was extinguished, discoursed as of an Argument for Mirth and Wit to describe the Wildness of the Confusion all People were in; in which the Scripture itself was used with equal Liberty, when They could apply it to their prophane Purposes. And Mr. *May* presumed to assure the King, “ that this was the greatest Blessing that God had ever conferred upon him, his Restoration only excepted: For the Walls and Gates being now burned and thrown down of that rebellious City, which was always an Enemy to the Crown, his Majesty would never suffer them to repair and build them up again to be a *Bit in his Mouth and a Bridle upon his Neck*; but would keep all open, that his Troops might enter upon them whenever He thought necessary for his Service, there being no other Way to govern that rude Multitude but by Force.”

Measures taken to effice such good Impressions in him.

This Kind of Discourse did not please the King, but was highly approved by the Company; and for the Wit and Pleasantness of it was repeated in all Companies, infinitely to the King's Disservice, and

corrupted the Affections of the Citizens and of the Country, who used and assumed the same Liberty to publish the Profaneness and Atheism of the Court. And as Nothing was done there in private, so it was made more public in Pasquils and Libels, which were as bold with Reflections of the broadest Nature upon the King himself, and upon those in whose Company He was most delighted, as upon the meanest Person.

All Men of Virtue and Sobriety, of which there were very many in the King's Family. were grieved and heartbroken with hearing what They could not chuse but hear, and seeing many Things which They could not avoid the seeing. There were few of the Council that did not to one another lament the Excesses, which must in Time be attended with fatal Consequences, and for the present did apparently lessen the Reverence to the King, that is the best Support of his Royalty: But few of them had the Courage to say that to his Majesty, which was not so fit to be said to any Body else. Nor can it be denied, that his Majesty did, upon all Occasions, receive those Advertisements from those who presented them to him, with Patience and Benignity, and without the least Show of Displeasure; though the Persons concerned endeavoured no one Thing more than to persuade him, "that it was the highest
" Presumption imaginable in the Privy-Council to
" believe, that They had any Jurisdiction in the
" Court, or ought to censure the Manners of it.

And to lessen
his esteem of
the Privy-
Council.

Nor were all those Endeavours without making some Impression upon his Majesty, who rather

esteemed some particular Members of it, than was inclined to believe that the Body of it ought to receive a Reverence from the People, or be looked upon as a vital Part of the Government: In which his Majesty (as hath been often said before) by the ill Principles He had received in *France*, and the accustomed Liberty of his Bedchamber, was exceedingly and unhappily mistaken. For by the Constitution of the Kingdom, and the very Laws and Customs of the Nation, as the Privy-Council and every Member of it is of the King's sole Choice and Election of him to that Trust (for the greatest Office in the State, though conferred likewise by the King himself, doth not qualify the Officer to be of the Privy-Council, or to be present in it, before by a new Assignment that Honor is bestowed on him, and that He be sworn of the Council); so the Body of it is the most sacred, and hath the greatest Authority in the Government of the State, next the Person of the King himself, to whom all other Powers are equally subject: And no King of *England* can so well secure his own just Prerogative, or preserve it from Violation, as by a strict defending and supporting the Dignity of his Privy-Council.

When it was too much taken Notice of, that the King himself had not that Esteem or Consideration of the Council that was due to it, what They did or ordered to be done was less valued by the People; and that Disrespect every Day improved by the Want of Gravity and Justice and Constancy in the Proceedings there, the Resolutions of one Day being reversed or altered the next, either upon some Whif-

pers in the King's Ear, or some new Fancy in some of those Counsellors, who were always of one Mind against all former Orders and Precedents; the Pride and insolent Humor of Sir *William Coventry* taking not so much Delight in any Thing, as to cross and oppose whatsoever the Chancellor or the Treasurer advised, and to reverse what had been ordered upon that Ground. And though He had sucked in Milk at the Charge of the Law, no Man was so professed an Enemy to it and to the Professors of it, and showed so little Respect to any Thing passed and granted under the Great-Seal of *England*, but spake against it with the same Confidence as if it had been a common Scroll of no Signification; which Kind of Behaviour in a Person unqualified by any Office to speak much in such an Assembly, as it had never been accustomed, so it would have found much Reprehension there, if it had not been for Respect to the Duke, and if the King himself had not very often declared himself to be of his Opinion, even in Particulars which himself had caused to be proposed to a contrary Purpose.

One Day his Majesty called the Chancellor to him, and complained very much of the Licence that was assumed in the Coffeehouses, which were the Places where the boldest Calumnies and Scandals were raised, and discoursed amongst a People who knew not each other, and came together only for that Communication, and from thence were propagated over the Kingdom; and mentioned some particular Rumors which had been lately dispersed from the Fountains, which on his own Behalf He was enough

displeas'd with, and ask'd him what was to be done in it.

The Chancellor concurr'd with him in the Sense of the Scandal, and the Mischief that must attend the Impunity of such Places, where the foulest Imputations were laid upon the Government, which were held lawful to be reported and divulg'd to every Body but to the Magistrates, who might examine and punish them; of which there having yet been no Precedent, People generally believ'd that those Houses had a Charter of Privilege to speak what They would, without being in Danger to be call'd in Question: And "that it was high Time for his Majesty to apply some Remedy to such a growing Disease, and to reform the Understanding of those who believ'd that no Remedy could be apply'd to it. That it would be fit, either by a Proclamation to forbid all Persons to resort to those Houses, and so totally to suppress them; or to employ some Spies, who, being present in the Conversation, might be ready to charge and accuse the Persons who had talk'd with most Licence in a Subject that would bear a Complaint; upon which the Proceedings might be in such a Manner, as would put an End to the Confidence that was only mischievous in those Meetings." The King lik'd Both the Expedients, and thought that the last could not justly be made Use of till the former should give fair Warning; and command'd him to propose it that same Day in Council, that some Order might be given in it.

The Chancellor propos'd it, as He was requir'd,

with such Arguments as were like to move with Men who knew the Inconveniencies which arose from those Places; and the King himself mentioned it with Passion, as derogatory to the Government, and directed that the Attorney might prepare a Proclamation for the Suppression of those Houses, in which the Board seemed to agree: When Sir *William Coventry*, who had been heard within few Days before to inveigh with much Fierceness against the Permission of so much seditious Prattle in the Impunity of those Houses, stood up, and said, “that Coffee was a Commodity that yielded the King a good Revenue, and therefore it would not be just to receive the Duties and inhibit the Sale of it, which many Men found to be very good for their Health,” as if it might not be bought and drank but in those licentious Meetings. “That it had been permitted in *Cromwell’s* Time, and that the King’s Friends had used more Liberty of Speech in those Places than They durst do in any other; and that He thought it would be better to leave them as they were, without running the Hazard of Ill being continued notwithstanding his Command to the Contrary.” And upon these Reasons his Majesty was converted, and declined any farther Debate; which put the Chancellor very much out of Countenance, nor knew He how to behave himself.

The Truth is: He had a very hard Province, and found his Credit every Day to decay with the King; whilst They who prevailed against him used all the Skill and Cunning They had to make it believed,

The Chancellor's Interest declines: Whilst the Courtiers affect to repro-

sent it at the
highest.

“ that his Power with his Majesty was as great as it
 “ had ever been, and that all those Things which
 “ He most opposed were acted by his Advice.” And
 whilst They procured all those for whom He had
 Kindness, or who professed any Respect towards him,
 to be discountenanced and undervalued, and pre-
 ferred none but such who were known to have an
 Aversion for him upon Somewhat that He had, or
 They had been told that He had, obstructed their
 Pretences in; They persuaded Men, “ that Nobody
 “ had any Credit with the King to dispose of any
 “ Place but He.”

Those very Men would often profess to him, “ that
 “ They were so much afflicted at the King’s Course
 “ of Life, that They even despaired that He would
 “ be able to master those Difficulties which would
 “ still press him;” and would then tell him some
 Particulars which He himself had said or done, or
 had been said or done lately in his own Presence,
 and of which He had never heard before; which
 gave him Occasion often to blame them, “ that They,
 “ who had the Opportunity to see and know many
 “ Things which He had no Notice of or could not
 “ take any, and foresaw the Consequence that did
 “ attend them, did yet forbear to use the Credit
 “ They had with his Majesty, in advertising him
 “ what They thought and heard all others say;”
 and He offered “ to go with them to his Majesty,
 “ and make a lively Representation to him of the
 “ great Decay of his Reputation with the People
 “ upon his exorbitant Excesses, which God never
 “ would bless:” To all which They were not

ashamed to confess, “ that They never had nor durst
 “ speak to his Majesty to that Purpose, or in such a
 “ Dialect.” Indeed They were the honest Men in
 not doing it, for it had been gross Hypocrisy to have
 found Fault with those Actions, upon the pursuing
 whereof They most depended; and the Reformation
 which They would have been glad to have seen, had
 no Relation to those inordinate and unlawful Appet-
 ites, which were the Root from whence all the other
 Mischiefs had their Birth. They did not wish that
 the Lady’s Authority and Power should be lessened,
 much less extinguished; and that which would have
 been the most universal Blessing to the whole King-
 dom, would have been received by them as the
 greatest Curse that could befall them.

One Day the Chancellor and the Lord *Arlington*
 were together alone, and the Secretary according to
 his Custom was speaking soberly of many great Mis-
 carriages by the Licence of the Court, and how much
 his Majesty suffered thereby; when the King sud-
 denly came into the Room to them, and after He
 was sat asked them what They were talking of; to
 which the Chancellor answered “ that He would tell
 him honestly and truly, “ and was not sorry for the
 “ Opportunity.” And the other looking with a
 very troubled Countenance, He proceeded and said,
 “ that They were speaking of his Majesty, and, as
 “ They did frequently, were bewailing the unhappy
 “ Life He lived, both with Respect to himself, who,
 “ by the Excess of Pleasures which He indulged to
 “ himself, was indeed without the true Delight and
 “ Relish of any; and in Respect to his Government,

Arlington
 laments to the
 Chancellor the
 King’s Course
 of Life: The
 King enters
 the Room.

To whom the
 Chancellor
 repeats the
 Discourse.

“ which He totally neglected, and of which the
 “ Kingdom was so sensible, that it could not be long
 “ before He felt the ill Effects of it. That the People
 “ were well prepared and well inclined to obey ; but
 “ if They found that He either would not or could
 “ not command, their Temper would quickly be
 “ changed, and He would find less Obedience in
 “ all Places, than was necessary for his Affairs : And
 “ that it was too evident and visible, that He had
 “ already lost very much of the Affection and Re-
 “ verence the Nation had for him.”

He said, “ that this was the Subject They two
 “ were discoursing upon when his Majesty entered ;
 “ and that it is the Argument, upon which all those
 “ of his Council with whom He had any Conversa-
 “ tion did every Day enlarge, when They were
 “ together, with Grief of Heart, and even with
 “ Tears ; and that He hoped that some of them did,
 “ with that Duty that became them, represent to his
 “ Majesty their own Sense, and the Sense his good
 “ Subjects had, of his Condition of living, both with
 “ Reference to God who had wrought such Mira-
 “ cles for him, and expected some proportionable
 “ Return ; and with Reference to his People, who
 “ were in the highest Discontent. He doubted all
 “ Men did not discharge their Duty this Way ; and
 “ some had confessed to him *that They durst not do*
 “ *it lest They might offend him, which He had assured*
 “ *them often that They would not do having had so*
 “ *often Experience himself of his Goodness in that Re-*
 “ *spect ; and that He had the rather taken this Oppor-*
 “ *tunity to make this Representation to him in the*
 “ Presence

“ Presence of another, which He had never used to
 “ do:” And concluded “ with beseeching his Ma-
 “ jesty to believe that which He had often said to
 “ him, *that no Prince could be more miserable, nor*
 “ *could have more Reason to fear his own Ruin, than*
 “ *He who hath no Servants who dare contradict him*
 “ *in his Opinions, or advise him against his Inclina-*
 “ *tions how natural soever.*”

The King heard all this and more to the same Effect with his usual Temper (for He was a patient Hearer), and spake sensibly, as if He thought that much that had been said was with too much Reason; when the other, who wished not such an Effect from the Discourse, instead of seconding any Thing that had been said, made Use of the Warmth the Chancellor was in, and of some Expressions He had used, to fall into Raillery, which was his best Faculty; with which He diverted the King from any farther serious Reflections; and Both of them grew very merry with the other, and reproached his overmuch Severity, now He grew old and considered not the Infirmities of younger Men: Which increased the Passion He was in, and provoked him to say, “ that
 “ it was observed abroad, that it was a Faculty very
 “ much improved of late in the Court, to laugh at
 “ those Arguments They could not answer, and
 “ which would always be requited with the same
 “ Mirth amongst those who were Enemies to it,
 “ and therefore it was Pity that it should be so
 “ much embraced by those who pretended to be
 “ Friends;” and to use some other, too plain, Ex-
 “ pressions, which it may be were not warily enough

Arlington
 puts it off with
 Raillery.

used, and which the good Lord forgot not to put the King in Mind of, and to descant upon the Presumption, in a Season that was more ripe for such Reflections, which at the present He forebore to do, and for some Time after remembered only in merry Occasions.

Though the King did not yet, nor in a good Time after, appear to dislike the Liberty the Chancellor presumed to take with him (who often told him, “ that He knew He made himself grievous to him, “ and gave his Enemies too great Advantages against “ him; but that the Conscience of having done his “ Duty, and having never failed to inform his Majesty of any Thing that was fit for him to know “ and to believe, was the only Support He had to “ bear the present Trouble of his Mind, and to “ prepare him for those Distresses which He foresaw “ He was to undergo:” Which his Majesty heard with great Goodness and Condescension, and vouchsafed still to tell him, “ that it was in Nobody’s “ Power to divert his Kindness from him”): Yet He found every Day that some Arguments grew less acceptable to him, and that the constant Conversation with Men of great Profaneness, whose Wit consisted in abusing Scripture, and in repeating and acting what the Preachers said in their Sermons, and turning it into Ridicule (a Faculty in which the Duke of *Buckingham* excelled), did much lessen the natural Esteem and Reverence He had for the Clergy; and inclined him to consider them as a Rank of Men that compounded a Religion for their own Advantage, and to serve their own Turns. Nor was all

He could say to him of Weight enough to make Impression to the Contrary.

And then He seemed to think, "that Men were bolder in the examining his Actions and censuring them than They ought to be:" And once He told him, "that He thought He was more severe against common Infirmities, than He should be; and that his Wife was not courteous in returning Visits and Civilities to those who paid her Respect; and that He expected that all his Friends should be very kind to those who They knew were much loved by him, and that He thought so much Justice was due to him."

The King complains to the Chancellor of the Liberties taken with his Character.

The Chancellor, who had never dissembled with him, but on the Contrary had always eadeavoured to persuade him to believe, that Diffimulation was the most dishonest and ungentlemanly Quality that could be affected, answered him very roundly, "that He might seem not to understand his Meaning, and so make no Reply to the Discourse He had made: But that He understood it all, and the Meaning of every Word of it; and therefore that it would not become him to suffer his Majesty to depart with an Opinion, that what He had said would produce any Alteration in his Behaviour towards him, or Reformation of his Manners towards any other Persons."

The Chancellor seriously remonstrates with him.

"That for the first Part, the Liberty Men took to speak of him and to censure his Actions, He was of the Opinion that it was a very great Presumption, and a Crime very fit to be punished: For let it be true or false, Men had been always

“ severely chastised for that Licence, because it
 “ tended to Sedition. However He put his Majesty
 “ in Mind of the Example of *Philip of Macedon*, who,
 “ when one of his Servants accused a Person of Con-
 “ dition to him of having spoken ill of him, and
 “ offered to go himself to the Magistrate and make
 “ Proof of it, answered him; *that the Person He ac-*
 “ *cused was a Man of the greatest Reputation of Wis-*
 “ *dom and Integrity in the Kingdom, and therefore it*
 “ *would be fit in the first Place to examine, whether*
 “ *himself (the King) had not done Somewhat by which*
 “ *He had deserved to be spoken of: Indeed this Way*
 “ the best Men would often receive Benefit from
 “ their worst Enemies. For the Matter itself,” He
 said, “ He need make no Apology: For that it was
 “ notoriously known, that He had constantly given
 “ it in Charge to all the Judges, to make diligent
 “ Inquiry into Misdemeanours and Transgressions
 “ of that Magnitude, and to punish those who were
 “ guilty in the most exemplary Manner; and that
 “ He took not more Pains any Way, than to pre-
 “ serve in the Hearts of the People that Veneration
 “ for his Person that is due to his Dignity, and to
 “ persuade many who appeared afflicted with the
 “ Reports They heard, *that They heard more than*
 “ *was true; and that the suppressing all Reports of that*
 “ *Kind was the Duty of every good Subject, and would*
 “ *contribute more towards the reforming any Thing*
 “ *that in Truth is amiss, than the propagating the*
 “ *Scandal by spreading it in Discourses could do. How-*
 “ ever that all this which was his Duty, and but
 “ his Duty, did not make it unfit for him, or any

“ other under his Obligations, in fit Seasons to make
 “ a lively Representation to his Majesty of what is
 “ done, and how secretly soever, that cannot be
 “ justified or excused; and of the Untruths and Scan-
 “ dals which spring from thence to his irreparable
 “ Dishonor and Prejudice.”

“ For the other Part, of Want of Ceremony and
 “ Respect to those who were loved and esteemed by
 “ his Majesty, He might likewise avoid enlarging
 “ upon that Subject, by putting his Majesty in Mind,
 “ that He had the Honor to serve him in a Province
 “ that excused him from making Visits, and exempt-
 “ ed him from all Ceremonies of that Kind. But He
 “ would not shelter himself under such a general De-
 “ fence, when He perceived that his Majesty had in
 “ the Reprehension a particular Intention: And
 “ therefore He confessed ingenuously to his Majesty,
 “ that He did deny himself many Liberties, which in
 “ themselves might be innocent enough and agreea-
 “ ble to his Person, because they would not be de-
 “ cent or agreeable to the Office He held, which
 “ obliged him for his Majesty’s Honor, and to pre-
 “ serve him from the Reproach of having put a light
 “ Person into a grave Place, to have the more Care
 “ of his own Carriage and Behaviour. And that,
 “ as it would reflect upon his Majesty himself, if
 “ his Chancellor was known or thought to be of
 “ dissolute and debauched Manners, which would
 “ make him as incapable as unworthy to do him
 “ Service; so it would be a Blemish and Taint upon
 “ him to give any Countenance, or to pay more
 “ than ordinary, cursory and unavoidable Civili-

“ ties, to Persons infamous for any Vice, for which
 “ by the Laws of God and Man They ought to be
 “ odious, and to be exposed to the Judgment of the
 “ Church and State. And that He would not for his
 “ own Sake and for his own Dignity, to how low a
 “ Condition soever He might be reduced, stoop to
 “ such a Condescension as to have the least Com-
 “ merce, or to make the Application of a Visit, to
 “ any such Person, for any Benefit or Advantage
 “ that it might bring to him. He did beseech his
 “ Majesty not to believe, that He hath a Preroga-
 “ tive to declare Vice Virtue; or to qualify any
 “ Person who lives in a Sin and avows it, against
 “ which God himself hath pronounced Damnation,
 “ for the Company and Conversation of innocent
 “ and worthy Persons. And that whatever low
 “ Obedience, which was in Truth gross Flattery,
 “ some People might pay to what They believed
 “ would be grateful to his Majesty, They had in
 “ their Hearts a perfect Detestation of the Persons
 “ They made Address to: And that for his Part He
 “ was long resolved that his Wife should not be one
 “ of those Courtiers; and that He would himself
 “ much less like her Company, if She put herself
 “ into theirs who had not the same Innocence.”

The King was not the more pleased for the De-
 fence He made, and did not dissemble his Dislike of
 it, without any other Sharpness, than by telling him
 “ that He was in the Wrong, and had an Understand-
 “ ing different from all other Men who had Experi-
 “ ence in the World.” And it is most certain, it was
 an avowed Doctrine, and with great Address daily

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infiuated to the King, " that Princes had many Liberties which private Persons have not; and that a Lady of Honor who dedicates herself only to please a King, and continues faithful to him, ought not to be branded with any Name or Mark of Infamy, but hath been always looked upon by all Persons wellbred as worthy of Respect: " And to this Purpose the History of all the Amours of his Grandfather were carefully presented to him, and with what Indignation He suffered any Disrespect towards any of his Mistresses.

But of all these Artifices, the Chancellor had no Apprehension, out of the Confidence He had in the Integrity of the King's Nature; and that though He might be swayed to sacrifice his present Affections to his Appetite, He could never be prevailed upon to entertain a real Suspicion of his very passionate Affection and Duty to his Person. That which gave him most Trouble, and many Times made him wish himself in any private Condition separated from the Court, was that Unfixedness and Irresolution of Judgment that was natural to all his Family, of the Male Line, which often exposed them all to the Importunities of bold, and to the Snares of crafty, Men.

One Day the King and the Duke came to the Chancellor together; and the King told him with a very visible Trouble in his Countenance, " that They were come to confer and advise with him upon an Affair of Importance, which exceedingly disquieted them Both. That *Dick Talbot*" (which was the familiar Appellation, according to the ill

One Talbot, an Irishman, designs to assassinate the Duke of Ormond.

Custom of the Court, that most Men gave him)
 “ had a Resolution to assassinate the Duke of Or-
 “ mond. That He had sworn in the Presence of two
 “ or three Persons of Honor, *that He would do it in*
 “ *the Revenge of some Injuries which He pretended,*
 “ *He had done his Family: That He had much rather*
 “ *fight with him, which He knew the Duke would be*
 “ *willing enough to do; but That He should never be*
 “ *able to bring to pass; and therefore He would take*
 “ *his Revenge in any Way that should offer itself.* And
 “ every Body knew that the Man had Courage and
 “ Wickedness enough to attempt any Thing like it.
 “ That the Duke of Ormond knew well enough that
 “ the Fellow threatened it, and was like enough to
 “ act it; but that He thought it below him to ap-
 “ prehend it; And that his Majesty came to the No-
 “ tice of it by the Earl of Clancarty, to whom Sir
 “ Robert Talbot, the elder Brother of the other, told
 “ it, to the End that the Earl might give the Duke
 “ Notice of it, and find some Way to prevent it;
 “ and the Earl had that Day informed the King of
 “ it, as the best Way He could think of to prevent
 “ it.” His Majesty said, “ there remained no Doubt
 “ to be made of the Truth of it; for there were two
 “ or three more of unquestionable Credit who had
 “ heard him use the same Expressions: And that He
 “ had first spoken with his Brother, whose Servant
 “ He was, whom He found equally incensed as him-
 “ self; and that They came immediately together
 “ to consult with him what was to be done.”

An Account
 of this Man's
 Family: With

The Chancellor knew all the Brothers well, and
 was believed to have too much Prejudice to them

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all. They were all of an *Irish* Family but of ancient *English* Extraction, which had always inhabited within that Circle that was called the *Pale*; which, being originally an *English* Plantation, was in so many hundred Years for the most Part degenerated into the Manners of the *Irish*, and rose and mingled with them in the late Rebellion: And of this Family there were two distinct Families, who had competent Estates, and lived in many Descents in the Rank of Gentlemen of Quality; and those Brothers were all the Sons, or the Grandsons, of one who was a Judge in *Ireland*, and esteemed a learned Man. The eldest was Sir *Robert Talbot* who was by much the best; that is, the rest were much worse Men: A Man, whom the Duke of *Ormond* most esteemed of those who had been in Rebellion, as one who had less Malice than most of the rest, and had recommended to the King as a Person fit for his Favor. But because He did not ask all on his Behalf, which He must have done for a Man entirely innocent, this Refusal was looked upon as the highest Disobligation.

the Characters
of the five
Brothers.

Sir Robert
Talbot, the
eldest.

The second Brother was a *Jesuit*, who had been very troublesome to the King abroad, and had behaved himself in so insolent a Manner, that his Majesty had forbidden him his Court; after which He went into *England*, and applied himself to the ruling Power there, and was by that sent into *Spain*, at the Time when the Treaty was at *Fuentarabia* between the two Crowns, to procure that *England* might be included in that Peace, and the King excluded, and not to be suffered to remain in *Flanders*.

Peter the second, a Jesuit.

Of all which his Majesty having Advertisement, sent positive Orders to Sir *Harry Bennet* his Resident then in *Madrid* to complain of him, and to desire *Don Lewis de Haro*, that He might receive no Countenance in that Court. But the *Jesuit* had better and more powerful Recommendation; and was not only welcome there, but (which was very strange, considering his Talent of Understanding) in a short Time got so much Interest in the Resident, that He received him into all Kind of Familiarity and Trust, and undertook to reconcile the King to him, and was as good as his Word: And from the Time of his Majesty's Return, or rather from the Return of Sir *Harry Bennet*, He was as much and as busy in the Court as if He were a domestic Servant. And after the Queen came to *Whitehall*, He was admitted one of her Almoners; and walked with the same or more Freedom in the King's House (and in Clergy Habit) than any of his Majesty's Chaplains did; who did not presume to be seen in the Galleries and other reserved Rooms, where He was conversant with the same Confidence as if He were of the Bedchamber.

The third Brother was *Gilbert*, who was called Colonel *Talbot* from some Command He had with the Rebels against the King. And He had likewise been with the King in *Flanders*, that is had lived in *Antwerp* and *Brussels* whilst the King was there; and being a half-witted Fellow did not meddle with any Thing nor angered any Body, but found a Way to get good Clothes and to play, and was looked upon as a Man of Courage, having fought a Duel or two with stout Men.

Gilbert the
third, called
Colonel Tal-
bot.

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The fourth Brother was a *Franciscan Friar*, of Wit enough, but of so notorious Debauchery, that He was frequently under severe Discipline by the Superiors of his Order for his scandalous Life, which made him hate his Habit, and take all Opportunities to make Journies into *England* and *Ireland*: But not being able to live there, He was forced to return and put on his abhorred Habit, which He always called his *Fool's Coat*, and came seldom into those Places where He was known, and so wandered into *Germany* and *Flanders*, and took all Opportunities to be in the Places where the King was; and so He came to *Cologne* and *Brussels* and *Bruges*, and being a merry Fellow, was the more made of for laughing at and contemning his Brother the *Jesuit*, who had not so good natural Parts, though by his Education He had more Sobriety, and lived without Scandal in his Manners. He went by the Name of *Tom Talbot*, and after the King's Return was in *London* in his *Man's Clothes* (as He called them), with the natural Licence of an *Irish Friar* (which are a People, for the most Part, of the whole Creation the most sottish and the most brutal) and against his Obedience, and all Orders of his Superiors, who interdicted him to say Mass.

Thomas, the fourth, a Franciscan Friar.

The fifth Brother was this *Dick Talbot*, who gave the King and the Duke the Trouble mentioned before. He was brought into *Flanders* first by *Daniel O Neile*, as one who was willing to assassinate *Cromwell*; and He made a Journey into *England* with that Resolution not long before his Death, and after it returned into *Flanders* ready to do all that He

Richard the fifth, the Person concerned.

should be required. He was a very handsome young Man, wore good Clothes, and was without Doubt of a clear, ready Courage, which was Virtue enough to recommend a Man to the Duke's good Opinion; which, with more Expedition than could be expected, He got to that Degree, that He was made of his Bedchamber; and from that Qualification, embarked himself after the King's Return in the Pretences of the *Irish*, with such an unusual Confidence, and upon private Contracts with very scandalous Circumstances, that the Chancellor had sometimes at the Council-Table been obliged to give him severe Reprehensions, and often desired the Duke to withdraw his Countenance from him. He had likewise declared very loudly against the *Jesuit*, and, though He had made many Addresses unto him by Letters and by some Friends who had Credit with him, would never from the Time of the King's Return be persuaded to speak with him, and had once prevailed with the King so far, that He was forbid to come to the Court; but He had a Friend, who after some Time got that Restraint off again. The Chancellor had likewise observed the *Friar* to be too frequently in the Galleries, and sometimes drunk there, and caused him to be forbid to come into the Court: And the eldest Brother, towards whom He had rather Kindness than Prejudice, finding many Obstructions in his Pretences, was persuaded to think him not his Friend. And so He got the Reproach of being an Enemy to the whole Family.

This Consideration did really affect the Chancellor, so that He appeared more reserved and more

wary in this Particular proposed by the King and by the Duke, than He used to be. He said, “ that in
 “ many Respects He was not so fit to advise in this
 “ Particular as other Men were. Though this
 “ Man’s Behaviour was so scandalous that it de-
 “ served exemplary Punishment, yet He did not
 “ conceive any present Danger from it: That He
 “ would deny it and repent it, and give any other
 “ Satisfaction that would be required or assigned;
 “ and then his Majesty and the Duke would be
 “ prevailed with to take off their Displeasure. And
 “ therefore it would be better not to make such a
 “ Matter public, which, considering the Person and
 “ the Circumstances, would make a deep Impression
 “ upon the Minds of all wise Men; than, after the
 “ World takes Notice of it, to pass it over with a
 “ light and ordinary Punishment.” The King in-
 terrupted him as He was going on, and told him,
 “ there was no Danger of that, and that He would
 “ deal freely with him. That as the Offence was
 “ in itself unpardonable, so He and his Brother were
 “ resolved to take this Opportunity and Occasion to
 “ free themselves from the Importunity of the whole
 “ Family: That all the Brothers were naughty
 “ Fellows, and had no good Meaning.” And there-
 upon his Majesty enlarged with much Sharpness upon
 the *Jesuit* and *Friar*, with Charges upon Both very
 weighty and unanswerable; and the Duke upon this
 Man who was the Subject of the Debate: And Both
 concluded, “ that They should be in great Ease by
 “ the Absence of all of them, which should be
 “ enjoined as soon as a Resolution should be taken
 “ in this Particular.”

The Chancellor knew that there was Somewhat else, which was not so fit to be mentioned, that had offended them Both as much ; and thought He had Reason to believe that They would be Both resolute in the Punishment, and that They had deliberated it too long to depart from the Prosecution. He therefore advised, “ that the Gentleman should be
 “ presently apprehended and examined upon the
 “ Words, which some Witness should be ready to
 “ affirm: And that thereupon He should be sent to
 “ the *Tower*, and the next Day that his Majesty
 “ should inform the Privy-Council of the Whole,
 “ which without Question would give Direction to
 “ his Attorney General to prosecute this foul Mis-
 “ demeanor in such a Manner, that should put this
 “ Gentleman in such a Condition, that He should not
 “ trouble the Court with his Attendance; and other
 “ Men should by his Example find, that their Tongues are not their own, to be employed according
 “ to their own malicious Pleasures.”

He is sent to
 the *Tower* by
 the Chancellor's
 Advice.

The Person was the same Night sent to the *Tower*; and both the King and the Duke declared themselves, in the Presence of their Servants and many others, to be as highly offended, and as positively resolved to take as much Vengeance upon the impudent Presumption of the Offender as the Rigor of the Law would inflict, as ever They had done upon any Occurrence and Accident in their Lives: And if They had had Persons enough about them, who out of a just Sense of their Honor would have confirmed them in the Judgment They were of, it would have been in Nobody's Power to have shaken

them. But as from the first Day of his Commitment, the Servants near the Person both of the King and Duke presumed, against all ancient Order (which made it a Crime in any to perform those Civilities to Persons declared to be under his Majesty's Displeasure), to visit Mr. *Talbot*, and to censure those who had advised his Commitment; so after some few Days, when They thought the Duke's Passion in some Degree abated, the Lord *Berkley* confidently told the Duke, " that He suffered much in the Opinion
 " of the World, in permitting a Servant of so near
 " Relation to be committed to Prison for a few hasty
 " and unadvised Words to which He had been pro-
 " voked; and that it was well enough known that
 " it was by the Contrivement and Advice of the
 " Chancellor, who was taken Notice of to be an
 " Enemy to that whole Family, nor any great Friend
 " to any of his Highness' Servants; and if He had
 " that Credit to remove any of them from his Person,
 " there would in a short Time be few of them found
 " in his Court."

This was seconded by all the Standers by; and though it did not suddenly work its Effect, yet the continual pressing it by Degrees weakened the Resolution: And the same Offices being with equal Importunity performed towards the King, and with the more Zeal after it was published that the Whole was done by the Chancellor's Procurement; both his Majesty and his Highness grew weary of their Severity, and, upon Conference together, resolved to interpose with the Duke for his Remission, who disdained to make himself a Prosecutor in such a

But soon released by the Artifice of the Chancellor's Enemies.

Transgression. And so the Prisoner returned to *Whitehall*, with the Advantage which Men who have been unjustly imprisoned usually receive: And all Men thought He triumphed over the Chancellor, who, how unconcerned soever, knew every Day the less how to behave himself. And this unhappy Constitution grew so notorious (for there were too many Instances of it), that all Men grew less resolute in Matters which concerned the King and drew the Displeasure of others upon them, which was like to prove unprofitable to them.

The Parliament meets. The King's Speech.

According to their last Prorogation the Parliament convened again upon the one-and-twentieth of *September*; when the King told them, "that He was
 " very glad to meet so many of them together again,
 " and thanked God for their meeting together again
 " in that Place." He said, " little Time had passed
 " since They were almost in Despair of having that
 " Place left to meet in. They saw the dismal Ruins
 " the Fire had made; and Nothing but a Miracle of
 " God's Mercy could have preserved what was left
 " from the same Destruction."

His Majesty told them, " He need make no Excuse
 " to them for having dispensed with their Attendance in *April*; He was confident They all thanked
 " him for it: The Truth is, He desired to put them
 " to as little Trouble as He could; and He could
 " tell them truly, He desired to put them to as little
 " Cost as was possible. He wished with all his Heart
 " that He could bear the whole Charge of the War
 " himself, and that his Subjects should reap the whole
 " Benefit of it to themselves. But He had two great
 and

“ and powerful Enemies, who used all the Ways
 “ They could, fair and foul, to make all the World
 “ to concur with them; and the War was more
 “ chargeable by that Conjunction, than any Body
 “ thought it would have been. He needed not tell
 “ them the Success of the Summer, in which God
 “ had given them great Success; and no Question
 “ the Enemy had undergone great Losses, and if
 “ it had pleased God to have withheld his late Judge-
 “ ment by Fire, He had been in no ill Condition.”
 “ His Majesty confessed, “ that They had given him
 “ very large Supplies for the carrying on the War:
 “ And yet,” He told them, “ that if He had not, by
 “ anticipating his own Revenue, raised a very great
 “ Sum of Money, He had not been able to have
 “ set out the Fleet the last Spring; and He had some
 “ Hope upon the same Credit to be able to pay off
 “ the great Ships as they should come in. They
 “ would consider what was to be done next, when
 “ They were well informed of the Expence: And
 “ He would leave it to their Wisdoms, to find out
 “ the best Expedients for the carrying on the War
 “ with as little Burden to the People as was pos-
 “ sible.” He said, “ He would add no more than
 “ to put them in Mind, that their Enemies were
 “ very insolent; and if They were able the last Year
 “ to persuade their miserable People whom They
 “ misled, *that the Contagion had so wasted the Nation,*
 “ *and impoverished the King, that He would not be*
 “ *able to set out any Fleet;* how would They be
 “ exalted with this last Impoverishment of the City,
 “ and contemn all reasonable Conditions of Peace?

“ And therefore He could not doubt but that They
“ would provide accordingly.”

Indeed the King did not till now understand the Damage He had sustained by the Plague, much less what He must sustain by the Fire. Monies could neither be collected nor borrowed where the Plague had prevailed, which was over all the City and over a great Part of the Country; the Collectors durst not go to require it or receive it. Yet the Fountains remained yet clear, and the Waters would run again: But this late Conflagration had dried up or so stopped the very Fountains, that there was no Prospect when they would flow again. The two great Branches of the Revenue, the Customs and Excise, which was the great and almost inexhaustible Security to borrow Money upon, were now bankrupt, and would neither bring in Money nor supply Credit: All the Measures by which Computations had been made were so broken, that they could not be brought to meet again. By a Medium of the constant Receipts it had been depended upon, that what had been borrowed upon that Fund would by this Time have been fully satisfied with all the Interest, whereby the Money would have been replaced in the Hands to which it was due, which would have been glad to have laid it out again; and the Security would have remained still in Vigor to be applied to any other Occasions: But now the Plague had routed all those Receipts, especially in *London*, where the great Conduits of those Receipts still ran. The Plague and the War had so totally broken and distracted those Receipts, that the Farmers of either had not received

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enough to discharge the constant Burden of the Officers, and were so far from paying any Part of the Principal that was secured upon it, that it left the Interest unpaid to swell the Principal. And now this Deluge by Fire had dissipated the Persons, and destroyed the Houses, which were liable to the Reimbursement of all Arrears; and the very Stocks were consumed which should carry on and revive the Trade. And the third next considerable Branch of the Revenue, the Chimney-Money, was determined; and the City must be rebuilt before any Body could be required to pay for his Chimnies.

This was the true State of the Crown, if all other Inconveniences and casual Expenses had been away, and all Application to Things serious had been made by all Persons concerned. And this woful Prospect was in View when the Parliament met again; which came not together with the better Countenance by seeing all Hopes abroad with so sad an Aspect, and all Things at Home (that troubled them much more) appear so desperate in many Respects. Yet within few Days after the King had spoken to them, the House of Commons being most filled with the King's Servants, the Gentlemen of the Country being not yet come, there was a faint Vote procured, "that
" They would give a Supply to the King proportionable to his Wants," without mentioning any Sum, or which Way it should be raised: Nor from that Minute did They make the least Reflection upon that Engagement in many Months after. Whilst the Enemies, much more exalted than ever, believed, as They had good Cause, that They should reap a much

greater Benefit by the Burning of *London* than They had from the Contagion.

Discontents in
the House of
Commons.

When the Numbers of the Members increased, the Parliament appeared much more chagrined than it had hitherto done; and though They made the same Professions of Affection and Duty to the King They had ever done, They did not conceal the very ill Opinion They had of the Court and the continual Riotings there: And the very idle Discourses of some (who were much countenanced) upon the miserable Event of the Fire made them even believe, that the former Jealousies of the City, when They saw their Houses burning at such a Distance from each other, were not without some Foundation, nor without just Apprehension of a Conspiracy, and that it had not been diligently enough examined; and therefore They appointed a Committee, with large Authority to send for and examine all Persons who could give any Information concerning it.

A Committee
appointed to
inquire into
the Causes of
the Fire.

When any Mention was made of the Declaration They had so lately passed, for giving the King Supply, and “that it was high Time to despatch it, that
“all necessary Provisions might be made for the setting out a Fleet against the Spring;” it was answered with Passion, “that the King’s Wants must be
“made first to appear before any Supply must be
“discourfed of: That there were already such vast
“Sums of Money given to the King, that there was
“none left in the Country; nor could any Commodities there, upon which They should raise wherewith to pay their Taxes, be sold for Want of
“Money; which was all brought to *London in Specie,*

“ and none left to carry on the Commerce and Trade
 “ in the Country, where They could not sell their
 “ Corn or their Cattle or their Wool for Half the
 “ Value.”

They who had not sat in the Parliament at *Oxford* were exceedingly vexed, that there had been so much given there, so soon after the two Millions and a Half had been granted; and said, “ if the King
 “ wanted again already, that He must have been
 “ abominably cheated, which was fit to be examined.
 “ That the Number of the Ships, which had been
 “ set out by the King in several Fleets since the Be-
 “ ginning of this War, was no Secret; and that there
 “ are Men enough who are acquainted with the
 “ Charge of setting out and manning and victualling
 “ Ships, and can make thereby a reasonable Com-
 “ putation what this vast Expense can amount to:
 “ And that They cannot but conclude; that if his
 “ Majesty hath been honestly dealt with, there
 “ must remain still a very great Proportion of Money
 “ to carry on the War, without Need of imposing
 “ more upon the People, till They are better able
 “ to bear it. And therefore that it was absolutely
 “ necessary, that all those, through whose Hands
 “ the Money had passed, should first give an exact
 “ Account of what They had received, and what
 “ and how They had disbursed it: And when that
 “ should appear, it would be seasonable to demand
 “ an Addition of Supply, which would be cheer-
 “ fully granted.”

And for the better Expedition of this (for every Body confessed that the Time pressed) it was pro-

A Bill brought
in for inspect-
ing public
Accounts.

posed, "that forthwith a Bill should be prepared,
"which should pass into an Act of Parliament, in
"which such Commissioners should be appointed
"as the Houses should think fit, to examine all Ac-
"counts of those who had received or issued out
"any Monies for this War; and where They found
"any Persons faulty, and who had broken their
"Trust, They should be liable to such Punishment
"as the Parliament should think fit:" And a Com-
mittee was presently named to prepare such a Bill
accordingly. This Proposition found such a Concur-
rence in the House, that none of the Court thought
fit to oppose it; and others who knew the Method
to be new, and liable to just Exceptions, thought
it to as little Purpose to endeavour to divert it: And
so all Motions for present Supply were to be laid
aside till a more favorable Conjunction; and the
Overture had been contrived and put on by many
who seemed not to like it, which is an Artifice not
unusual in Courts or Parliaments.

The Persons, who were principally aimed at (for
no Doubt They believed that others would be com-
prehended), were Sir *George Carteret* the Treasurer
of the Navy, through whom all that Expense had
passed, who had many Enemies upon the Opinion
that his Office was too great, and the more by the
ill Offices Sir *William Coventry* was always ready to
do him; and the Lord *Ashley*, who was Treasurer
of all the Money that had been raised upon Prizes,
which could not but be a great Proportion. The
former was a punctual Officer and a good Accompt-
ant, and had already passed his Account in the

Exchequer for two Years, upon which He had his *Quietus est*; which was the only lawful Way known and practised by all Accomptants to the Crown, who can receive a good Discharge no other Way: And He was ready to make another Year's Account. But what Method Commissioners extraordinary by Act of Parliament would put it into, He could not imagine, nor be well satisfied with. The other, the Lord *Ashley*, had more Reason to be troubled, for He was by his Commission exempted from giving any other Account but to the King himself, which Exemption was the only Reason that made him so solicitous for the Office; and He well knew that there were great Sums issued, which could not be put into any public Account: So that his Perplexity in several Respects was not small. And They Both applied themselves to the King for his Protection in the Point.

His Majesty was no less troubled, knowing that Both had issued out many Sums upon his Warrants, which He would not suffer to be produced; and called that Committee of the Privy-Council with which He used to advise, and complained of this unusual Way of Proceeding in the House of Commons, which would terrify all Men from serving his Majesty in any Receipts; to which Employment Men submitted because They knew what They were to do, and what They were to suffer. If They made their Account according to the known Rules of the Exchequer, their Discharge could not be denied; and if They failed, They knew what Proceſs would be awarded against them. But to account by

Upon which the King consults the private Committee.

such Orders as the Parliament should prescribe, and to be liable to such Punishment as the Parliament would inflict, was such an Uncertainty as would deprive them of all Rest and Quiet of Mind; and was in itself so unjust, that his Majesty declared "that He would never suffer it: That He hoped it " would never find a Consent in the House of Com- " mons; if it should, that the House of Peers would " reject it; but if it should be brought to him, He " was resolved never to give his Royal Assent." There was no Man present, who did not seem fully to concur with his Majesty that He should never consent to it: " However that the best Care and " Diligence should be used, that it might never be " presented to him, but stopped in the Houses; and " to that Purpose that the Members should be pre- " pared by giving them Notice of his Pleasure."

The Chan-
cellor delivers
his Opinion
very freely.

The Chancellor upon this Argument, in which He discerned no Opposition, enlarged himself upon what He had often before put his Majesty in Mind of; " that He could not be too indulgent in the De- " fence of the Privileges of Parliament; that He " hoped He would never violate any of them:" But He desired him " to be equally solicitous to prevent " the Excesses in Parliament, and not to suffer them " to extend their Jurisdiction to Cases They have " Nothing to do with; and that to restrain them " within their proper Bounds and Limits is as neces- " sary, as it is to preserve them from being invaded. " That this was such a new Encroachment as had " no Bottom; and the Scars were yet too fresh and " green of those Wounds which had been inflicted



“ upon the Kingdom from such Usurpation.” And therefore He desired his Majesty “ to be firm in the Resolution He had taken, and not to depart from it; and if such a Bill should be brought up to the House of Peers, He would not fail in doing his Duty, and speaking freely his Opinion against such Innovations, how many soever it might offend.” All which Discourse of his was in a short Time after communicated to those, who would not fail to make Use of it to his Disadvantage.

Which is soon reported abroad to his Prejudice.

There was a Correspondence by this Time begun and warmly pursued between some discontented Members of the House of Peers, who thought their Parts not enough valued (and the Duke of *Buckingham* was in the Head of them), and some Members of the House of Commons, who made themselves remarkable by opposing all Things which were proposed in that House for the King's Service, or which were like to be grateful to him, as Sir *Richard Temple*, Mr. *Seymour*, and Mr. *Garraway*, and Sir *Robert Howard*; who were all bold Speakers, and meant to make themselves considerable by saying, upon all Occasions; what wiser Men would not, whatever They thought.

The Duke of *Buckingham* took more Pains than was agreeable to his Constitution to get an Interest in all such Persons, invited them to his Table, pretended to have a great Esteem of their Parts, asked Counsel of them, lamented the King's neglecting his Business, and committing it to other People who were not fit for it; and then reported all the Licence and Debauchery of the Court in the most lively

The Duke of Buckingham at the Head of the Opposition.

Colors, being himself a frequent Eye and Earwitness of it. He had a mortal Quarrel with the Lady, and was at this Time so much in the King's Displeasure (as He was very frequently), that He forbore going to the Court, and revenged himself upon it by all the merry Tales He could tell of what was done there.

It cannot be imagined, considering the loose Life He led (which was a Life more by Night than by Day) in all the Liberties that Nature could desire or Wit invent, how great an Interest He had in Both Houses of Parliament; that is, how many in Both would follow his Advice, and concur in what He proposed. His Quality and Condescensions, the Pleasantness of his Humor and Conversation, the Extravagance and Sharpness of his Wit, unrestrained by any Modesty or Religion, drew Persons of all Affections and Inclinations to like his Company; and to believe that the Levities and the Vanities would be wrought off by Age, and there would enough of Good be left to become a great Man, and make him useful to his Country, for which He pretended to have a wonderful Affection and Reverence; and that all his Displeasure against the Court proceeded from their declared Malignity against the Liberty of the Subject, and their Desire that the King should govern by the Example of *France*. He had always held Intelligence with the principal Persons of the *Levelling* Party, and professed to desire that Liberty of Conscience might be granted to all; and exercised his Wit with most Licence against the Church, the Law and the Court.

The King had constant Intelligence of all his Behaviour, and the Liberty He took in his Discourses of him, for which He had Indignation enough: But of this new Stratagem to make himself great in Parliament, and to have a Faction there to disturb his Business, his Majesty had no Apprehension, believing it impossible for the Duke to keep his Mind long bent upon any particular Design, or to keep and observe those Hours and Orders of sleeping and eating, as Men who pretend to Business are obliged to; and that it was more impossible, for him to make and preserve a Friendship with any serious Persons, whom He could never restrain himself from abusing and making ridiculous, as soon as He was out of their Company. Yet with all these Infirmities and Vices He found a Respect and Concurrence from Men of different Tempers and Talents, and had an incredible Opinion with the People.

The great Object of his Dislike, Displeasure and Hatred was the Duke of *Ormond*, who being his Equal in Title, and Superior in Credit with the King, and at least equal to him in all other Respects, He looked upon him as his Rival; and that his constant Attendance upon the King through all his Fortunes, was a Reproach to him for not having performed his Duty that Way, and gave him a general Reputation in the Kingdom with all Men who had been faithful to the Crown. The Duke of *Ormond's* younger Son had married his Niece, who was the Heir apparent of his House; to which though He had given his Consent when He saw it was not in his Power to contradict it, yet He pretended that the

His Hatred to
the Duke of
Ormond,

Duke had made many Promises of Friendship to him which He had not made good; whereas in Truth the other did really desire, and had heartily endeavoured, to do him all the good Offices He could with the King, which some other new Extravagance of his own disappointed and made uneffectual. Let the Ground and Reason be what they will, He did not dissemble to hate the Duke of *Ormond* heartily, and to be willing to undertake the Prosecution of any Complaint against him; of which, in that distempered and disjointed Condition of *Ireland*, there could not be Occasion wanting, as soon as it was known that such a Patron was ready to undertake their Defence. And it cannot be denied (the Spirit of Envy is so powerful), that there were too many, who had no Affection for the Duke of *Buckingham*, who were yet willing that any Thing should be done to the Prejudice of the Duke of *Ormond*, who They thought eclipsed the Nobility of *England*.

There had been for many Months a great Murmur, rather than Complaint, “ of the great Damage
 “ the Kingdom in general sustained by the Importa-
 “ tion of such great Quantities of Irish Cattle, which
 “ were bred there for Nothing, and transported for
 “ little, that They might well undersell all the Cattle
 “ here; and from hence the Breed of Cattle in the
 “ Kingdom was totally given over, and thereby the
 “ Land would yield no Rent proportionably to
 “ what it had ever done: And that this was a prin-
 “ cipal Cause of the Want of Money in the Country,
 “ which could only be remedied by a very strict Act
 “ of Parliament, to forbid the Importation of any

“ Sort of Cattle out of *Ireland* into this Kingdom ”
 And some of them who had most thought of the
 Matter had prepared a Bill, and brought it into the
 House of Commons, where it was read. At first it
 underwent very calm and reasonable Debates. Very
 many Members of several Counties desired, “ that
 “ their Counties might not undergo any Damage
 “ for the Benefit of other individual Places.” They
 professed “ that their Counties had no Land bad
 “ enough to breed: But that their great Traffic
 “ consisted in buying lean Cattle, and making them
 “ fat, and upon this They paid their Rent; and if the
 “ bringing over *Irish* Cattle should be restrained,
 “ their Counties must be undone.” And this appear-
 ed to be the Case of very many Counties in *Eng-
 land*. And the Complaint was of so new a Nature,
 that it had never been heard of in *England* till some
 few Months before this Meeting in Parliament; only
 it had been mentioned in the Parliament at *Oxford*,
 as a Grievance to the Northern Counties, which
 complained no less of the *Scots* than of the *Irish*
 Cattle; and the Bill that was at this Time brought
 into the House of Commons provided as well against
 the one as the other.

A Bill brought
 into the House
 of Commons
 against the
 Importation
 of Irish
 Cattle.

Whether this Complaint originally proceeded from
 the Damage which the People of some Counties
 sustained, or thought They sustained, which made
 their Members in Parliament press the Restraint
 with much Earnestness (and it cannot be denied
 that many worthy Men were passionate in it, who
 were not like to be engaged in particular and fac-
 tious Contests, to comply with the Humors of other

Men), is not easy to other Men to judge of than those who sat in the Houses, and observed the Manner and the Passion in which those Debates were carried. And it cannot be denied but that, how innocently soever the Grievance first came to be mentioned, and to be recommended to the Consideration and Wisdom of the House, the carrying it on was with unusual Heat and Passion, different from what appeared in the Transaction of any other Business, that had an Aspect only to the Public: And it was observed, that the Cabal that is mentioned before, between some of the House of Peers and of the House of Commons, began at this Time to meet more frequently, and were united in the driving on this Affair; which suddenly grew to be insisted on as of that Importance, that there could be no Debate begun with Reference to the giving Money to the King, till this Bill were first passed.

The Privy-Council of Ireland remonstrate against this Bill.

In the mean Time the Council of *Ireland* had the Alarm of what was intended before the Parliament, and did not only write to the King himself, but a large Letter to the Lords of the Privy-Council, in which They represented the present distracted Condition of that Kingdom, “ that there were more than
 “ one hundred thousand Persons who had Nothing
 “ else to live upon but their Drovers of Cattle; out
 “ of which They twice a Year sent as many as They
 “ could spare into *England*, which enabled them to
 “ pay their Rents, and return such Goods and Merchandise from thence as the Kingdom stood in
 “ Need of;” for no Money *in Specie* was returned upon that Commerce. “ That if this Liberty of Trade,

“ which They had enjoyed in all Ages, should be
 “ taken from them, the King’s Army could not be
 “ supported, nor the Government maintained, but
 “ the Kingdom must necessarily be ruined; and pro-
 “ bably a new Rebellion, in so general a Discontent
 “ as this Restraint would administer, might be again
 “ entered into: And therefore They desired, that at
 “ least some Years might be allowed to that Traffic
 “ which had been always enjoyed; to the End that
 “ some other Husbandry might be introduced into
 “ the Kingdom, by which the People might live,
 “ and which the Government would endeavour to
 “ plant with all possible Diligence and Encourage-
 “ ment.”

The King himself was so much moved with those
 Letters, that He declared, “ that He could neither in
 “ Justice nor in Conscience consent to such a Bill,
 “ which upon Pretence of Benefit to one of his King-
 “ doms might and must be so mischievous to the
 “ other two” (for *Scotland*, as is said, was yet com-
 “ prehended as well as *Ireland*): “ That He was equally
 “ King to all, and obliged to have an equal Care of
 “ all; and never to consent to any Thing that might
 “ be prejudicial to either of the other, especially if
 “ the Benefit to the one were not proportionable to,
 “ and as evident as, the Damage was to the other.”
 And upon these Grounds He recommended to them,
 “ to give such a Stop to this Bill, that it might never
 “ be presented to him, for if it were He must posi-
 “ tively reject it:” And without Doubt his Majesty
 at that Time did not resolve any Thing more with-
 in himself, than never to give his Royal Assent to
 that Bill,

The King
 against the
 Bill.

The Privy -
Council di-
vided in their
Opinions upon
it.

The Letters from *Ireland* did not make the same Impressions upon the Lords of the Council, who were very much divided in their Opinions, even They whose Zeal for the King's Service, was most unquestionable. Some were, upon the sole Consideration of the Injustice of it, and the Mischief that it would produce in *Ireland*, positively against ever consenting to it, and as positive that it might be stopped in the House of Commons, or thrown out of the Lords House, that it should never come to the King: Others did as much believe that it was a real Grievance, in which the Subject should have Relief; and insisted much, "that in a Point evidently for the Benefit and Advantage of *England, Ireland* ought not to be put into the Scale, because it would be some Inconvenience there." Some did in Truth think that the King was too much inclined to favor the *Irish*, and in that Respect were well content that this Bill should be a Mortification to them: And there wanted not others, who in dark Expressions (which grew clearer when the Matter came into the House of Peers) seemed to think, "that the Estates in *Ireland* were more valuable than they were in *England*; and that some Noblemen of that Kingdom lived in a higher Garb, and made greater Expenses, than the Noblemen in *England* were able to do; which had not been in former Times." But They never considered, that those Noblemen had Nothing but what descended to them from their Ancestors; and that They had faithfully adhered to the King, and undergone as much Damage for doing so, as any Men had done.

The

The House of Commons seemed much more morose and obstinate than it had formerly appeared to be, and solicitous to grasp as much Power and Authority as any of their Predecessors had done. though no Doubt with no ill Intention: - And it may be this would not have so much appeared, if there had been the same Vigor in those who had used to conduct the King's Business in that House, as there had used to be. But that Spirit was much fallen. The chief Men of the Court, upon whose Example other Men looked, were much more humble than They had used to be, and took more Pains to ingratiate themselves than to advance the Interest of their Master: And instead of pressing what was desirable upon the Strength of Reason and Policy, as They had used to do, and by which the major Part of the House had usually concurred with them, They now applied themselves with Address to those, who had always forwardly opposed whatsoever They thought would be grateful to the King; and desired rather to buy their Votes and Concurrence by Promises of Reward and Preferment (which is the most dishonorable and unchristy Brokery that can be practised in a Parliament, which from this Time was much practised, and brought many ill Things to pass), than to prevail upon those weighty and important Arguments which would bear the Light. Which low Artifice raised the Insolence of those, which would, as easily as it had been, have been still over-ruled and suppressed; and was quickly discerned by those others, who upon the Principles of Honor and Wisdom had hitherto swayed the House in all Matters of public

Concernment, and who now concluded by those new Condescensions, that the former sober Spirit and Resolution was laid aside, and that peevish Men would be compounded with; and so resolved to sit still or look on, till the Success of this Stratagem might be discerned.

And by this Means the Bill for *Irish* Cattle was driven on with more Fury, and the other concerning Accounts more passionately spoken of; whilst every Day not only many of those, who had constantly observed the Advice that had been given them on the Behalf of the King, fell off to the other Party, but many of his household Servants concurred in the Bill for *Ireland*; whilst the rest, who did not yet think fit to do so, applied themselves to the King for his Leave that They might do the same. And Sir *William Coventry*, who had now by his Insinuations and Communication made himself very grateful to the refractory Party, persuaded the King, “ that the House
 “ had taken the *Irish* Bill so mach to Heart, that
 “ They would never enter upon the Debate of
 “ Money, till that had passed the House and was
 “ sent to the Lords, who no Doubt, upon the Know-
 “ ledge of his Majesty’s Mind and Resolution;
 “ would easily throw it out. That if his Servants
 “ continued obstinate in opposing it below, They
 “ should but provoke and anger the House, and
 “ render themselves useles to other Parts of his Ma-
 “ jesty’s more important Business: Whereas if They
 “ did now gratify the House by concurring with
 “ them in this Matter, They should make them-
 “ selves acceptable, have Credit enough to divert

“ the Bill of Accounts, and presently to dispose every
 “ Body to enter upon the Matter of Supply.”

The King was not pleased with the Counsel, but had a very good Opinion of the Counsellor, who He believed could not but judge aright of the Temper of those with whom He had sat and conversed so long: And so his Majesty told him, “ He was contented He should follow the Dictates of his own Judgment and Conscience;” and the same Answer He gave to all such Members of the House of Commons who came to receive his Orders. And after all this, the Bill was carried with great Difficulty, and long Opposition given to it by those Members of several Counties, which professed, “ that the bringing over the *Irish* Cattle was so much for their Benefit, that They could not live well without it,” and were exceedingly perplexed that it should pass; which yet They hoped would be prevented in the House of Peers: And so the Bill was in great Triumph, and by all the Members (as in Cases They much delight in is usual), presented to the House of Peers.

The Bill, after great Opposition, passed by the Commons.

And the Commons no sooner repaired to their own House, than They assumed the Debate upon the Accounts, with the same Fervor They had pursued the other Bill of *Ireland*, and with the same Declaration, “ that They would not enter upon the Subject of Money, till They saw what Success that Bill would likewise have;” and appearing every Day more out of Humor, expressed less Reverence towards the Court. And some Expressions were frequently used, which seemed to glance at the Licence

and Disorders and extravagant Expence of that Place, not without some Reflections which aimed at the Lady, and at the exorbitant Power exercised by her. And this imperious Way of Proceeding confirmed those in their Wariness, who had no Mind to oppose or contradict the Party that They would and meant should prevail: But They the more endeavoured to render themselves gracious to the Leaders, as being willing to administer Fuel to the Fire the others intended to kindle; and, so They might preserve themselves, were very willing to expose other Ministers to the Jealousy of them, who They thought would not be quiet without some Sacrifice. And thus They alarmed the King with the new Apprehensions, "that the House, which had
 " yet dutiful Intentions, if They were crossed in
 " what They designed for his Service, might be
 " provoked to be bolder with his Majesty than
 " They had been yet, and to mention the Prevalence
 " of the Lady," which every Body knew the Duke of *Buckingham* would have been glad to have contributed to. And with these continued Representations, but especially with their old Argument of casting it out by the House of Peers, where his Power could not be doubted, They at last prevailed with the King to leave all Men to themselves in the Business of the Accounts (where there was a greater Concurrence), as He had done in the *Irish* Bill: And so that Bill likewise was transmitted to the Lords.

The Bill for inspecting public Accounts passed by the Commons.

The Propriety of dissolving

And at this Time many wise Men thought, that it would have been very happy for the King if He would have dissolved the Parliament, and presently

after called another; which would have discovered many Combinations, when the Actors had found themselves excluded from entering again upon the Stage; and it would have appeared, that all the Storms had been raised by those Winds which had their Birth in the King's own House. And such a Dissolution (to which the King himself was enough inclined) would have been very popular throughout the Kingdom, which naturally doth not love long Parliaments, and exceedingly detested this for having only given away their Money, and raised a War of which They saw no End nor possible Benefit, without passing any good Laws for the Advancement of the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom. And very few of those, who had gotten Credit in the House to obstruct what the King desired, were Men of any Interest or Reputation with the People.

But as Nobody was forward publicly to own and avow this Counsel, the Consequence whereof they knew if it were not consented to; so They who meant to do themselves more Good by the present Indisposition and Distemper, than They could propose from a new Convention of Men utterly unknown, and who were like enough to bring Prejudice against their own Particulars, used all the Means They could devise to divert the King from that Inclination. They told him, "that He would never have such another Parliament, where He had near one hundred Members of his own menial Servants and their near Relations, who were all at his Disposal; by which They had incurred so much Prejudice in the Country, that very few

the Parliam:
ment at this
Time.

“ of them would ever be elected again. That the
 “ present Distemper was contracted by Accidents
 “ and Mistakes, and would vanish upon very rea-
 “ sonable Condescensions, and in another Proroga-
 “ tion: Whereas if it should be dissolved and new
 “ Writs sent out, the People would return none but
 “ *Presbyterians* and known Enemies to the Church,
 “ and such who were most notoriously disaffected to
 “ the Court.” And this Argument, pressed by Men
 who had no more Affection for the Church than the
Quakers had, prevailed with most of the Bishops to
 dissuade the King from hearkening to any such Ad-
 vice; when They had much more Reason to expect
 a stronger Party in a new Parliament, and might
 have observed that their Friends fell from them every
 Day in Both Houses; and that the Court was not
 propitious to them of which They had afterwards a
 sad Experience, and which They might then have
 well foreseen.

Great Animo-
 sities in the
 House of Lords
 upon the Bill
 against Irish
 Cattle.

The House of Peers was no sooner possessed of the
 Bill against *Irish* Cattle, but it was read, and a mar-
 vellous keen Resolution appeared in many to use all
 Expedition in the passing it; though if the Matter
 itself had been without Exception, there were so
 many Clauses and *Provisos* in it so derogatory to the
 King's Honor and Prerogative, that many thought
 it a high Disrespect to his Majesty to admit them into
 Debate. But of these anon. The Duke of *Bucking-*
ham appeared in the Head of those who favored the
 Bill, with a marvellous Concernment: And at the
 Times appointed for the Debate of it, contrary to
 his Custom of coming into the House, indeed of not

rising till eleven of the Clock, and seldom staying above a Quarter of an Hour, except upon some Affair which He concerned himself in. He was now always present with the first in a Morning, and stayed till the last at Night; for the Debate often held from the Morning till four of the Clock in the Afternoon, and sometimes till Candles were brought in.

And it grew quickly evident, that there were other Reasons which caused so earnest a Prosecution of it, above the Encouragement of the Breed of Cattle in *England*: Infomuch as the Lord *Ashley*, who next the Duke of *Buckingham* appeared the most violent Supporter of the Bill, could not forbear to urge it as an Argument for the prosecuting it, "that if this Bill
" did not pass, all the Rents in *Ireland* would rise in
" a vast Proportion, and those in *England* fall as
" much; so that in a Year or two the Duke of *Or-*
" *mond* would have a greater Revenue than the Earl
" of *Northumberland*;" which made a visible Impression in many, as a Thing not to be endured. Whereas the Duke had indeed at least four Times the Proportion of Land in *Ireland* that descended to him from his Ancestors, that the Earl had in *England*; and the Revenue of it before the Rebellion was not inferior to the other's. But Nothing was more manifest, than that the Warmth of that Prosecution in the House of Peers in many Lords did proceed from the Envy They had of the Duke's Station in one Kingdom, and of his Fortune in the other.

And the whole Debate upon the Bill was so disorderly and unparliamentary, that the like had never been known: No Rules or Orders of the House for

the Course and Method of Debate were observed. And there being, amongst those who advanced the Bill, fewer Speakers than there were of those who were against it, those few took upon them to speak oftener than They ought to do, and to reply to every Man who declared himself to be of another Opinion: And when They were put in Mind of the Rule of the House, "that no Man should speak above once upon the same Question," They called presently to have the House resolved into a Committee, which any single Member may require, and then every Man may speak as often as He please; and so the Time was spent unprofitably without the Business being advanced. In the mean Time the House of Commons proceeded as irregularly, in sending frequent Messages to hasten the Despatch of the Bill, when They knew well the Debate of every Day: And it was frequently urged as an Argument, "that the House of Commons was the fittest Judge of the Necessaries and Grievances of the People; and They having passed this Bill, the Lords ought to conform to their Opinion." In Fine, there grew so great a Licence of Words in this Debate, and so many personal Reflections, that every Day some Quarrels arose, to the great Scandal and Dishonor of a Court that was the supreme Judicatory of the Kingdom.

The Duke of *Buckingham*, who assumed a Liberty of speaking when and what He would in a Dialect unusual and ungrave, his Similes and other Expressions giving Occasion of much Mirth and Laughter, one Day said in the Debate, "that whoever was

“ against that Bill had either an *Irish* Interest or an “ *Irish* Understanding:” Which so much offended the Lord *Offory*, who was eldest Son to the Duke of *Ormond* (who had very narrowly escaped the Censure of the House lately, for reproaching the Lord *Ashley* with having been a Counsellor to *Cromwell*, and would not therefore trust himself with giving a present Answer), that meeting him afterwards in the Court, He desired the Duke “ that He would walk “ into the next Room with him;” and there told him, “ that He had taken the Liberty to use many “ loose and unworthy Expressions which reflected “ upon the whole *Irish* Nation, and which He him- “ self repented so much that He expected Satisfaction, “ and to find him with his Sword in his Hand;” which the Duke endeavoured to avoid by all the fair Words and Shifts He could use, but was so far pressed by the other, whose Courage was never doubted, that He could not avoid appointing a Place where They would presently meet, which He found the other would exact to prevent Discovery, and therefore had chosen rather to urge it himself than to send a Message to him. And so He named a known Place in *Chelsea-Fields*; and to be there within less than an Hour.

The Lord
Offory chal-
lenges the
Duke of Buck-
ingham.

The Lord *Offory* made Haste thither, and expected him much beyond the Time; and then seeing some Persons come out of the Way towards the Place where He was, and concluding They were sent out to prevent any Action between them, He avoided speaking with them, but got to the Place where his Horse was, and so retired to *London*. The Duke

was found by himself in another Place on the other Side of the Water, which was never known by the Name of *Chelsea-Fields*, which He said was the Place He had appointed to meet.

Finding that Night that the Lord *Offory* was not in Custody, and so He was sure He should quickly hear from him, and upon Conference with his Friends, that the Mistake of the Place would be imputed to him; He took a strange Resolution, that every Body wondered at, and his Friends dissuaded him from. And the next Morning, as soon as the House was sat, the Lord *Offory* being likewise present that He might find some Opportunity to speak with him, the Duke told the House, “ that He must inform
 “ them of Somewhat that concerned himself; and
 “ being sure that it would come to their Notice some
 “ other Way, He had therefore chose to acquaint
 “ them with it himself;” And thereupon related
 “ how the Lord *Offory* had the Day before found
 “ him in the Court, and desired him to walk into the
 “ next Room, where He charged him with many
 “ Particulars which He had spoken in that Place,
 “ and in few Words told him He should fight with
 “ him; which though He did not hold himself obli-
 “ ged to do in Maintenance of any Thing He had
 “ said or done in the Parliament, yet that it being
 “ suitable and agreeable to his Nature, to fight with
 “ any Man who had a Mind to fight with him,”
 { upon which He enlarged with a little Vanity, as if
 Duelling were his daily Exercise and Inclination),
 “ He appointed the Place in *Chelsea-Fields*, which He
 “ understood to be the Fields over against *Chelsea*;

The Duke of
 Buckingham
 informs the
 House of the
 Affair.

“whither, having only gone to his Lodging to
 “change his Sword, He hastened, by presently cross-
 “sing the Water in a Pair of Oars, and stayed there
 “in Expectation of the Lord *Offory*, until such Gentle-
 “men,” whom He named, “found him there, and
 “said, *They were sent to prevent his and the Lord Of-*
 “*fory’s Meeting, whom others were likewise sent to*
 “*find for the same Prevention.* Whereupon, con-
 “cluding that for the present there would be no
 “Meeting together, He returned with those Gentle-
 “men to his Lodging, being always ready to give
 “any Gentleman Satisfaction that should require it
 “of him.”

Every Body was exceedingly surpris'd with the
 Oddness and Unseasonableness of the Discourse,
 which consisted, with some Confusion, between
 aggravating the Presumption of the Lord *Offory*, and
 making the Offence as heinous as the violating all
 the Privileges of Parliament could amount unto;
 and magnifying his own Courage and Readiness to
 fight upon any Opportunity, when it was clear
 enough that He had declined it by a gross Shift: And
 it was wondered at, that He had not chosen rather
 that some other Person might inform the House of a
 Quarrel between two Members, that it might be
 examined and the Mischief prevented. But He be-
 lieved that Way would not so well represent and
 manifest the Lustre of his Courage, and might leave
 him under an Examination that would not be so
 advantageous to him as his own Information: And
 therefore no Persuasion and Importunity of his
 Friends could prevail with him to decline that
Method.

The Lord *Offory* seemed out of Countenance, and troubled that the Contest was like to be only in that Place, and cared not to deny any Thing that the Duke had accused him of; only “wondered, “ that He should say He had challenged him for “ Words spoken in the House, when He had expressly declared to him, when his Grace insisted “ much upon the Privilege of Parliament to decline “ giving him any Satisfaction, *that He did not question him for any Words spoken in Parliament, but for “ Words spoken in other Places, and for Affronts, which “ He had at other Times chosen to bear rather than to “ disturb the Company.*” He confessed, He had attended in the very Place where the Duke had done “ him the Honor to promise to meet him;” and mentioned some Expressions which He had used in designing it, which left the Certainty of it not to be doubted.

When They had Both said as much as They had a Mind to, They were Both required, as is the Custom, to withdraw to several Rooms near the House: And then the Lords entered upon Debate of the Transgression; many insisting “ upon the Magnitude of “ the Offence, which concerned the Honor and Safety “ of the highest Tribunal in the Kingdom, and the “ Liberty and Security of every Member of the “ House. That if in any Debate any Lord exceeded “ the modest Limits prescribed, in any offensive Expressions, the House had the Power and the Practice to restrain and reprehend and imprison the “ Person, according to the Quality and Degree of “ the Offence; and that no other Remedy or Exa-

“ mination could be applied to it, even by the King
 “ himself. But if it should be in any private Man to
 “ take Exceptions against any Words which the
 “ House finds no Fault with, and to require Men
 “ to justify with their Swords all that They say in
 “ Discharge of their Conscience, and for the Good
 “ and Benefit of their Country; there is an End of
 “ the Privilege of Parliament and the Freedom of
 “ Speech: And therefore that there could not be
 “ too great a Punishment inflicted upon this noto-
 “ rious and monstrous Offence of the Lord *Ossory*,
 “ which concerned every Lord in particular, as
 “ much as it did the Duke of *Buckingham*; who had
 “ carried himself as well as the ill Custom and Ini-
 “ quity of the Age would admit, and had given no
 “ Offence to the House, towards which He had al-
 “ ways paid all possible Respect and Reverence.”

They who considered the Honor and Dignity only
 of the House, and the ill Consequence of such Viola-
 tions as these, which Way soever their Affections
 were inclined with Reference to their Persons, were
 all of Opinion, “ that their Offences were so near
 “ equal that their Punishment ought to be equal:
 “ For that besides the Lord *Ossory*'s Denial that He
 “ had made any Reflection upon any Words spoken
 “ in Parliament, which was the Aggravation of his
 “ Offence, there was some Testimony given to the
 “ House by some Lords present, that the Lord *Ossory*
 “ had complained of the Duke's Comportment
 “ towards him before those Words used in the House
 “ by him, *of the Irish Interest or Irish Understanding*,
 “ and resolved to expostulate with him upon it; so

“ that those Words could not be the Ground of the
 “ Quarrel. And it was evident by the Duke’s own
 “ Confession and Declaration, that He was as ready
 “ to fight, and went to the Place appointed by
 “ himself for Encounter; which made the Offence
 “ equal.” And therefore They moved, that They
 “ might be Both brought to the Bar, and upon
 “ their Knees receive the Sentence of the House for
 “ their Commitment to the *Tower*.”

Some, who would show their Kindness to the Duke, were not willing that He should undergo the same Punishment with the other, until some Lords, who were “ known not to be his Friends, were very earnest
 “ that the Duke might receive no Punishment, because He had committed no Fault; for that it was
 “ very evident that He never intended to fight, and
 “ had, when no other Tergiversation would serve
 “ his Turn, prudently mistaken the Place that was
 “ appointed by himself;” which was pressed by two or three Lords in such a pleasant Manner, with Reflection upon some Expressions used by himself, that his better Friends thought it would be more for his Honor to undergo the Censure of the House than the Penalty of such a Vindication: And so They were Both sent to the *Tower*.

**They are Both
 sent to the
 Tower.**

And during the Time They remained there, the Bill against *Ireland* remained in Suspense, and uncalled for by those, who would not hazard their Cause in the Absence of their strongest Champion. But the same Spirit was kept up in all other Arguments, the Displeasure, that had arisen against each other in that, venting itself in Contradictions and sharp Replies in

all other Occasions; a Mischief that is always contracted from the Agitation of private Affairs, where different Interests are pursued; from whence personal Animosities arise, which are not quickly laid aside, after the Affair itself that produced those Passions is composed and ended. And this Kind of Distemper never more appeared, nor ever lasted longer, than from the Debate and Contestation upon this Bill.

Those two Lords were no sooner at Liberty, and their Displeasure towards each other suppressed or silenced by the King's Command, but another more untoward Outrage happened, that continued the same Disturbance. It happened that upon the Debate of the same Affair, the *Irish* Bill, there was a Conference appointed with the House of Commons, in which the Duke of *Buckingham* was a Manager; and as They were sitting down in the *Painted Chamber*, which is seldom done in good Order, it chanced that the Marquis of *Dorchester* sat next the Duke of *Buckingham*, between whom there was no good Correspondence. The one changing his Posture for his own Ease, which made the Station of the other the more uneasy, They first endeavoured by justling to recover what They had dispossessed each other of, and afterwards fell to direct Blows; in which the Marquis, who was the lower of the two in Stature, and was less active in his Limbs, lost his Periwig, and received some Rudeness, which Nobody imputed to his Want of Courage, which was ever less questioned than that of the other.

A Scuffle between the Duke of Buckingham and the Marquis of Dorchester.

The Misdemeanor, greater than had ever happened, in that Place and upon such an Occasion,

in any Age when the least Reverence to Government was preserved, could not be concealed; but as soon as the Conference was ended, was reported to the House, and Both Parties heard, who Both confessed enough to make them undergo the Censure of the House. The Duke's Friends would fain have justified him, as being provoked by the other; and it was evident their mutual undervaluing each other always disposed them to affect any Opportunity to manifest it. But the House sent them Both to the *Tower*; from whence after a few Days They were again released together, and such a Reconciliation made as after such Rencounters is usual, where either Party thinks himself beforehand with the other, as the Marquis had much of the Duke's Hair in his Hands to recompense for his pulling off his Periwig which He could not reach high enough to do to the other.

For which
They are committed to the
Tower.

When all Things were thus far quieted, the Bill was again entered upon with no less Passion for the Stock that had been wasted. The Arguments which were urged against the Bill for the Injustice of it were, "that They should, without any Cause or
" Demerit on their Part, or any visible Evidence of
" Benefit that would accrue from it to this Kingdom,
" deprive his Majesty's two other Kingdoms of a
" Privilege they had ever been possessed of. That
" They might as reasonably take away the Trade
" from any one County in *England*, because it produced some Inconvenience to another County
" more in their Favor. That the large Counties
" of *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, *Kent*, and other Provinces,
" would lose as much by the passing of this Act, as
" the

Arguments
urged against
the Irish Bill
in the House
of Peers.

“ the Northern and any other Counties would gain
 “ by it. That these two Kingdoms might with the
 “ same Justice press his Majesty’s Concurrence, that
 “ They might have no Trade with *England* which
 “ would bring more Damage to *England* by much,
 “ than it would gain by this Act of Restraint: And
 “ that it was against all the Maxims of Prudence, to
 “ run the Danger of a present Mischief and Damage,
 “ as this would produce in *Ireland* by the Testimony
 “ of the Lord Lieutenant and Council of that King-
 “ dom, only upon the Speculation of a future Benefit
 “ that might accrue, though it were yet only in
 “ Speculation.”

These, and many other Arguments of this Kind, which for the most Part were offered by Men who had not the least Relation to *Ireland*, made no other Impression, than that They were content to leave *Scotland* out of the Bill; which increased their Party against *Ireland*, and gave little Satisfaction to the other, who did not so much value the Commerce with the other Kingdom. And this Alteration the House of Commons likewise consented to, but with great Opposition, since in Truth that Concession destroyed the Foundation upon which the whole Fabric of the Bill was supported.

Then the Debate fell upon some derogatory Clauses, and *Provisos* very contrary to his Majesty’s just Prerogative and Power (for They made his Majesty’s own Licence and Warrant of no Effect or Authority, but liable to be controlled by a Constable; nor would permit the Importation of three thousand Beeves, which, by an Act of Parliament in *Ireland*,

Against
 Clauses in
 derogatory to
 the Preroga-
 tive.

were every Year to be delivered at *Chester* and another Port for the Provision of the King's House); which in many Respects the House generally disliked, and desired " that it might have no other Style than
 " had been accustomed in all the penal Acts of Parliament which were in Force, it being to be presumed, that the King would never dispense with
 " any Violation of it, except in such Cases as the Benefit and Good of the Kingdom required it;
 " which might naturally fall out, if there should happen such a Murrain amongst the Beasts of that
 " Species, as had been these late Years amongst Horses, which had destroyed so many thousand,
 " that good Horses were now hard to be procured. And if the same or the like Destruction should fall
 " upon the other Cattle, We should have then more Cause to complain of the Scarcity and the Dearness
 " of Meat, than We have now of the Plenty and Cheapness, which was the only Grievance now
 " felt, and which Kingdoms seldom complained of: And in such a Case it would be very great Pity,
 " that the King should not have Power enough to provide for the Supply of his Subjects, and to
 " prevent a common Dearth."

But this was again opposed with as much Passion and Violence as had fallen out in any Part of the Debate; and such rude Arguments used against such a Power in the King, as if the Question were upon reposing some new Trust in him, whereas it was upon divesting him of a Trust that was inherent in him from all Antiquity: And " that it was the same
 " Thing to be without the Bill, and not to provide

“ against the King’s dispensing with the not obey-
 “ ing it, whose Inclinations were well known in this
 “ Particular; and therefore the Effect of them, and
 “ of the Importunity of the Courtiers, must be pro-
 “ vided against.” And throughout this Discourse
 there was such a Liberty of Language made Use of,
 as reflected more upon the King’s Honor, and indeed
 upon his whole Council and Court, than had been
 heard in that House, but in a Time of Rebellion,
 without very severe Reprehension: And it so much
 offended the House now, that, notwithstanding all
 the sturdy Opposition, it was resolved that those
 Clauses and *Provisos* should be amended in some
 Places, and totally left out in others. And with the
 Alteration and Amendments it was sent down to the
 House of Commons.

These Clauses
 are amended
 by the Lords.

At this Time the public Affairs and Necessities
 were little looked after or considered. The Fleet
 was come into the Ports, but there was no Money
 to pay off the Men: And what was equally mischie-
 vous, there was no Way to make the Provisions
 for the next Spring, that the Fleet might be ready
 for the Sea by the Time the Enemy would assur-
 edly be out. If the Victualler were not supplied,
 who had much Money due to him, the Season would
 be past in which He was to buy the Cattle that He
 must kill; and He complained how much He should
 suffer by this Bill of *Ireland*, which already raised the
 Price of all Meats. And the Yards wanted all those
 Tacklings and Rigging and Masts, without which
 another Fleet could not be sent out, and which could
 no otherwise be provided than by ready Money.

The King had anticipated all his own Revenue, and was ready to expose that for farther Security, but Nobody would trust. The new *Provisos* in the Bill of Supply at *Oxford* gave no new Credit, but were found as mischievous as any Body had apprehended they would be: And the Bankers, who in all such Occasions were a sure Refuge, wanted now Credit themselves; which that They might not recover, the Parliament had treated them as ill since They came together, that is, with Reproaches and Threats, as They had done at *Oxford*. In which Kind of Persecution Sir *William Coventry*, and some who followed him, led the Van, very much to the King's Prejudice and against his Command; but They excused themselves, upon the Credit it gave them in the House to do him Service.

The Commons
adhere to
their Bill.

All this was well enough understood: And it was as visible, that They intended to make it a forcible Argument for the passing the *Irish* Bill, which, though from different Motives, was now become the Sacrifice without which They would not be appeased; and therefore, when the Bill was sent to them with those Alterations and Amendments, They rejected them all, and voted, "that They would adhere to their own Bill without departing from a Word of it, except with Reference to *Scotland*," from which They had receded. And if upon this very unusual Return the House of Peers had likewise voted, "that They too would adhere," which They might regularly have done, and would have been consented to by the major Part of the House if the Question had been then put; there had been an

End of that Bill. But that must not be suffered: The Party that cherished it was too much concerned to let it expire in a deep Silence, and were numerous enough to obstruct and defer what They liked not, though not to establish what They desired. Some of them, that is, some who desired that the Bill should pass, though uncorrupted by their Passions, did not like the Obstinacy of the House of Commons in not departing from some unusual Clauses and Pretences; yet were not willing to have the like Vote for adhering to pass in that House, which it might do when all other Remedies should fail; and therefore moved, "that a Conference might be required, in which such Reasons might be given as might satisfy them." Many Conferences, and free Conferences, were held, in which the Commons still maintained their Adherence with a wonderful Petulance: And those Members, who were appointed to manage the Conferences, took the Liberty to use all those Arguments, and the very Expressions, which had been used in the House of Peers, against leaving any Power in the King to dispense; and added such other of their own as more reflected on his Majesty's Honor; and yet concluded as if They could say more if They were provoked, upon which every Man might make what Glosses He pleased, and the King himself was left to his own Imaginations.

There need be no other Instance given of the unheard of and incredible Passion that was showed in the Transaction of that Bill, than a Particular that related to the City of *London*. Upon the News of the great Fire in *London*, and the Devastation that

An Instance of
the Passion of
the Commons
in this Affair.

it made there, there was so general a Lamentation in *Ireland* as might be expected from a neighbour Province, that had so great a Commerce with and Dependance upon it. And the Consent in this Lamentation was so digested, that the several Provinces had made a Computation and Division between themselves, and presented a Declaration to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, "that They had so tender
" a Sense of that Calamity, that if They were able to
" raise Money to administer some Assistance to the
" City towards the Reparation of their great Loss,
" They would willingly offer and present it: But
" that not being in their Power or Possession, the
" great Scarcity and Want of Money throughout
" that Kingdom being notoriously known, but there
" being Somewhat in their Power to offer, which
" might at least testify their Good-Will, and not be
" wholly useles towards the End They designed
" it; They had agreed between themselves to give
" unto the Lord Mayor and City of *London*, to be
" disposed of by them to such particular Uses as
" They should judge most convenient, the Number
" of thirty thousand *Irish* Beasts, which should be
" delivered within such a Time and at such Ports,"
which were named, "to any such Persons as should
" be appointed to receive them." And of this They desired the Lord Lieutenant and Council to advertise the King, and likewise give Notice to the City of *London*: Both which were done accordingly; and the Advertisement arrived in the City in the Time when this Bill was depending in the Lords House. Whereupon the Lord Mayor and Aldermen

presented a Petition to the Lords, with a *Proviso* that They desired might be inserted in the Bill that was before them, by which it was provided, “ that
 “ Nothing contained in that Bill should hinder the
 “ City of *London* from enjoying the charitable
 “ Donative of the thirty thousand Cattle, but that
 “ They might have Liberty to import the same.”

It can hardly be believed with that Passion and Indignation this Petition was received by the House, what Invectives were made against the City, “ for
 “ their Presumption in interposing their own parti-
 “ cular Interest to obstruct the public Affairs of the
 “ Kingdom;” and then the Reflections which were made upon the Council of *Ireland*, “ for giving
 “ Countenance to such an Address, and becoming
 “ Instruments themselves to promote and advance
 “ it:” Which They would not allow “ to be an
 “ Offering of Charity, but a Cheat and a Cozenage
 “ by Combination to elude an Act of Parliament,
 “ which They could not chuse but hear of, and
 “ could not but believe that it was passed by this
 “ Time. Which if it had been, and that Power
 “ left in the King as had been proposed, They might
 “ now see how it would have been applied: For
 “ They could not doubt, but there would enough
 “ have advised the King, that He should gratify the
 “ City of *London* with a Licence for this Importa-
 “ tion; which could not or would not have been
 “ so warily drawn, but that, under the Licence for
 “ thirty thousand, there would be three hundred
 “ thousand imported into *England*; and this the
 “ great Charity aimed at and was assured of.” And

so after much Bitterness, They desired "that the
"Petition and the *Proviso* might be Both rejected."

But this Passion did not cover the whole House, which neither commended nor approved it, and were much less transported with it. They believed it was a very seasonable Intention of Charity, and would not take upon them to frustrate it; and so prevailed, that it was passed in that House, and transmitted with Approbation to the other. But it had the same Fate there with the other *Provisos*, and was thrown out with that Bitterness and Observation which had been offered against it by some Lords. Nor could any Expedients alter or remove their Obstinacy, though many were offered upon Conferences, and particularly "that all the Beasts
"should be killed in *Ireland* and powdered there,
"and then sent over in Barrels or other Casks;" but They found Cozenage in that too, and were as angry with the Cattle when they were dead, as when they were alive, as if it would for a Time keep down the Price of Meat in *England*, which They desired to advance: So that there was Nothing gotten in all those Conferences, but the Discovery of new-Jealousies of the King and the Court, and new Insinuations of the Discontents and Murmurs in the Country, that this Bill was so long obstructed. Which being still represented to the King with most ghastly Aspects towards what Effects it might produce, his Majesty in the End was prevailed upon, notwithstanding very earnest Advice to the Contrary, not only to be willing to give his Royal Assent when it should be offered to him, but to take very

great Pains to remove those Obstructions which hindered it from being offered to him, and to solicit particularly very many Lords, to depart from their own Sense, and to conform to what He^d thought convenient to his Service; which gave those who loved him not great Argument of Triumph, and to those who loved him very passionately much Matter of Mortification. Yet after all this, and when his Majesty had changed some Men's Resolutions, and prevailed with others to withdraw and to be absent when the Bill should come again to be discussed, it was carried with great Difficulty and with great Opposition, and against the Protestation of many of the Lords.

The Bill at length consented to by the House of Lords.

In all the Debate upon this Bill, and upon the other of Accounts, the Chancellor had the Misfortune to lose much Credit in the House of Commons, not only by a very strong and cordial Opposition to what They desired, but by taking all Occasions, which were offered by the frequent Arguments which were urged "of the Opinion and the Authority of the House of Commons, and that it was fit and necessary to concur with them," to mention them with less Reverence than They expected. It is very true: He had always used in such Provocations to desire the Lords, "to be more solicitous in preserving their own unquestionable Rights and most important Privileges, and less tender in restraining the Excess and new Encroachments of the House of Commons, which extended their Jurisdiction beyond their Limits." He put them often in Mind "of the Mischiefs which had

The Chancellor offends the Commons by desiring the Peers to restrain their Encroachments.

“ their Original from the Liberties the House of
 “ Commons assumed, and the Compliance the House
 “ of Peers had descended to, in the late ill Times,
 “ and which produced the Rebellion; and were
 “ carried so far, till, after all the multiplied Affronts,
 “ They had wrested the whole Authority out of
 “ the Hands of the House of Peers, and at last
 “ declared them useless Members of the Common-
 “ wealth, and shut up the Door of their House with
 “ a Padlock, which They had never Power to un-
 “ fasten till the King’s Return.” And in those Occa-
 sions his Expressions were many Times so lively,
 that they offended many of the Lords who were
 present, and had too much contributed to those
 Extravagancies, as much as it could do any of the
 Commons.

The Truth is; He did never dissemble from the
 Time of his Return with the King, whom He had
 likewise prepared and disposed to the same Senti-
 ments whilst his Majesty was abroad, that his Opini-
 on was, “ that the late Rebellion could never be
 “ extirpated and pulled up by the Roots, till the
 “ King’s regal, and inherent Power and Prerogative
 “ should be fully avowed and vindicated; and till
 “ the Usurpations in Both Houses of Parliament
 “ since the Year 1640 were disclaimed and made
 “ odious; and many other Excesses, which had been
 “ affected by Both before that Time under the Name
 “ of Privileges, should be restrained or explained:”
 For all which Reformation the Kingdom in general
 was very well disposed, when it pleased God to
 restore the King to it. Nor did the Convention,

which proclaimed the King and invited him to return, exercise after his Return any exorbitant Power, but what was of Necessity upon former Irregularities, and contributed to the present Ends and Desires of the King.

And this Parliament, that was upon the Dissolution of the former quickly summoned by the King's Writ, willingly inclined to that Method, as appears by those many excellent Acts which vindicated the King's Sovereign Power over Parliaments, and declared the Nullity of all Acts done by one or Both Houses without the King's Assent; declared and settled the absolute Power of the Crown over the Militia; repealed that Act of Parliament that had excluded the Bishops from being Members of the House of Peers, and restored them to their Session there; and repealed that other infamous Act for Triennial Parliaments, which had Clauses in it to have led the People into Rebellion; and would willingly have prosecuted the same Method, if They had had the same Advice and Encouragement.

But They had continued to sit too long together, and were invited to meddle and interpose in Matters out of their own Sphere, to give their Advice with Reference to Peace and War, to hold Conferences with the King, and to offer their Advices to him, and to receive Orders from himself; and his Majesty was persuaded by very unskilful Men, " that They
 " were so absolutely at his Disposal, that He need
 " never doubt their undertaking any Thing that
 " would be ingrateful to him, and that whilst He
 " preserved that entire Interest He had in the lower

“ House (which He might easily do) He need not
“ care what the other House did or had a Mind to
“ do;” and so induced his Majesty to undervalue
his House of Peers as of little Power to do him Good
or Harm, and prevailed with him too far to counte-
nance that false Doctrine; towards which the House
of Peers themselves contributed too much, by not
inquiring into or considering the public State of the
Kingdom, or providing Remedies for growing Evils,
or indeed meddling with any Thing in the Govern-
ment till They were invited to it by some Message
or Overture from the House of Commons: Insomuch
as They sat not early in the Morning, according to
the former Custom of Parliaments, but came not to-
gether till ten of the Clock; and very often adjourned
as soon as They met, because that Nothing was
brought from the House of Commons that adminis-
tered Cause of Consultation; and upon that Ground
often adjourned for one or two Days together, whilst
the other House sat, and drew the Eyes of the King-
dom upon them, as the only vigilant People for
their Good.

Then when any Thing fell in their Way, that
They could draw a Consequence from that might
relate to their Privileges, They were so jealous of an
Invasion, that They neither considered former Pre-
cedents, nor Rules of Honor or Justice; and were
not only solicitous for that Freedom which belonged
to themselves and their menial Servants, who ought
not to be disquieted by private Suits and Prosecu-
tions in Law, whilst They are obliged to attend
upon the Service of their Country in Parliament, but

gave their Protections *ad Libitum*, which were commonly sold by their Servants to bankrupt Citizens, and to such who were able but refused to pay their just Debts. And when their Creditors knew that They could have no Relation of Attendance to any Man, and thereupon caused them to be arrested, They produced some Protection granted to them by some Lord; whereupon They were not only discharged, but their Creditors, and all who bore any Part in the Prosecution, were punished with great Rigor, and to their great Loss and Damage, and to the great Prejudice of the City, and Interruption of the whole Course of the Justice of the Kingdom.

When the House of Commons sent up a Bill for the Suppression or Reformation of many Irregularities and Misdemeanors, which had grown up in the late Times of Disorder and Confusion, as Conventicles and other riotous Assemblies, wherein there was a Necessity of some Clauses of Power to inferior Officers, whereby They were qualified to discover those Transgressions which would otherwise be concealed; the Lords would be sure always to insert some *Proviso* to save their Privileges, even in Acts which provided for the Punishment of such Crimes as no Person of Quality could be supposed to be guilty of, as stealing of Wood, and such vile Trespases; Which took up much Time in Debate, and incensed the House of Commons, and produced many froward Debates, in which the King thought the Peers in the Wrong.

This Kind of Temper or Distemper upon very trivial and light Occasions, in Seasons which required

Gravity and Despatch, provoked the House of Commons to take more upon them, to enter upon Contests sometimes unreasonably with the Lords, and to assume to themselves an Authority in Matters in which They ought not to interpose; and then were encouraged and indeed induced by those who had near Relation to the King and were trusted in his Service, to affect Novelties both in the Form and Substance of their Proceedings, which those Persons concurred in, much out of Ignorance what was to be done, and more out of Affectation to compass some crooked End of their own, to the Prejudice of another Person who was in their Disfavor. And when these Sallies out of the old trodden Path were taken Notice of, and his Majesty had been advised to prevent them in Time, He was persuaded, either "that
 " the Exceptions were in Matters of little Moment,
 " and made only by formal Men who liked No-
 " thing that was out of the old common Road; or
 " that the Liberty would be applied to his Service,
 " and in many useful Occasions would mollify or
 " subdue the inconvenient Morosity of the Lords;
 " or, when it should exceed, it would be still in his
 " Majesty's Power to restrain it, when He found it
 " necessary." And these Discourses prevailed too much with his Majesty, till He now found the Humor was grown too sturdy for him to contend with; and the same Men, who had persuaded him to contemn it, were now more importunate with him that He would comply with it.

He offends the
 Lords by ad-
 vising them

The Chancellor had always as earnestly opposed the over-captious insisting upon Privilege in the

Lords House, either when in Truth there was not a just Ground for it, or when They would extend it farther than it would regularly reach; and oftentimes put them in Mind “ of many exorbitant Acts which “ stood still mentioned in their Journal-Books, of “ their Proceedings in the late rebellious Times, “ which might be looked upon as Precedents by “ Posterity, and in which the House of Commons “ had really invaded their greatest Privileges, and “ trampled upon their highest Jurisdiction; which “ was worthy of their most strict Proceedings to “ vindicate by Protestation, and by expunging the “ Memorial thereof out of all their Books and Records, that there might be no Footsteps left to “ mislead the succeeding Ages;” and often desired them “ to preserve a Power in themselves to put the “ House of Commons in Mind of their exceeding “ their Limits, for which They often gave them “ Occasion, and particularly as often as They sent “ to quicken them in any Debate, which was a “ very modern Presumption, and derogatory from “ that Respect which a House of Commons had “ always paid to the House of Lords. And this They “ could not reasonably or effectually do, till They “ declined all unjust or unnecessary Pretences to “ Privileges which were not their Due, and especially to a Power of calling private Cases of Right and Justice, which ought to be determined by the Law and in Courts of Justice, to be heard and adjudged before themselves in Parliament; of which there were too frequent Occasions to oppose and contradict their Jurisdiction.”

not to insist
unreasonably
upon Privi-
lege.

This free Way of Discourse offended many of the Lords, who thought him not jealous enough of, nor zealous for the Privilege of the Peerage: And They were now very glad that He used so much more Freedom against the Proceedings of the House of Commons, which They were sure would be resent-ed below, more than it had been above. And many of his Friends informed him "how ill it was taken; "and how carefully all that He said, and much that He did not say, was transmitted by some of the Lords to them, who would not fail in some Season to remember and apply it to his highest Dis-advantage;" and therefore desired him "to use less Feryor in those Argumentations." But He was in that, as in many Things of that Kind that related to the offending other Men, for his own Sake uncounsellable: Not that He did not know that it exposed him to the Censure of some Men who lay in Wait to do him Hurt, but because He neglected those Censures, nor valued the Persons who promoted them; being confident that He would be liable to no Charge that He should be ashamed of, and well knowing that He had, and being well known to have, a higher Esteem of Parliament, and a greater Desire to preserve the just Privileges of Both Houses, than They had who seemed to be angry with him on that Behalf; and that the extending them beyond their due Length would in the End endanger the Destruction of Parliaments.

But He shortly after found, that this Guard was not secure enough to defend him. What He said in Parliament was the Sense of more who would not
 speak

Speak it, than there were of those who disliked it; and how much soever it offended them, They could not out of it find a Crime to accuse him of. But They who were more concerned to remove him from a Post, where He too narrowly watched and too often obstructed the Liberties They took, resolved to sacrifice all their Oaths and Obligations, which obliged them to the Contrary, to the Satisfaction of their Envy and their Malice: And so whatsoever He said or advised in the most secret Council to the King himself with Reference to Things or Persons, They communicated all to those who had most Reason to be angry, yet could not own the Information. Of all which He had Advertisement, and that a Storm would be shortly raised to shake him, of which He had little Apprehension; never suspecting that it would arise out of that Quarter, from whence He soon after discerned it to proceed.

There was another particular and private Accident that fell out at this Time, that administered more Occasion of Faction and Dissension in the Houses, which always obstructed and perplexed all public Business. The Marquis of *Dorchester* had some Years before married one of his Daughters to the Lord *Roos*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Rutland*; Both Families very noble in themselves, and of great Fortunes, and allied to all the great Families of the Kingdom. The Lady being of a Humor not very agreeable, and not finding the Satisfaction She expected where She ought to have received it, looked for it abroad where She ought not to find it. And

Lord Roos moves for a Bill to set aside the Issue of his Lady.

her Husband, as Men conscious to themselves of any notable Defect used to be, was indulgent enough, not strictly inquiring how She behaved herself, and She as little dissembling or concealing the Contempt She had of her Husband; until his Friends, especially the Mother (who was a Lady of a very great Spirit and most exalted Passion), took Notice of her frequent Absence from her Husband, and of her little Kindness towards him when She was present with him. And the young Lady, who with her other Defects had Want of Wit to bear a Reprehension She deserved, instead of excusing, avowed her no Esteem of her Husband; charged him with Debauchery, and being always in Drink, which was too true; and reproached him with Folly, as a Man not worthy to be beloved. And the Passion swelling to a great Height on Both Sides, the Marquis came to be engaged on the Behalf of his Daughter, and challenged her Husband to fight with him, who in many Respects was not capable, nor did understand those Encounters.

In the End, after many Acts of Passion, which administered too much Cause of Mirth and Scandal to the World, yet by the Advice and Mediation of Friends, as good a Reconciliation as in such Cases is usual was made, and the young Couple brought to live again together. And the Lady having the Ascendant over the Lord, who was very desirous to live quietly upon any Conditions, that He might enjoy himself though He could not enjoy her, He was contented that She made a Journey to *London* upon Pretence to see some Friends: And the Time

being expired which She had prescribed for her Absence, He sent to her to return, which She deferred from Time to Time. But at last after many Months She returned to him in so gross a Manner, that it appeared that She had kept Company too much, which She never endeavoured to conceal; and when her Husband told her "that She was with Child," and asked "who got it;" She answered him confidently, "that whoever got it, if it proved a Boy, " as She believed it would, He should be Earl of "*Rutland*."

This was more than the young Man could bear without informing his Mother (the good Earl not loving to engage himself in so much Noise), who presently took Care that the greatbellied Lady was made a Prisoner in her Chamber, strictly guarded, that She could not go out of those Lodgings which were assigned her; all her own Servants removed from her, and others appointed to attend; and all other Things supplied that She could stand in Need of or require, Liberty only excepted. Yet in this close Restraint She found Means to advertise her Father of the Condition She was in, and made it much worse than it was, seeming to apprehend the Safety of her Life threatened by the Malice of the Countess, Mother to her Husband, who," She said, "did all She could to alienate his Affection from " her; and now that She found She was with Child, " would persuade him that it was not his; and took " all this extreme Course, either to make her mis- " carry and so endanger her Life, or to put an End " to Mother and Child when She should miscarry:"

And therefore besought her Father, "that He would
" find some Way to procure her Liberty, and to
" remove her from that Place, as the only Means
" to save her Life."

The Marquis, with the Passion of a Father, and Confidence of his Daughter's Virtue, and having no Reverence for the Countess, thought it an Act of great Barbarity, and consulted whether He could have any Remedy at Law to recover his Daughter's Liberty; and finding little Hope from thence (the Restraint of a Wife by the Jealousy of her Husband in his own House being not a Crime the Law had provided a Remedy against) He resorted then to the King, who as little knew how to meddle in it. In the mean Time He sent Women to see and attend his Daughter, who were admitted to see and confer with her, but not to stay with her; the Countess declaring, "that She should want Nothing; but
" that since it was impossible that the Child could
" be of Kin to her Son, who had not seen her in so
" many Months before the Child must have been
" got, She would provide that there should be no
" more foul Play, when She should be delivered;
" and after that Time She should have no more
" Restraint or Residence in that House, but be at
" Liberty to go whither She would."

The Conclusion was: The Lady was delivered, and a Son born, who was quickly christened by the Name of *Ignoto*, and committed to a poor Woman, who lived near, to be nursed; and as soon as the Lady recovered Strength enough, She was dismissed and sent to a House of her Father, who received

her with the Affection He thought was due to her. And having conferred and examined her with all the Strictness He could, He remained satisfied in her Innocence, and consequently of the barbarous Treatment She had received, and the Injury and Indignity, both to him and her, that was done to the Son; for which He was resolved to leave no Way untried in which He might receive a Vindication. In order to which He first desired the King to hear all Parties, who was prevailed with to appoint a Day for the doing it, being attended by some Bishops and other Lords of his Council; when the Marquis and his Daughter, and the Lord Roos and his Mother, appeared, with more Ladies than could have the Patience to stay till the End of the Examination, where there were so many indecent and uncleanly Particulars mentioned, that made all the Auditors very weary. Nor was there any Room for his Majesty to interpose towards a Reconciliation, which was in View impossible; nor could the Lady be excused for a great Delight She took in making her Husband jealous of her, and in expressing a Contempt of him, whatever else She was guilty of: And so the King left it as He found it. And the Marquis, who had heard many Things He did not expect to have heard, took his Daughter to his own House, that by her own strict Behaviour She might best vindicate herself from the Scandal She lay under: But She quickly freed him from that Hope and Expectation; for within a short Time after, She, not being able to submit to the strict Order and Discipline of her Father's House, which would not permit those

Wanderings She desired to make, nor the Visits She desired to receive, made an Escape from thence, and lodged herself at more Liberty, and lived in that Manner as gave too much Evidence against her with Reference to the Time that was past.

The Marquis, who was a Man of great Honor, and most punctual in all Things relating to Justice, gave a noble Instance of Both, and how much He detested the base and unworthy Behaviour of his own Child, when it was manifest to him. He went to the other noble Family, asked their Pardon "for his Incredulity, and for any Offence He had committed against them, or Reproach He laid upon them, for the Vindication of an unworthy Woman, who He believed now had deserved all and more Aspersions than had been laid on her: And therefore He was ready to join with them to free the Family, as much as was possible, from the Infamy She had brought to them and him, and that her bale issue might not be an eternal Reproach in their Family." Upon this She was first, upon the Complaint of her Husband, cited into the Court of the Arches before the Ecclesiastical Judges: Where, after a full Examination of Witnesses on Both Sides, and hearing what She could alledge in her own Defence, her Crime was declared to be proved sufficiently; and thereupon a Judgment was pronounced "of a full and entire Separation *a Toro & a Mensâ pro Causâ Adulterii*," in such a Form, and with such Circumstances, as are of Course in those Cases.

But all this was not Remedy enough against the Bastard's Title to the Honor of that illustrious

Family: And therefore there was a Bill prepared, wherein all the foul Carriage of the Lady was set out, the Birth and Christening of *Ignoto* the Declaration and Judgment of the Court of the Arches, and Separation of the Parties for the Adultery proved; and thereupon a Desire that it might be declared by Act of Parliament, “that the Son, *Ignoto*, by
 “ Name, is a Bastard, and incapable to inherit any
 “ Part of the Title, Honor or Estate of or belonging
 “ to the House of *Rutland*; and the same Incapacity
 “ to attend all other Children, which from that Time,
 “ the Birth of *Ignoto*, had or might be born from
 “ the Body of that Lady.” And this Bill being presented to the House of Peers by a Lord nearly allied to that Family, the Earl of *Rutland* being present with the Marquis, as soon as it was read the Marquis stood up, and “with Expressions of Trouble,
 “ and of the Justice that was due to the Greatness of
 “ a noble House, that had received a foul Blemish
 “ by a Woman of too near a Relation to him, of
 “ whom He was ashamed,” gave his free Consent to the Bill, and desired that it might pass: And the Earl likewise besought the House, “that so infamous
 “ a Branch might not be ingrafted into his Family,
 “ of which his Son the Lord *Roos* was the sole
 “ Heir Male, with whom the Honor must expire.”

A Bill brought
in for this
Purpose.

It was a Case of general Concernment as well as Compassion, that an impudent Woman should have the Power to give an Heir to inherit a noble Title and Fortune by Descent, when it was so notoriously known and adjudged to be illegitimate, and a mere Stranger to the Blood of the House. Yet there were

Some Lords
against a Pre-
cedent of this
Nature.

some very good Lords, and who detested the Woman and the Wickedness, made much Scruple of making a new Precedent in a particular Case, that undermined a Foundation of Law, and opened a Door to let in an unjust Declaration, upon Pretences not so well proved, to the Disinheritance of one that should not be illegitimate. But though it was a rare Case, it was found not to be a new one, there having been one or two Declarations of Bastardy in Parliament in the Reign of King *Henry VII.* and *Henry VIII.*

However it was as just that She should be heard, to defend both herself and her Son; and therefore the Bill being read the second Time, it was committed, with Direction “that the Lady should have personal Notice to attend, before the Committee entered upon it:” And after long Inquiry at the Places where She used to be, it was found that She had transported herself into *Ireland*, in the Company of the Person whom She had preferred before her Husband; and there was Reason to believe, that it was after She had Notice of the Bill. However all Proceedings were respited till there was full Proof given to the House, by the Person himself who had spoken with her in *Ireland*, and given her the Warrant that required her Attendance upon the Committee: And then, after many Days longer Delay, it was read and debated, and by the Committee reported to the House to be engrossed.

The Duke of
Buckingham;
obstructs the
Bill.

And then, and not till then, the Duke of *Buckingham* opposed the passing of it, upon Pretence, “that in the Bill the Lord *Roos* had assumed a Title that belonged to him by his Mother, who had been

“ Heir Female to *Francis* Earl of *Rutland* ;” when that Title, now challenged, had descended to *George* the Brother of *Francis*, and had been enjoyed by two Earls of *Rutland* since. It was generally thought a strange Exception: Nor was it known, whether the Duke was disposed to it as a Revenge upon the Marquis, or to show his own Power (for He had many who concurred with him in Both Houses upon many Occasions), or whether He did in Truth desire to support the Lady in her Infamy, He not being over-tender in Cases of that Nature. However it was necessary to recommit the Bill, that some Expedient might be there found to remove the Obstruction, which though He was obstinate in till the House was tired with many Days Debate upon it, in which most of his Adherents upon the Unreasonableness left him, He persisted still and maintained the Debate almost alone, till the Time of the Session approached; when the Lord *Roos* was compelled to humor him in leaving out a Title that all the World gave him. And then, after intolerable Vexation to the House and Loss of Time. He desisted to appear against it; and the Act passed the Royal Assent. But it is at length passed.

The ill Humor of the House of Commons was not abated; and though They knew well that their *Irish* Bill could never have passed the upper House but by the King's powerful Interposition, They remained still jealous, or pretended to be so, that He would not give his Assent; which till He should do, They would admit no Debate of Money: So that as soon as the Bill was presented to him, his Majesty came

The King
passes the Irish
Bill with a
Speech.

to the House of Peers, and sent for the Commons to attend him upon the 18th Day of *January*; when, after He had given his Consent to that and another private Bill which They had presented, He told them, “that He had now passed their Bills, and that He had been in Hope to have had other Bills ready to have passed too.” He said, “that He could not forget, that within few Days after their coming together in *September*, Both Houses had presented to him their Vote and Declaration, *that They would give him a Supply proportionable to his Occasions*; and the Confidence of that had made him anticipate that small Part of his Revenue which was unanticipated, for the Payment of the Seamen; and his Credit had gone farther than He had Reason to think it would, but it was now at an End.”

This was the first Day,” He said, “He had heard of a Supply, being the 18th of *January*, and what it would amount unto, God only knew; and what Time He had to make such Preparations as were necessary to meet three such Enemies as He had, They could well enough judge. And He must tell them, what Discourses soever were abroad, He was not in any Treaty; but by the Grace of God He would not give over himself and them, but would do what was in his Power for Defence of Both. It was high Time for them to make good their Promise; and it was high Time for them to be in the Country, as well for the raising of Money, as that the Lords Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants might watch those seditious Spirits which were at Work to disturb the public

“ Peace. And therefore He was resolved to put an
 “ End to that Session on *Monday* next come *Sen-*
 “ night, before which Time He desired that all
 “ Things might be made ready that He was to
 “ despatch.” His Majesty said, “ He was not willing
 “ to complain that They had dealt unkindly with
 “ him in a Bill He had then passed, in which They
 “ had manifested a greater Distrust of him than
 “ He had deserved. He did not pretend to be with-
 “ out Infirmities, but He had never broken his Word
 “ to them; and if He did not flatter himself, the
 “ Nation had never less Cause to complain of Grievances,
 “ or the least Injustice or Oppression, than
 “ it had had in those seven Years since it had pleased
 “ God to restore him to them: He would,” He said,
 “ be glad to be used accordingly.”

This little Quickness in his Majesty prevailed more upon them, than all the former Application had done: And now They saw that They should not be suffered to continue longer together, They resolved to leave some Relish of their former Duty and compliance. Not that the Humor was at all reformed or abated in those who had showed so much Frowardness, who still continued as perverse as ever; but They were over-ruled by the major Part of the House, as They would have been sooner, if it had not been that a contrary Course had been pursued to what had been formerly. Nor were They, who had advised that Change, willing that his Majesty should decline the same Method, and were much troubled that He had not carested the House more in his late Discourse. And as They had before

advised his Majesty freely and without any Condition to offer the Repeal, and release the Act that had granted the Chimney - Money to him, which was a very good and a growing Revenue, but They observed to be unpopular; upon a Presumption (which They assured him could not fail) that so generous an Action in his Majesty towards his People would be immediately requir'd by a Grant of much greater Value (and They had prevailed in this Counsel, if the Chancellor and the Treasurer had not with great Resolution oppos'd it, and made evident to his Majesty, ' that He ought never to propose it
 " himself though with Conditions, because it would
 " make the Grace undervalued, and the Conditions
 " to be esteem'd unreasonable; nor to hearken to
 " any general Proposition, or consent to the Repeal
 " of that Act, without having a full and equivalent
 " Recompence (which ought to be very well
 " weigh'd) granted in the same Act of Parliament;
 " for He had now sufficient Evidence, that the constant Good-Humor of the House was not to be depended upon:" Which confirm'd his Majesty to resolve never to hearken to the one without the other, and so that Mischief was prevented): So They were now as desirous that the House of Commons would still press the Despatch of the Bill of Accounts, which rest'd in the Lords House; and assured them, " that if They would embrace the same
 " Positiveness They had done, the Chancellor would
 " be no more able to hinder the passing of that act,
 " than He had been to keep his Majesty from consenting to the *Irish* Bill so much against his Reso-

“ lution.” But They and their Friends could not keep up the same Spirit of Stubbornness in the House, nor prevail with the King to recede from his Purpose: So that the Bill for Accounts remained still in the House of Lords not fully discussed. And such a Progress was made in the House of Commons, notwithstanding all Opposition, that a Bill for Supply was prepared within the Time prescribed, though in Respect of the Proportion not equal to the Occasions, A Supply granted. and entangled still with the same inconvenient Clauses and *Provisos* which had so unwarily been admitted at *Oxford*, and which made what was granted unapplicable to the procuring ready Money; of which his Majesty was now fully convinced. But the Time was too short to labor in the Alteration. And so the Bill, as it was, was sent up to the Lords, who, after the short Formality that cannot be avoided, gave it a Passage through that House: So that it was now ready for the King.

The 8th of *February* the King came to the Parliament, and the Speaker of the House presented the Bill to the King, who gave his Royal Assent to it, and thanked them for it, with his Assurance “ that The King’s Speech at the Prorogation of the Parliament. “ the Money should be laid out for the Ends it was “ given: However,” He said, “ He hoped He should “ live to have Bills of this Nature in the old Style, “ with fewer *Provisos*.” He took Notice, “ that the “ Bill of Accounts for the Money that had been “ already raised since the War was not offered to “ him: But,” his Majesty said, “ that He would take “ Care (after so much Noise) that the same should “ not be stifled; but that He would issue out his

“ Commission in the Manner He had formerly pro-
 “ mised the House of Peers; and the Commissioners,
 “ should have very much to answer, if They should
 “ not discover all Matters of Fraud and Cozenage.”
 He told them, “ the Season of the Year was very far
 “ spent, in which the Enemy had got great Advan-
 “ tage; but by the Help of God, He would make all
 “ the Preparations He could, and as fast as He could:
 “ And yet He would tell them, that if any good
 “ Overtures were made for an honorable Peace, He
 “ would not reject them; and He believed all sober
 “ Men would be glad to see it brought to pass.”

“ He would now prorogue them till towards
 “ Winter, that they might in their several Places
 “ intend the Peace and Security of their several
 “ Counties, where there were unquiet Spirits still
 “ working. He did pray them, and” said “ He did
 “ expect it from them, that They would use their
 “ utmost Endeavours to remove all those false Imagi-
 “ nations out of the Hearts of the People, which
 “ the Malice of ill Men had industriously infused
 “ into them, of He knew not what Jealousies and
 “ Grievances: For He must tell them again, and He
 “ was sure He was in the Right, *that the People had*
 “ *never so little Cause to complain of Oppression and*
 “ *Grievances, as They had since his Return to them.*
 “ If the Taxes and Impositions were grievous and
 “ heavy upon them, They would put them in Mind,
 “ that a War with such powerful Enemies could
 “ not be maintained without Taxes; and He was
 “ sure the Money raised thereby came not into his
 “ Purse.” He concluded “ with promising himself

“ good Effects from their Affections and Wifdoms,
 “ wherever They were: And He did hope They
 “ should all meet again of one Mind, for his Honor,
 “ and the Good of the Kingdom.” And so They
 were prorogued to the 10th Day of *October* next.

And now the King had very much to do, more
 than He had Time or Tools to despatch. Yet He
 began first where the Parliament left off, that when
 They came again together They might have no
 Cause to say, that He had not performed what He
 had promised, and so with the same Passion renew
 their Clamor upon the Accounts, which was made
 now a very popular Complaint; and whoever was
 accused of obstructing that Examination, was pre-
 sently concluded to have had a Share in the Prey.
 Yet He was not willing that such a strict Account
 or Examination should be made, especially into the
 Receipt of the Lord *Ashley* for the Prizes, that all
 the World should know what Money had been
 issued out by his own immediate Orders, and to
 whom. Hereupon He commanded his Attorney and
 Solicitor General to prepare a Commission, with all
 necessary Clauses, to call all Persons to Account who
 had received any such Monies, and to examine and
 take any Exception to the same.

The King ap-
 points Com-
 missioners for
 inspecting
 public Ac-
 counts.

And that there might be no just Exception to the
 Commission, which He knew would be strictly
 looked into, They were required “ to advise with
 “ all or any of the Judges, that it might have their
 “ Approbation; and that there should be a Clause in
 “ the Commission, whereby the Commissioners
 “ should be authorized to call any of the Judges to

“ their Assistance, when upon any Matters of Difficulty They should think it necessary.” And that there might be no Exception to any of the Commissioners, as like to be partial in Respect of Friendship or Alliance to any of those who were to be called before them, his Majesty appointed all those Persons, who were nominated for Commissioners in the Bill sent to the House of Lords by the Commons, to be inserted into this Commission; and likewise made Choice of such a Number of the Peers as was fit, to be joined to the others, and named those who had upon all Debates in the House appeared most solicitous, that a very exact Account should be required, and of such others who had no Relation to the Court, and were looked upon with the utmost Esteem by the House of Commons: All which was prepared with the Expedition that was possible, and the Commission sealed; and Notice given to all the Commissioners, that They should meet at a Place appointed; upon a Day named, presently after *Easter*, by which Time the Judges would be returned out of their Circuits; and They were then at Liberty to adjourn to what Place They pleased.

We are now to enter upon the Occurrences of the Year 1667, a Year little more prosperous to the Public than the Year preceding, and fatal in Respect to many calamitous Accidents to the Chancellor, and which put a Period to his Greatness; the Circumstances whereof, very notorious, were so interwoven with the public Transactions of State, that it is not easy to make a distinct and clear Relation of the one without the other.

The

The Temper the Parliament had been in, and the Delay They had used in giving the King any Supply towards his carrying on the War, made the King discern that He had been too confident of their Generosity, and that They had already departed from that Spirit with which They first had persuaded him to enter into that War: And it was as evident (which had been often foretold to him) that the *Dutch* could endure being beaten longer than He could endure to beat them. They were now relieved and supplied with the Money of *France*, and the governing Party had subdued all Contradictions; and whatever their Affections were, all Compliance and Submission appeared to the Commands of the State; and there wanted Nothing but the Season of the Year to carry their Fleet again to Sea as great and as well provided as it had ever been. All Murmuring was transplanted from thence into *England*, where it grew up plentifully: And the King was, upon the Credit of an Act of Parliament that was passed on the 8th of *February*, to provide a Fleet ready to encounter with the potent Enemies in the Spring. There was no Trade by Sea, and therefore could not be much by Land that could bring any Benefit to the King; and the Seamen ran all to the Privateers, who adventured for Booty, which They preferred before serving in the Royal Navy.

The King in those Straits called that Council together with whom He used to consult his most secret Affairs; and the chief Officers at Sea, and the Commissioners of the Navy, attended to give such Information as was necessary before any Resolution

The King involved in great difficulties.

He consults the private Committee upon the

perplexing
State of his
Affairs.

could be taken. There the whole State of the Navy was inquired into; what was in the Stores, and what the Defects or Deficiencies were, and what Hopes there were of supplying them; what Ships were ready, and what would be made ready in three Months. The Victualler was sent for to give an Account what Provision of Victuals was ready, and what could be provided and put on Board in the same Time, which was the utmost that could be limited. Every Officer protested, "that there could not be the least Attempt towards any Preparations without a good Sum of ready Money:" And the Yards were in that Necessity by Reason of the great Arrear of Wages that was due to them, that They were near a Mutiny, and could not be kept to their Work, being necessitated to do any Work abroad to get Victual for their Families. The inferior Officers, which belonged to the Stores, lived by stealing and selling what They were intrusted to keep. In short: All Things were presented to be in that Confusion, that there appeared no Probability of being able to set out any Fleet before the Enemy would be so strong upon the Coast, that it would be very difficult to make a Conjunction between those Ships which were in the River, and the other which were at *Portsmouth* and in other Ports.

This desperate Representation did not make the King take a sudden Resolution: But the same Council met many Days Morning and Evening. All Ways were thought upon which might administer Hope to get any Money; and Considerations were entered upon what was to be done in Case a Fleet could not

be provided fit to engage the Enemy, and which Way a defensive War was to be made at Sea, and how the Trade should be secured and the Coasts and Harbours be so preserved, that the Enemy might do no Ascent at Land; for every Day brought loose and ungrounded Intelligence of Bodies of Horse and Foot, drawn in *France* to the Seaside in many Places upon that large Coast, and likewise in *Holland*, and great Provision of Flatbottoms, as if They intended to make some Descent: which Kind of Rumors exceedingly discomposed the common People, though They who understood the Expeditions of that Nature, and with what Difficulty Land Armies were transported, were not moved by those Reports. After all Expedients were considered and well weighed, his Majesty found Cause to despair of being able to set out in any Time a Fleet equal to the Occasion, and so contracted his Thoughts to the other Part, for the Defensive.

A Resolution
taken to act on
the Defensive.

There is a Point of Land on the *Kentish* Coast that extends itself into the Sea, and at the very Entrance of the River, where the King had often thought and discoursed of erecting a Royal Fort, that would both preserve the Coast, and likewise be a great Security to the River: And the prosecuting this Design was in this Consultation thought of great Importance, and the erecting another Fort in another Place, and repairing and strengthening *Landguard Point* upon the Coast of *Essex* and *Sussex*.

For Preparations for the Sea, it was thought fit and enough, “ that a good Squadrons of light Frigats
“ should ride on the Coast of *Scotland*, and another

“ of the same Strength lie off *Plymouth*, Both which
“ should intercept the Trade of *Holland* both outward
“ and inward, if They did not maintain it with strong
“ Convoys, which would break their Fleet; and in
“ those Cases the Frigats would easily retire to their
“ Harbours. That some Frigats should be always
“ in the *Downs*, to chase *Picaroons* from infesting
“ the Coast, and to observe and get Intelligence of
“ the Enemies Motion, and upon Occasion should
“ retire up the River. That there should be some
“ of the greatest Ships at *Chatham*, *Portsmouth* and
“ other Places, prepared and put in Readiness against
“ the End of Summer, before which Time Money
“ might be provided: And then the Enemies Fleet
“ being weary and foul, it might be presumed the
“ *French* would return early into their own Ports,
“ which were so far off; and then the Frigats from
“ the *West* and the *North* might find the Way to
“ join with the great Ships, which should be ready
“ against that Time, and either fight the *Dutch* if
“ They should chuse it, or infest their Coast more
“ than They had done this, and take all their Ships
“ homeward bound from all Places, which, upon
“ the Fame of their being Masters of the Sea all the
“ Summer, would repair Home without Apprehen-
“ sion of an Enemy.” And there were some Officers
of great Experience at Sea, who, being called by
the King to advise upon this Project, declared with
Confidence, “ that the *Dutch* would be greater Losers
“ by the War thus conducted the next Summer, than
“ They had been in any Year since the War begun.”
For the Security of Trade, it was declared, “ that

“ there was no possible Way to secure it but by re-
 “ straining it, and not suffering any Merchants Ships
 “ to go to Sea, and by giving them Advice to send
 “ to all their Factors and Correspondents, *that They*
 “ *should send no Goods Home till They received new*
 “ *Orders:*” Which Restraint some were against,
 “ both because it would have an ill Reception with
 “ the People, when They should find that a War,
 “ which had been entered into for the Enlargement
 “ and Advancement of Trade, had produced a Cef-
 “ sation of Trade; and it would appear very hard
 “ that Men, who had laid out their own Stocks and
 “ were willing to venture them, should be forbid
 “ and hindered from sending them to those Markets
 “ for which They had provided them, which would
 “ turn to little less Loss to them than They should
 “ incur by their being taken by the Enemy. Then
 “ it would be, not a Discouragement but a Diffi-
 “ cipation of the Seamen, who, if They could have
 “ no Employment in the King’s Ships or in the Mer-
 “ chant Ships, would be scattered abroad to seek
 “ their Fortune, so that They would not be brought
 “ together when the King had Occasion for their
 “ Service. In the last Place: That the giving this
 “ Order for Restraint, and Advice to the Merchants
 “ to inform their Factors and Correspondents, would
 “ be, and could not chuse but be, an absolute Publi-
 “ cation of this Resolution of the King to send out
 “ no Fleet in the Spring; which was yet agreed to
 “ be the highest Secret.”

All these Reasons were temperately weighed and answered, “ That it could not be unreasonable or

“ unjust to hinder Men from doing themselves Harm:
 “ The King could not take their Goods from them
 “ to his own Use, but He might lawfully hinder
 “ them from spoiling or destroying the Goods that
 “ were their own. That their being taken by the
 “ Enemy (which would be unavoidable) concerned
 “ the King and the Kingdom little less than it did
 “ the private Owners: It would increase the Inso-
 “ lence and the Wealth of the Enemy and reflect
 “ upon his Majesty's Honor as well as impoverish
 “ his Subjects; and the Difference would be very
 “ great between losing their Goods, and keeping
 “ them upon their Hands for a better Market. For
 “ the Dissipation of the Seamen there would no
 “ great Danger be of that: The Squadrons on the
 “ Western and the Northern Coasts, which must be
 “ very well manned, would entertain good Num-
 “ bers; and the rest would put themselves on Board
 “ the Privateers, who should be all bound to come
 “ Home against the Time the King would have
 “ Occasion for their Service, and then the Priva-
 “ teers should be restrained as now the Merchants.
 “ For the keeping the present Resolution secret,
 “ which would by this Means be published, it were
 “ to be desired that it might remain a Secret as long
 “ as should be possible: But as discerning Men
 “ would easily discover it, and could not but already
 “ know that it was impossible for the King in Time
 “ to set out a Fleet, so it would quickly be evident to
 “ all the World; and the Secret was not to be
 “ affected longer than it could be concealed.”

There was another Inconvenience or Mischief that

was in View, that would *come like an armed Man* upon the City, which was Want of Fuel, especially the Want of Coals from *Newcastle*, of which there had been a vast Quantity consumed in the late Fire, which had likewise consumed those Houses and Chimnies which should be supplied; yet the People remained still, and were not like to be much the warmer for being crowded closer together. But to that there could no other Remedy be applied, but the sending Orders to *Newcastle* to employ all their Ships, and all They could procure, in sending as much Coal as was possible to *London* and the Towns adjacent, before the Enemies Fleet could put to Sea; and Convoys were assigned too strong for their Privateers or small Parties of their Men of War: And the King gave two or three Vessels of his own, and likewise Money, to fetch Coals, that the Poor might have them at the Rates they cost; and directed the City to do the same. All which produced some good Effect.

Upon the whole Matter, and thorough Examination of the Whole, the King concluded upon all the Particulars mentioned before, assigning proper Persons to supervise every Particular, that all should be executed in Time that was agreed upon. The Duke issued out all his Orders to the Ships, with which Sir *William Coventry* was charged, whose Office it was: And the King would charge himself with that which was most important, the Fortification at *Sheerness*; whither his Majesty made a Journey in the Cold and Depth of Winter; and took an Engineer and some Officers of the Ordnance with

The King
inspects the
Fortifications
of Sheerness.

him, that all Things might be supplied from thence which belonged to that Office. He caused Master-Workmen to be sent from *London*, and drew common Laborers enough out of the Country, having provided Money to pay them. And after all Things were in this Order, and He had seen the Work begun, He left the Master Engineer, whom He designed to be Governor of the Fort, for which He was very equal upon the Place; and committed the overlooking of the Whole, that all possible Expedition might be used, to one of the Commissioners of the Ordnance, who promised to look carefully to it: And his Majesty returned to *London*, when in the Opinion of all his Servants He had stayed too long in such a Season, and such an Air to the Danger of his Health. How all those Resolutions and Orders were executed afterwards, or complied with, must unavoidably be mentioned in its Place.

It cannot be imagined by any Man who in any Degree knew him, that the Chancellor, though He was present, could have any Part in these Resolutions but the submitting to them; every Particular being so much out of his Sphere, that He never pretended to understand what was fit and reasonable to be done: Nor throughout the whole Conduct of the War was He ever known to presume to give an Advice; but presuming that all whose Profession it was advised what was fit, He readily concurred. And He did always declare, "that in this last Consultation all Points were so fully debated; and " that there was so concurrent an Opinion in the " Commanders of the Ships, and the Officers of the

“ Navy, with the Approbation of the Duke of York,
 “ Prince Rupert, and the General, *that it was not*
 “ *possible to set out a Fleet in Time equal to that of*
 “ *the Enemy to engage with it; and that the next best*
 “ *would be to stand upon the Defensive in the Manner*
 “ *proposed:* That it did not appear to him, that there
 “ was any Election left but to pursue that Course,”
 which He did believe very reasonably proposed and
 resolved upon; nor did any Thing occur to him,
 why very much Good might not be hoped from it,
 He being so totally unskilful in the Knowledge of
 the Coast and the River, that He knew not where
Sheerness was, nor had ever heard of the Name of
 such a Place till this last Discourse, nor had ever
 been upon any Part of the River with any other
 Thought about him, than to get on Shore as soon
 as could be possible.

The King had not himself thought of this defensive
 Way, but approved it very much when He heard
 it so fully discussed, and in which himself had pro-
 posed all his Doubts, which no Man raised more
 pertinently in Arguments of that Nature than his
 Majesty; and it may be He liked it the better, be-
 cause at that Time, as He was heartily weary of the
 War, so He was not without a reasonable Hope of
 Peace, which He resolved to cherish, as He told the
 Parliament at parting He would do. The Grounds
 of which Hope, and the Progress thereupon, the
 entering upon a Treaty, and the Conclusion thereof,
 will be the Discourse and Relation We shall next
 enter upon.

How ill Success soever had attended the Nego- The Swedes
disposed to

assist the Eng-
lish.

They send
Ambassadors
into England.

tiation of *Denmark* by the Irresolution and Unsteadiness of that Court, Mr. *Coventry* had conducted what had been committed to him with very good Effect in *Sweden*. And after He had disposed that Court (where He had rendered himself extremely acceptable) to a just Esteem of the King's Friendship; and an equal Aversion to the *Hollander*, and concluded such Articles as were for the present and joint Convenience and Benefit of Both Nations, and prepared them to be willing to enter into a stricter and nearer Alliance, and to that Purpose to send Ambassadors into *England*, where They had an Agent; He returned to give his Majesty an Account and Information of the Constitution and Temper of that Court, and of the Nature and Disposition of the two Ambassadors who were to attend his Majesty, who were chosen before He left *Stockholm*, and resolved to embark within ten Days: Which They did, and arrived about the Time, or soon after, that the City was so miserably destroyed by Fire; which was the less favorable Conjunction, not so much by the Influence that dreadful Distraction and Damage was like to have upon the vigorous carrying on the War, as by the ill Humor which the Parliament shortly after appeared to be in, and their manifest Obstinacy against the King's Desires; which was a Temper very different from what They expected to have found, and what They had been informed had possessed them from the Time of his Majesty's Return. Nor was this manifest Indisposition without some unhappy Impression upon the Spirits of the Ambassadors, and that Alacrity They brought with

them presently to enter into a Treaty, and Conjunction of Forces against the common Enemy.

It was manifest enough, that the Crown of *Sweden* was weary of the Obligations They had been long bound in to *France*, which had superciliously neglected of late to comply with what was on their Part to be performed; and rather endeavoured to make Alliances with *Denmark*, and the lesser neighbour Princes, as those of the House of *Brunswick* and *Lunenburgh* to their Disadvantage, than to consider that Crown which had been so useful to them, as if their Friendship was so considerable to them. Nor was this out of a real Disesteem of them; but that They might bind them to a faster Dependance upon them, and that They might not be severed from their Interest, whatsoever They should declare it to be. And therefore, when it was first suspected that They might be inclined to *England*, and *Holland* apprehended that They might be induced to make a Conjunction with the Bishop of *Munster*, *France* (as hath been touched before) sent their Ambassador *Pomponne* into *Sweden*, with a full Year's Salary of what was in Arrear, much more still remaining due, and to incline that Crown to a Neutrality between the *English* and the *Dutch*; in which He found Mr. *Coventry* had prevented him, and though He had not then the Character of Ambassador, He was much better respected there than He was. And as They would have joined with the Bishop of *Munster*, if He had advanced according to his Pretence, or had not been absolutely taken off by *France*; so, when He was diverted from his Purpose, They were the

more inclined to make a firm Alliance with *England*, and thereby such a farther Conjunction with other Princes, Protestant or Catholic, that might give some Check to the impetuous Humor of *France*, which They now were as jealous of, and of their overflowing all the Banks which belonged to their Neighbours, as They had been formerly of the House of *Austria*; and for the same Reason were as desirous to retire from any Dependance upon or Relation to that Crown, as They had been formerly of its Protection; and were very well prepared to change their Alliance, and, if They might not be Losers by it, to make a Conjunction with *Germany* and the House of *Austria*, into which it was reasonable to be presumed that the *United Provinces* would be glad to be received upon moderate Conditions when a Peace should be made with *England*.

And this was the Prospect that had been presented to them by Mr. *Coventry*, and upon View of which They now sent their Ambassadors, without being terrified by the Declaration of *France* on the Behalf of the *Dutch*; and with a Resolution, if They could not persuade *Holland* to separate from that Conjunction, and make a Peace apart with the King (which They labored by their Ambassador the Count of *Dhona* to the *States*) to join their Interest frankly to that of his Majesty, and to run the Hazard and expect the Issue and Event of the War.

The Characters of the Ambassadors.

The two Ambassadors were *Flemming* and *Coyet*, Both Senators in the great Council of *Sweden*, and Men of prime Authority there: The former of the greater Place and Esteem, being a Nobleman of an

ancient and noble Extraction of a Family in *Scotland*, that had lived through many Descents in *Sweden* in great Employment and Lustre; and this Man never dissembled a particular Devotion to the King, and for that Reason principally was designed to this Negotiation. The other was not so well born or bred, or of so cheerful a Complection, but a more thinking and melancholic Man, more conversant in Books, and more versed in the Course and Forms of Business; and by his own Virtue and humble Industry had from a mean and low Birth, which in those Northern Kingdoms is the highest Disadvantage, by Degrees ascended to the Degree of a Senator, which is the chiefest Qualification; and had gotten his first Credit and Reputation by a Negotiation He was intrusted with in *Holland*, and a Treaty well managed by him there: which made him liable in that Court to be much inclined to the *Dutch*, and to have some particular Friendship with *De Wit*, They having studied together in *Leyden* when They were young; and their Familiarity after was improved to a good Correspondence in that Negotiation in *Holland*.

This being well known and commonly spoken of there, Mr. *Coventry* endeavoured to prevent his Designation to that Employment, by speaking to the Chancellor of that Kingdom, who always received him with open Arms, and gave good Testimony of his hearty and passionate Desire of a firm Conjunction between the two Crowns; and, though He was of a *French* Extraction, had a full Jealousy of the Want of Sincerity and Justice of that Nation. When He discovered the Apprehension Mr. *Coventry* had, He

persuaded him to acquiesce in his Judgment rather than to credit common Rumor: " That He well knew
 " Both, and had contributed to the Election of Both,
 " who were very fit to be joined together in an Em-
 " ployment of this Nature, the Guilty and Warmth
 " of the one standing in Need sometimes of the
 " Phlegm of the other, who would yet pay that Re-
 " verence to him that was due to his superior Qua-
 " lity; and that He was too good a *Swede* to have
 " Inclinations to the *Dutch* how much Conversation
 " soever He had with them. In a Word, He would
 " pass his Word;" which put an End to all farther
 Doubts; And it was well enough known, that He had
 been raised by and was a Creature of the Chancellor.

And in Truth, from the Time of their Arrival in
England He carried himself very fairly, and without
 any visible Inclination to the *Dutch*, and much less to
 the *French*; and They Both very frankly declared to
 those of the King's Ministers with whom They con-
 ferred with Intimacy, " that that Crown would
 " gladly be separated from them, if a good Expe-
 " dient might be found to make them no Losers by
 " it." Yet it is as true, that after They had been
 some Months in *England*, and saw in how ill a Pos-
 ture the King was for the carrying on the War, and
 how far the Parliament was from giving Money, or
 from any reasonable Compliance with his Majesty's
 Desires, *Coyet* did not concur with the same Warmth
 in his Despatches, with *Flemming*, into *Sweden*; but
 writ apart to the Ministers there, " that They must
 " take new Measures and not depend upon a Con-
 " junction with *England*, to which, how well soever

“ the King was inclined, He would not be able to
 “ bear the Part They expected, by Reason that He
 “ had no Power with the Parliament;” which Let-
 ters his Majesty’s Agent then in *Sweden* had a Sight
 of: Which produced no other Effect there, but a
 Resolution, that if They saw that either the King
 was inclined to a Peace, or would be reduced to a
 Necessity to treat, the Ambassadors should offer in
 the Name of their Master his Interposition, which
 their Ministers in *France* and *Holland* should then
 likewise make Proffer of, upon Advertisement first
 from them, but with a secret Assurance to the King,
 “ that if a Treaty should not take Effect” (which it
 could hardly be believed it would do), “ the Crown
 “ of *Sweden* would firmly unite itself to his Majesty’s
 “ Interest, and engage in the War with him;” which
 it was evident They were more inclined to, than to
 a Peace in which *France* might be comprehended.
 But that which They most desired was, that a Peace
 might be made with the *Dutch* without comprehend-
 ing *France*, in which They would willingly enter,
 which would draw *Spain* and all the Princes of *Ger-
 many* to desire to be admitted for their own Security.

Sweden is de-
 sires of a
 separate Trea-
 ty with
 Holland.

The *Conde* of *Molina* was Ambassador from *Spain*,
 near the King, a Man rather sincere than subtil, and
 so had the more Need of the Advice and Assistance
 of the Baron of *Ifola*, who was, under the Title of
 Envoy from the Emperor, entirely trusted and sup-
 ported (as most of the Emperor’s Ministers were)
 by the King of *Spain*; who being a *Burgundian*, born
 in those Parts which remain subject to *Spain*, had
 an implacable Hatred to the *French*; and by the

The same en-
 deavoured by
 the Spanish
 and Imperial
 Ambassadors.

Employments He had undergone in *Italy* and other Places, where He had been Ambassador, had made himself so considerable, that He was become notoriously odious to the *French*, and was a Man of great Experience and very subtil Parts. Both those Ministers did heartily wish a Peace between *England* and *Holland* with the Exclusion of *France*; But if that could not be, They had much rather the War should continue as it was, than that *France* should be comprehended in the Peace; for which They had some Reason. For at this Time the King of *Spain* died, which They had too many Reasons to believe would put an End to the Quiet of *Flanders*; and therefore would be glad that They might have the Assistance of *England* for their Defence, and in which *Holland* could not think itself unconcerned. The Probability of this, and the constant Intelligence They received from the *Hague*, "that there were
 " already Jealousies grown up between the *French*
 " and the *Dutch*," persuaded them, and They endeavoured to persuade the King, "that *Holland* might
 " be now induced to treat by themselves; or if They
 " could not do that, but must proceed jointly with
 " *France*, They would upon Assurance of the King's
 " Affection sever themselves from them, if They in-
 " sisted upon any Thing that was not for the joint
 " Benefit of all." The King left them to do what They thought fit towards it, without undertaking any Thing on his Part until their fair Intentions were discerned, and then to assure them of his Majesty's Inclinations to Peace upon just and honorable Conditions.

There

There is no Doubt, there was a real Jealousy and Holland and France jealous of each other. Diffatisfaction between *France* and *Holland* at this Time. The *Dutch* complained, “ that the *French* had “ broken their Promise with them no less this Year “ than They had done the last: They had indeed “ declared and proclaimed a War, but They had “ done no Acts of Hostility; and whereas They “ were engaged that their Fleet should have joined “ with theirs in the Month of *May*, They had never “ been in View but at a great Distance, and suffered “ the *Dutch* to fight so many Days together without “ any Help from them. And upon their renewed “ Promise, They had again carried out their Fleet to “ meet with them in *August*; when They failed again, “ and left them exposed to the whole *English* Fleet: “ So that They were compelled with some Loss to “ get again into their Harbours.” And now They had a real Apprehension, that They might treat with *England* apart, and leave them to support the War at Sea by themselves, whilst They pursued their Expedition against *Flanders* upon the Death of the King of *Spain*.

On the other Side, *France* as much complained of the Proceedings of the *Dutch*: “ That after They “ had received a great Sum of Money from them, “ without which They could not have set out their “ Fleet, They no more cared for a Conjunction “ with their Ships, nor went to that Length at Sea “ which They were bound to, to join with them; “ which They might have done, if They had con- “ tinued their Course when They put to Sea in the “ Beginning of *June*. Instead of which They went

“ over to the Coast of *England* to find the *English*,
 “ confessing thereby, that They had no Need of the
 “ Assistance of the *French* Ships; but leaving them
 “ to shift for themselves. And afterwards, in the End
 “ of *August*, They came not to the Place They had
 “ promised to have done; by Reason of which Ne-
 “ glect and Breach of Faith, if a singular Act of
 “ Providence had not prevented it, their whole Fleet
 “ had fallen into the Hands of the *English*, as some
 “ Part of it did.” But that which made them likewise
 willing that this War should be at an End was, that
 now, the King of *Spain* being dead, They might
 enter upon a War with *Spain*; towards which They
 prepared *Manifestos* to publish upon the Matter of
 their Right, and already prepared Levies of Men, of
 which They could pretend no other Use: Yet They
 professed to the *Spanish* Ambassador to have no such
 Design in their Purposes. However They would not
 enter upon any Treaty apart without the *Dutch*: Nor
 would *De Wit*, who entirely governed the Councils
 of *Holland*, be induced to consent to any Overtures
 made to separate, before or in the Treaty, from
France; but gave Information of whatsoever was
 proposed by the Baron of *Ifola*, or the *Spaniard* or
 any other Person, to that Purpose, and enlarged
 upon that Information more than was true, to endear
 his own Punctuality.

The Queen-
 Mother endeavours to bring
 about a Peace
 with France.

The Mother of the King was then at *Paris*, having
 chosen rather to reside there than in *England*, since
 She saw the Resolution of a War between them,
 and desired Nothing more than to be an Instrument
 in the composing those Differences, which She

thought were not good for either of the Crowns ; and found now another Style in that Court than it had used to discourse in, and from the Time of the News of the Death of the King of *Spain*, that the *French King* had spoken as if He wished a Peace with *England*: Whereupon about the Time when the Parliament was prorogued, the Earl of *St. Albans* came to *London*, as to look to the Queen's Affairs, of which He was the great Intendant. He informed the King " of the good Temper the *French Court* " was in, and that He was confident, if his Majesty " would make any Advance towards a Peace, the " Queen would be able to dispose that King to hear- " ken to it, and to be a Mediator between *England* " and *Holland*; and either to draw them to consent " to what was just, or to separate from them: And " He thought it very reasonable, that the Condi- " tions should be referred to the King of *France*, " who He was sure, upon such a Trust, would be " very careful of the King's Honor and Interest." He professed " to have no Authority for any Thing " He proposed, from the *French King* or any of his " Ministers, but from the Queen's Conjectures and " his own Observation: And if the King would give " him a Commission, He would presently return, " and would not be known to have any Powers, " till He should find such a Conjunction to own it, " as that the Peace should be concluded before there " should be any Discourse of a Treaty (which He " knew the *French* most desired) lest *Spain* might " interpose to perplex or delay it." And therefore He proposed, " that He might carry Instructions with

She sends the
Earl of St.
Albans into
England for
that purpose

“ him, upon what Conditions the King would be
 “ willing that a Peace should be established.” His
 Majesty was resolved never to make the *French* King
 Arbitrator of the Conditions of the Peace, nor that
 it should be treated at *Paris*; and most of all, that
 the Earl of *St. Albans* should not have any Power to
 treat, “ who,” the King always used to say, “ was
 “ more a *French* than an *English* Man:” And He
 likewise resolved, “ that no Overture should be made
 “ towards Peace in his Name.”

Whilst this was in Suspense, the Earl received Letters from *Paris*, in which He was advised “ to return
 “ thither with Power to treat, and with Information
 “ what Conditions the King expected; for that his
 “ most *Christian* Majesty had so prepared the *Dutch*,
 “ that He should have present Power to treat and
 “ conclude; and so all Things might be settled before
 “ the Formality of a Treaty should be entered into
 “ or heard of.” This did not alter the King’s Resolution against authorizing the Earl to treat, or making *Paris* the Place of the Treaty. But because the Letters were written by *Monseigneur Ruvigny*, who was a Person well known to the King, and of whom He had a good Opinion, and whom He well knew to be too wary a Man to write in that Manner without having good Authority to do so; his Majesty was contented “ that the Earl should make Haste to *Paris*;
 “ and if He found by *Ruvigny* that what They proposed was really desired, He should undertake to
 “ know that the King was very well inclined to
 “ Peace, and that himself would willingly confer
 “ with any Body He would carry him to; and

“ whatsoever should be proposed, He would with all
 “ possible Expedition transmit it to the King: ”
 With this farther Direction, “ that if He were satisfied
 “ that their Intentions were real, which the Altera-
 “ tions in their own Affairs made probable, He should
 “ endeavour, by the Queen or *Ruvigny*, to discover
 “ whether it would not be possible to persuade that
 “ King to treat apart and exclude *Holland*; and if
 “ it appeared to him that was not to be hoped,
 “ that at least his Majesty would think it reasonable,
 “ that the *Dutch* should restore whatsoever Fort or
 “ other Place They had taken upon the Coast of
 “ *Guinea*, and likewise pay a good Sum of Money
 “ to the King towards the Charge of the War.”

The Earl of *St. Albans* had no Mind to return with
 no larger a Commission, and pretended to know
 “ that this was not the Way to advance a Treaty,
 “ and that He could as well write what the King
 “ directed, and know again by Letter what They
 “ thought of it; and therefore He would stay and
 “ despatch the Business which the Queen sent him
 “ about, before He would return.” But when He
 saw the King was contented He should stay; rather
 than have Nothing to do in the Treaty, He chose
 to be at the Beginning of it, and thought He should
 not be afterwards left out; and so offered the King
 to depart without farther Delay.

The King had from the Beginning informed the
 Chancellor of all that the Earl had said to him from
 his Arrival: And when He had received those Let-
 ters from *Ruvigny*, He sent him to show them to him;
 and himself came presently whilst the Earl was there,

and directed him to prepare the Instructions for him, which the Earl likewise desired He might do. The Chancellor very well knew, that his Credit with the King was much lessened, and that of the Lord *Arlington* much increased, who did not like that He should meddle in the Affairs proper to his Office: Besides He had no Mind to be intrusted in the Transactions with *France*, of whose Want of Faith He had too much Experience; which would neither be grateful to the Queen-Mother nor to the Earl. And therefore He very earnestly besought the King, "that, it being the Lord *Arlington's* Province, all those Despatches might pass through his Hands." The King said, "that He knew the Lord *Arlington* desired his Help, and that He should prepare all those Despatches," which He required him to do: And the Earl of *St. Albans* seemed very much to desire, "that not only his Instructions might be prepared by him, but that He might always receive his Majesty's Pleasure signified by him, upon any material Point that should arise;" which the King promised him He should do. Upon which the other, who durst not decline those Commands He was so unwilling to obey, humbly desired his Majesty, "that the whole Matter might be first communicated to that Committee of the Council, with which He consulted his most secret Affairs; and that the Earl of *St. Albans* might be present at the Debate; and that whatever He should be appointed to put into Writing might be perused at that Board, and if it required his Majesty's Signature, it should be presented to him by the Secretary:" All which

his Majesty consented to. And all being done according to what is mentioned before, the Earl departed for *France*.

He returns
into France to
negotiate a
Peace.

It is very true, there was yet no visible Alteration in the King's Confidence towards the Chancellor with Reference to his Business, in which his Majesty had no Reserve, and spent as much Time with him, and vouchsafed as often to go to his House, as He had ever used to do. But when He offered to speak to him of other Matters, as He could not forbear to do, which He thought concerned him more than his most public Transactions: He found his Countenance presently shut, no Attention, and no Answer, or such a one as showed He was not pleased: And He took all Occasions to make others see, that He was advised only by him in what immediately related to his Business, and not more in that than by other Men.

When the Earl came to *Paris*, He found the *French* less upon their Guard than He expected: And the King himself frankly expressed himself "to wish an
" End of this War, and that He might be possessed
" of the King's Friendship, which He valued exceed-
" ingly;" and referred to *Monsieur Lionne*, "who"
his Majesty said "was prepared to speak to him." *Monsieur De Lionne* kept himself within Generals,
" of the Benefit that *England* would receive by a
" Peace, which made his *Christian* Majesty desire to
" promote it, and never more to depart from his
" Friendship. That He was obliged in Honor now
" not to quit the *Dutch*, having entered into a Treaty
" with them when He had no Imagination that there
" would be a War between them and *England*; that

“ He had been often sorry for it, and had given them
 “ just Occasion to complain, *that He forbore longer*
 “ *than He ought to have done to give them Help*: And
 “ therefore He could not now leave them to them-
 “ selves, except They were obstinate, and refused
 “ to make Peace upon just Conditions; and then He
 “ would renounce them.” But when He found that
 the Earl had no Power, and that He talked of
 Money to be given for the Charge of the War, and
 expected to have particular Overtures to send to the
 King; He brake off the Discourse till He could
 confer with his Master.

Within two or three Days *Monfieur De Lionne*
 visited the Earl, and told him “ that if any Thing
 “ were to be done towards a Peace, there must be
 “ no Time lost: It was yet in the Power of the
 “ most *Christian* King to bring it to pass upon just
 “ and honorable Terms; but He knew not how
 “ long it would continue in his Power; for He con-
 “ fessed the *Dutch* took themselves to be so much
 “ behindhand, that They had no Mind to Peace,
 “ believing They had now Advantage. That it
 “ was never heard of, that after a War between two
 “ Nations, upon the making Peace, either Side con-
 “ sented to pay the Charge of the War: Therefore
 “ any Expectation of that, or but Mention of it,
 “ would shut the Door against any Treaty.” He
 gave two Papers to him to send to the King, Both
 under his own Hand, which his Majesty had the
 Choice of, and which the *Dutch* would consent to;
 “ but if that should be required, the Treaty was at
 “ an End before it was begun, and the Sword must
 “ determine it.”

One of the Papers contained an Equivalent, of which his Majesty might make his Choice; whether
 “ all Things should continue in the State and Posture
 “ in which they were at present, either Side enjoying
 “ what They had got and sustaining what They had
 “ lost, and so all Things to remain as they were
 “ before the War;” or, “ that a true and just Com-
 “ putation should be made of the Losses on Both
 “ Sides, and They who were found to have received
 “ most Damage should be repaired at the Charge of
 “ the other.” The other Paper was, “ that if his
 “ Majesty approved of either of these Expedients,
 “ He should himself make Choice of the Place where
 “ the Treaty should be, whither all Parties should
 “ send their Ambassadors:” But then the *French*
 “ King desired, “ that his Majesty would not make
 “ Choice of any Place in the King of *Spain’s* Domi-
 “ nions;” and the *Dutch* Ambassador there had
 nominated *Cologne* or *Francfort* or *Hamburgh*. And
 the Earl of *St. Albans* immediately sent away an Ex-
 press with those two Papers to the King, upon Re-
 ceipt whereof the Council were summoned.

Overtures
made by
France.

There was no Hope of Money, which some, not
 reasonably, had expected should be paid whenever a
 Peace should be made; and it had been mentioned in
Holland as a Thing They expected, should be pro-
 pounded, it may be, that it might be propounded
 and rejected. Then the Despatch of whatsoever
 should be agreed concerned the King very much,
 that the *Dutch* might not put to Sea, nor discover
 that the King had no Fleet to set out; for the Spring
 was not yet come, though approaching. There

Which the
King approves.

appeared little Difficulty in the Choice of the Equivalent, for the *English* had taken much more from the *Dutch* than They had taken from *England*; and the other Computation would be endless, and liable to very difficult Examinations: So that by an unanimous Advice the King resolved to chuse the first Equivalent.

Difficulties
about settling
the Place for
the Treaty.

But then the Place for the Treaty was not so easy to be chosen. The most natural had been *Brussels*, *Antwerp*, or some other large City in *Flanders*, which were all neutral Places, and to which all Parties might repair with the same Ease and Security. Whereas all the Places mentioned in *Germany* were at so great a Distance, that the Summer would be far entered into, and so, many Acts of Hostility pass, before the Ambassadors could meet; and the *English* must pass through the Enemy's Country thither: Therefore there could be no Thought of any of those Places. Then the King of *France* had taken upon him to exclude *Flanders*, which He had no Power to do, and it was as desirable to the *Dutch* as to the King: And therefore it was thought reasonable, that the King should insist upon some good Town there, of which there was Choice enough; and if *Holland* should approve it *France* could not reject it. But on the other Hand it was clearly discerned, that *France* would never send Ambassadors into a Country which He meant at the same Time to invade; and that his Majesty knew very well to be the Intention, and the Ground of that King's desiring the Peace, which it was plain enough the *Dutch* did not desire, and were only drawn to consent to a Treaty by the positive

Demand of *France*, which They durst not contradict: And therefore it concerned the King to preserve that good Disposition, and that the *French* Ambassadors might come fully instructed to concur with the *English* in what should be just, and prevent any insolent Carriage of the *Dutch*, or the *Dane*, who was likewise to have his Ambassadors upon the Place.

Upon those Reasons the Express returned with his Majesty's Consent and Election of the first Equivalent, and "that as soon as He should know that the *Dutch* had consented to it, his Majesty would propose some equal Place for the Treaty." And as soon as the Express was despatched, his Majesty entered upon the Debate of a fit Place for the Treaty; and said, "that He had a Proposition then made to him by Sir *William Coventry*, that was of such a Nature as much surpris'd him, as He believed it would the Lords; yet He had not thought enough to dislike or condemn it:" And so bade the other to propose it. He, with some short Apology which He did not use to make, said, "that He perceived there would be little less Difficulty in agreeing upon a Place for the Treaty than upon any Doubts which might arise in it; for if the King of *France* was to be gratified in the Exclusion of *Flanders*, it would be very inconvenient to oblige the King to send into *Germany*, which by the great Delay would deprive the King of the greatest Benefit He expected from the Treaty; the speedy Despatch whereof would be attended with the greatest Conveniences: Therefore He had propos'd to the King, that He would immediately write to the States;

“ General *without acquainting France with it, and*
 “ *offer to send his Ambassadors to treat the Peace at*
 “ *the Hague, that it might be speedily concluded, which*
 “ *would otherwise take up much Time in sending for*
 “ *any Resolution to the States upon what should arise.*
 “ *If They consented to it, it would probably be attended*
 “ *with Success, the general Affection of the People being*
 “ *well known to desire Peace: And if They refused it,*
 “ *the World would conclude that They would have no*
 “ *Peace, when They would not treat about it; and that*
 “ *his Majesty would never have done them the Honor to*
 “ *have sent his Ambassadors Home to them, if He had*
 “ *intended to deny any Thing that was reasonable to*
 “ *them.*”

It was very new, and thought of by Nobody but the Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry*, who had communicated it together; and the Objection of the Condescension that it would seem to most Men, as if the King sent to beg a Peace at their own Doors, was obvious to all Men: But that would have been an Objection against admitting it to have been at *Paris*. But the *States* not being upon any Level that pretended to an Equality, the probable Convenience or Benefit that might attend it was only to be considered; and the Affection and Desire of the People generally to Peace was so notorious, that there was Reason to believe that They would not be willing that a Treaty begun amongst them should end but with Effect: And therefore it was unanimously agreed, that the Advice should be pursued. But then it was a new Doubt, how the Message or Overture or Letter, for the Form was not yet thought of,

should be conveyed; for the sending a Trumper or Express had much more of Application than the Thing itself: And it was to be wished, that it might be gone out of the King's Hands before the Answer could come from *Paris*, lest new Instance should be made for a particular Place.

It was at last resolved, that the *Swedes* Ambassadors (both *France* and *Holland* having accepted the Mediation of that Crown) should be consulted with, to engage their Minister at the *Hague* to deliver it to the *States-General*; for there was some Apprehension, that if *De Wit* knew of it, it might be considered only by that Committee which was deputed for that Affair, and never be brought to the *States*: And the adjusting all that was commended to the Chancellor, who presently sent for the Ambassadors, and found them very ready to perform any Office which might bring them upon the Stage in the Treaty. And upon Communication together, They were willing to send a Servant of their own to the *Hague*, who should deliver to their Ambassador the King's Message to the *States-General*, as an Effect of their Mediation and Credit with the King. And so it was delivered, not in the Form of a Letter, but of a Message in the third Person to the *States-General*, signed by the King and under the Signet; and the Ambassadors sent a Gentleman in Post with it.

But within two Days a new Alarm comes from *France*; and all that was done proved to be to no Purpose. When They received the King's Answer, They could not but acknowledge that it was as fair as They could expect; and *Monsieur De Lionne*

The Dutch refuse to restore Pole-roone accords; but they are oblig'd to the Overtures.

showed it as such to the *Dutch* Ambassador, who finding that He was satisfied with it, and by him, that the King was so too, fell into much Passion, and declared “ that it was not according to the Consent
 “ He had given to the King and to *Monsieur De Lionne*; and that He must protest against any Treaty
 “ to be entered into upon this Declaration.” He put him then in Mind, “ that He had informed the King,
 “ in his Presence, *that there was an Article in the late*
 “ *Treaty between England and Holland, by which*
 “ *They were obliged to deliver up the Island of Pole-*
 “ *roone in the East-Indies to the East India Company*
 “ *of London, which They had formerly consented to*
 “ *with Cromwell, but had neither delivered it then*
 “ *nor yet, and were resolved rather to continue the War*
 “ *than to part with it; which He had declared, when*
 “ with Reference to all other Things He consented
 “ to the Alternative: And if the King would not
 “ release that Article of the former Treaty, his
 “ Masters would not enter upon any new.”

Whether this was true or no cannot be known. But *Monsieur De Lionne* came in great Disorder to the Lord of *St. Albans*, and told him all that the Ambassador had said, and confessed it “ to be very true,
 “ and that the King remembered it well, and promised that Article should be released: But that He,
 “ not clearly understanding the Delivery of it to be
 “ contained in a former Treaty, and knowing it had
 “ been many Years in the Possession of the *Dutch*, and
 “ that it still remained so, thought it had been comprehended in the Alternative, and forgot to insert
 “ it in the Paper that was sent to the King, for which

“ He asked a thousand Pardons; and made it his Suit
 “ to the King that He would yield to it, and that a
 “ Treaty that was so necessary to the Good of *Chris-*
 “ *tendom* might not be extinguished upon his Negli-
 “ gence and Want of Memory;” which was a
 strange Excuse for a Minister of his known Sagacity.

The Earl of *St. Albans* refused to transmit any such
 Tergiversation to the King, and said, “ He knew the
 “ King would never consent to it; and that this
 “ Manner of Proceeding, after that his Majesty had
 “ consented to what themselves proposed, would
 “ shut out all future Confidence of their Sincerity.”
Monfieur De Lionne was exceedingly troubled and
 out of Countenance, as a Man conscious to himself
 of a great Oversight, and desired him, “ that He
 “ would meet the *Dutch* Ambassador at his Lodging,
 “ that They might together endeavour to remove
 “ him from the Obstinacy He professed;” which
 the Earl was contented to do, and the Ambassador,
 how unwillingly soever, was prevailed with to meet
 at the Time appointed: But They were no sooner
 met, and *Monfieur De Lionne* entered upon the Ar-
 gument of *Poleroone*, but the Ambassador fell into a
 rude Passion, and said, “ the War should determine
 “ it.” And when the Earl of *St. Albans* began to speak
 of the Unreasonableness of the Demand, and entered
 upon the foul Manner in which They had first taken
 that Island from the *English*, who were in Possession
 of it; He told him, “ that He had Nothing to say to
 “ him,” and used much other Language unfit for
 the other to hear, and which He had returned with
 Interest, if *Monfieur De Lionne* had not interposed,

and been very desirous the Conference should end, the Ambassador's Insolence being not to be endured: And so They parted, *Lionne* seeming very much offended, and He complained to the King, and the Earl gave the Account of all to his Majesty.

The *French* King was no less surpris'd and offended when He heard what Message the King had sent to the *States* (which He was advertised of by an Express from *Holland*), than *De Wit* had been at the Delivery of it, who presently knew the Drift of it, and could not forbear to tell the *States*, " that the Design was
 " only to stir up the People against the Magistrates,
 " and indeed to make them the Judges of the Con-
 " ditions of the Peace:" And He knew well that the People generally were no Friends to the *East-India* Company (where himself had a great Stock), and therefore would never consent that a Treaty entered into should break only upon their Interest; which likewise was the Reason, why They had provided that that Particular should be first consented to, before any Treaty should be agreed upon And hereupon He prevailed upon the *States-General* forthwith to declare in the Negative, " that the Treaty should
 " not be at the *Hague*." But at the same Time, after the naming again of *Cologne* and *Francfort*, They added, " that if the King desired to do them the
 " Honor to appoint it in any Place of their Domi-
 " nions, which They did not presume to propose;
 " They should consent that it might be at *Breda*, or
 " *Maestricht*," or a Place or two that They named: And this was resolv'd before the People heard that
 the

the King had named the *Hague*, and wondered and murmured at their Refusal.

The King of *France* took it ill, that at a Time when He proceeded with fo much Opennefs, and had given the firft Rife to a Treaty and opened the Door which the *Hollander* peevifhly fhut againft it, by his own offering the Alternative, which the King had fo far approved as to make his Election; He fhould at the fame Time, without communicating it to him, fend this Overture to the *Hague*: Which troubled him the more, that it gave him Matter of Jealoufy to apprehend, that there was fome other underhand Treaty that was concealed from him, and contrived by the Baron of *Ifola*, who He knew had been privately at the *Hague* and had Conference with *De Wit*. And the fame Imagination did more perplex the Queen-Mother and the Earl of *St. Albans*, who looked upon this as a Device to exclude them from having any Share in the Peace; the Earl having digefted the Conclusion in his own Breaft, that in what Place foever the Treaty fhould be held, He fhould without Doubt be intrufted in the Managery of it. However the King could not own his Part of the Diflike, fince his Majefty might without any Violation of Friendship make the Overture by Mef- fage to the *Hague*, as well as to or by him: There- fore He feemed to take no Exception to it, and only fent the King Word, “ that He believed the *Dutch* “ would quickly difcern, that this Condefcenfion in “ his Majefty proceeded from fome Expectation of “ a Party amongft the People to fecond it; and “ therefore He was confident They would never

“ consent to treat at the *Hague* ” But He proposed, “ as the best Way for Expedition , that it might be “ at *Dover*, ” which He advised his Majesty not to reject : “ For if it were once begun there, it might “ possibly , and He would further it all He could, “ quickly be removed to *Canterbury*, and probably “ might be concluded in *London*.”

The King
highly offend-
ed.

But before this Message arrived, the other new Demand of *Poleroone*, with *Monfieur De Lionne's* Acknowledgment of the Defect of his Memory, and that He ought to have inserted it in the Paper that contained the Alternative, with all the Excuses He made for it, was received; which seemed to put an End to all Hopes of Peace. The King was highly incensed, and looked upon it as an Affront contrived by Both Parties to amuse him. Every Body concluded, that there could be no Safety in depending upon any Thing that could be offered from *France*, when They could never be without as reasonable a Pretence as They had at present, to disclaim or avoid any Concession They had made in Writing. That the Particular demanded could never be consented to by his Majesty, without swerving from the common Rules of Justice, and the Violation of his own Honor. That though it did not immediately concern his Majesty in his own Interest and the Interest of the Crown, which was an Argument used in *France* for his Majesty's not insisting upon it, it was however an unquestionable and a very considerable Interest of his Subjects, which He was in Justice bound to maintain, and which in Justice He had no Power to release. It was an Interest so valuable, that *Cromwell*

had insisted upon it so resolutely, that They had consented to it as a principal Article of the Peace He made with them; by which He gained great Reputation with the People. And his Majesty had thought himself so much concerned in Honor not to suffer his Subjects to be deprived of that Right which *Cromwell* had vindicated (though by his Death it came not to be executed), that He would never consent to the Treaty that had been concluded since his happy Return, until They consented to and renewed the same Article, and promised the Redelivery of the said Island to the *English* by such a Day: And their having broken their Faith in not delivering it according to the last Treaty, and with very offensive Circumstances, his Majesty had declared to be a principal Cause of the War, and made them unquestionably to appear the first Aggressor. And in that Respect, his Honor could not receive a more mortal Wound than in releasing that Article, which concerned the Estates of other Men, and would in the Opinion of the World draw the Guilt of the War upon himself, or, which would be as bad, the Reproach of having purchased a Peace upon very dishonorable Conditions to himself, at the Charge and with the Estates of his Subjects.

Upon the Whole, the King resolved rather to undergo the Hazard of the War upon what Disadvantage soever, than to consent to a Proposition so dishonorable: And a Despatch was presently sent to the Earl of *St. Albans*, with a very lively Resentment “ of the Indignity offered to the King, in receding from what was offered by themselves, and in

And resolves
to continue
the War.

“ asking what He was resolved never to grant.” And all were enjoined to review all that had been resolved for the War, and to give the utmost Advancement to it that was possible: And without Doubt, if *Spain* had yet put itself into any Posture to defend itself against the Power that was even ready to invade it, and to act any Part towards the Support of a common Interest; the King would hardly have been persuaded to have hearkened more to any Propositions from *France*.

New Over-
tures from
France.

Notwithstanding all this, new Overtures and new Importunities were sent from *France*. “ It was true, “ that the *Dutch* had always protested against making a Peace or consenting to a Treaty without the “ Release of *Poleroone*; which his *Christian* Majesty “ had consented to, and could not recede from it “ without their Consent, though the Mention of it “ had been unfortunately omitted by *Monfieur De* “ *Lionne*: But his Majesty promised and engaged “ his Royal Word, that when the Treaty should be “ entered into, He would use all his Credit and Au- “ thority to persuade the *States-General* to recede “ from their Obstinacy, and to make no Alteration “ in the last Treaty; but that all Things should re- “ main as had been settled by it. And if He could “ not prevail with them to satisfy him therein, as “ He did fear that there was upon their particular “ Interest some peremptory Resolution fixed, from “ whence They would not be removed as to the “ Main; yet in that Case He did in no Degree des- “ pair of obliging them to give a considerable Sum “ of Money for Recompence thereof, which He de-

“ fired might satisfy the King, who would find
 “ himself at much Ease by it. And if the Commis-
 “ sioners once met and the Treaty was begun, it
 “ would not be dissolved before a Peace should be
 “ concluded; and that the *French* Ambassadors, as
 “ soon as They met, should propose a Cessation
 “ from all Acts of Hostility, which He expected
 “ should be as soon yielded to as proposed; and that
 “ already They had promised *that their Fleet should*
 “ *remain in their Harbours till the Middle of May,*
 “ before which Time the Treaty might well begin.”
 And from the present Time the *French* King pro-
 mised, “ that no hostile Act should be done by him,
 “ and that his own Fleet should not stir out of their
 “ Port; and that his Ambassadors should in all
 “ Things behave themselves as his Majesty could
 “ wish, that Particular only of *Poleroone* excepted,
 “ in which They should do as He had promised.”

The King had by this Time had Recourse to all
 the Inventions and Devices, which might yet enable
 him to set out a Fleet that might be able to fight the
 Enemy; but in vain. He found all Men of the same
 Opinion They had been, that He must be upon the
 Defensive in the Manner expressed before, and expect
 the End of the Summer before He could draw his
 Ships together; and that there was an universal Im-
 patience for Peace: So that when the Warmth of his
 Indignation was a little remitted, He was very wil-
 ling to hear any Thing that might revive the Hope
 of a Treaty, when this last Overture from *Paris* ar-
 rived; upon which He presently convened the Coun-
 cil, that He might take a speedy Resolution what He

was to do, for He saw many Conveniences might be lost by the not speedily entering upon the Treaty, if it were to be entered upon at all. The Protestation and Promise of *France* to assist in all Things, that Particular only excepted, for his Majesty's Service, and his Promise even in that, made him willing to believe that they might be real: The Hope of Recompence for it seemed little inferior to the Redelivery of the Island, and was an equal Satisfaction to his Majesty's Honor. And it seemed the more probable to be compassed, in that *De Wit* in his private Conference with the Baron of *Ifola*, in all his Passion in which He would not endure the Mention of the Delivery of *Poloroqne*, and said, "that the *States* "would perish before They would part with it," concluded, "that He would not say that They might "not be persuaded to give some Recompence for it."

And many believed that the *East-India* Company, which was only concerned in the Interest of it, would chuse rather to receive a good Recompence than the Island itself, which was a barren, sandy Soil, which yielded no Fruit, but only Nutmegs, which was the sole Commodity it bore, and is a Commodity of great Value. But when They were bound to give it up to *Cromwell*, there had been immediate Order sent to cut down all the Trees upon the Island; which Order would be now again repeated: And so no less than seven Years must expire before any Fruit could be expected from thence. And it was so far from any *English* Factory, and so near to the *Dutch*, that They would easily possess themselves of it again when They had a Mind to it. And therefore if the Company

might have Money, or such a Quantity of Money, or such a Quantity of Nutmegs delivered to them, as might, besides being enough for the Expence of *England*, bear a Part in the foreign Trade (which had been mentioned by some Merchants of that Company), it might be reasonably preferable to the Island.

Whatsoever Resolution should in helth be taken, this Expedient of Recompence gave a Hint to a Counsel that had not yet been thought of, which was to leave the Business of *Poleroone* to the sole Managery of the *East-India* Company, who should be advised to chuse some Members of their own, who should go over with the Ambassadors, and receive all Advice and Assistance from them in the Conduct of their Pretences: And They would be the Witnesses of what the King insisted upon on their Behalf; and would likewise judge, if Nothing prevented the Peace but that Interest, how far it should be insisted on.

The *East-India* Company was sent for, and were told “ that the King had Hope of a Treaty for Peace, “ which He presumed would be welcome to them: “ He heard that the greatest Difficulty and Obstruction that was like to arise would be concerning their “ Interest in the Island of *Poleroone*, which He was “ resolved never to abandon. But because He heard “ likewise that the *Dutch* did intend to offer a Recompence rather than to restore the Place, and that “ the Recompence might be such as might be as “ agreeable to them (of which He would not take “ upon him to judge, but leave it entirely to themselves), He had given them this timely Notice of

The *East-India* Company consulted in Relation to *Poleroone*.

“ it. that They might bethink themselves what was
 “ fit for them to do. upon a Prospect of all that might
 “ probably occur; and that They might make Choice
 “ of such Persons amongst themselves, who best
 “ understood their Affairs, to the End that when
 “ the Treaty should be agreed upon and the Place
 “ appointed, and his Majesty had resolved what
 “ Ambassadors He would send (of all which They
 “ should have seasonable Notice), those Persons
 “ elected by them as their Commissioners might go
 “ over with the Ambassadors; that when that Point
 “ came into Debate, and the *Dutch* should call some
 “ of their *East-India* Company to inform them, They
 “ likewise might be ready to advertise his Ambassa-
 “ dors of whatsoever might advance their Pretences:
 “ And if a Recompence was to be considered, They
 “ might enter into that Consultation with the other
 “ Deputies; and that They should be sure to receive
 “ all the Advice and Assistance from his Ambassa-
 “ dors, that They could require or stand in Need of.”
 The Company received this Information from his
 Majesty with all Demonstration of Duty and Sub-
 mission, giving humble Thanks for his Majesty’s
 Bounty and Care of their Interest; and said, “ They
 “ would not fail to make Choice of a Committee to
 “ attend Ambassadors, when They should know it
 “ would be seasonable.”

The King con-
 sults the Privy-
 Council upon
 the Overtures
 made by
 France.

The King thought it now Time to receive the Ad-
 vice of his whole Council-Board upon this Affair,
 which had been hitherto only debated before the
 Committee for foreign Affairs: And so They being
 assembled, an Account was given of all that had

passed, with all its Circumstances, in *France*, and in *Holland* by the Baron of *Ifola* and by the *Swedes* Ambassadors. And his Majesty said thereupon, “that
 “ He had yet taken no Resolution, and had been
 “ so provoked by the Miscarriage of *France*, that
 “ He would have been glad to have put himself into
 “ a better Posture, and not thought farther of a
 “ Treaty, till there should appear a more favorable
 “ Conjunction: But They now understood as much
 “ as He did with Reference to the State He was in
 “ both at Home and abroad, and that He was
 “ resolved to follow their Advice.”

All the Objections which had been foreseen before, and the Considerations thereupon, were renewed and again debated: And in the End there was a general Concurrence, “that his Majesty should embrace the Opportunity of a Treaty; and if a reasonable Peace could be obtained, it would be very grateful to the whole Kingdom, that was weary of the War; and that his Majesty should lose no Time in returning such a Despatch to *Paris*, as might bring on the Treaty.” And some of the Lords proceeded so far as to declare, “that the Consideration of *Poleroone* was not of that Importance, nor could be thought so by the *East-India* Company themselves, as that the insisting upon it should deprive the Kingdom of a Peace that was so necessary for it.” But the King thought the entering upon that Argument was not yet reasonable: But He gave Order for the Despatch to be prepared for *France*.

Which advises
 him to enter
 upon the
 Treaty.

There were two material Points not yet deter-

mined, the first of which was fit to be inserted into the present Despatch; which was the Nomination of the Place where the Treaty should be. Some were of Opinion, "that his Majesty should lay Hold of the Overture that had been made from *France*, which was since likewise confirmed by *Holland*, that the Treaty should be at *Dover*." But They changed their Minds, when They well considered that the same Objections would be naturally made against *Dover* on the King's Behalf, that had been made by the *Dutch* against the *Hague*; and that the People there, and less at *Canterbury*, were not incapable of any Impressions, which the numerous Trains of the *French* and the *Dutch* would be ready to imprint in them. In a Word; there was much more fit to be considered upon that Point, than is fit to be remembered, The Conclusion was, "that *Breda*, which had been offered by the *Dutch*, should be the Place the King would accept;" which was added to the Despatch for *Paris*, and presently sent away.

Breda agreed to be the Place of treating.

The other Matter undetermined of was the Choice of Ambassadors, which had been never entered upon. The King had spoken with the Chancellor, what Persons would be fit to be employed in that Negotiation, when the Time should be ripe for it; and took Notice, as He did frequently, of the small Choice He had of Men well acquainted with Business of that Nature: Upon which He had named to the King the Lord *Hollis*, who had been lately Ambassador in *France*, and was in all Respects equal to any Business, and Mr. *Henry Coventry* of his Bedchamber, who had showed so great Abilities in his late Negotiation in

Sweden. Upon the naming of whom his Majesty said, "They were both very fit, and that He would think of no other:" So that when all other Particulars were adjusted with Reference to the Treaty, the King, without farther consulting it, declared, "that He intended to send those two his Ambassadors for the Treaty," before either of them knew or thought of the Employment. And when his Majesty told them of it, He bade them repair to the Chancellor for their Instructions. And this gave new Thoughts of Heart to the Lord *Arlington*, who had designed himself and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, who was newly made a Privy-Counsellor and Comptroller of the Household upon the Death of Sir *Hugh Pollard*, for the Performance of that Service; and thought himself the better qualified for it by his late Alliance in *Holland*, by his Marriage with the Daughter of *Monfieur Beverwaert*, a natural Son of Prince *Maurice*. And this Disappointment went very near him; though the other had not the least Thought that He had any such Thing in his Heart, but advised it purely as They were the fittest Persons who could be thought of; and their Abilities, which were well thought of before, were very notorious in this Negotiation.

Lord Mollis
and Mr. Henry
Covenry
appointed Ple-
nipotentiaries.

The *Swedish* Ambassadors, who were the only Mediators, prepared likewise to go to the Treaty, having agreed with the King, "that if the Treaty should not produce a Peace," of which They who hoped most were not confident, "that Crown would immediately declare for the King, and unite itself to his Interest both against the *Dutch* and the *French*;" their Army at that Time, being held the

The Swedish
Ambassadors
Mediators.

best in *Europe*, under the Command of their General *Wrangel*, being near the *States Dominions*. And for the better confirming them in that Disposition, the Chancellor had brought the Baron of *Ifola* to a Conference with the *Swedes* Ambassadors, and begun that Treaty between them which was shortly after finished, and known by the Style of the *Triple Alliance*, that was the first Act that detached the *Swede* from *France*: And for the present the King himself found Means to supply the Crown of *Sweden* with a Sum of Money for the Support of their Army.

All Things being thus adjusted, and the Place of the Treaty being on all Hands agreed to be *Breda*, and Notice being sent from *Paris*, "that their Ambassadors were departed from thence;" the King thought himself as much concerned in the Expedition in Respect of the Cessation, which the *French* promised to obtain in the very Entrance into the Treaty; and it was now the Month of *May*. And so his Ambassadors were despatched, and arrived there before the Middle of that Month, with an Equipage worthy their Master who sent them.

The Death of
the Earl of
Southampton.

There happened at this Time an Accident that made a fatal Breach into the Chancellor's Fortune, with a Gap wide enough to let in all that Ruin which soon after was poured upon him. The Earl of *Southampton*, the Treasurer, with whom He had an entire fast Friendship, and who, when They were together, had Credit enough with the King and at the Board to prevent, at least to defer, any very unreasonable Resolution, was now ready to expire with the Stone; a Disease that had kept him in great Pain many



Months, and for which He had sent to *Paris* for a Surgeon to be cut, but had deferred it too long by the Physicians not agreeing what the Disease was: So that at last He grew too weak to apply that Remedy. They who had with so much Industry, and as They thought Certainty, prevailed with the King at *Oxford* to have removed him from that Office, had never since intermitted the pursuing the Design, and persuaded his Majesty, "that his Service had suffered exceedingly by his receding from his Purpose," and did not think their Triumph notorious enough, if They suffered him to die in the Office: Infomuch as when He grew so weak that it is true He could not sign any Orders with his Hand, which was four or five Days before his Death, They had again persuaded the King to send for the Staff. But the Chancellor again prevailed with him not to do so ungracious an Act to a Servant who had served him and his Father so long and so eminently, to so little Purpose as the ravishing an Office unseasonably, which must within five or six Days fall into his Hands; as it did within less Time by his Death.

He was a Person of extraordinary Parts, of Facul- His Character.
ties very discerning and a Judgment very profound, great Eloquence in his Delivery, without the least Affectation of Words, for He always spake best on the sudden. In the Beginning of the Troubles, He was looked upon amongst those Lords who were least inclined to the Court, and so most acceptable to the People: He was in Truth not obliged by the Court, and thought himself oppressed by it, which his great Spirit could not bear; and so He had for

some Years forbore to be much seen there, which was imputed to a Habit of Melancholy, to which He was naturally inclined, though it appeared more in his Countenance than in his Conversation, which to those with whom He was acquainted was very cheerful.

The great Friendship that had been between their Fathers made many believe, that there was a Confidence between the Earl of *Essex* and him; which was true to that Degree as could be between Men of so different Natures and Understandings. And when They came to the Parliament in the Year 1640. They appeared Both unsatisfied with the Prudence and Politics of the Court, and were not reserved in declaring it, when the great Officers were called in Question for great Transgressions in their several Administrations: But in the Prosecution there was great Difference in their Passions and their Ends. The Earl of *Essex* was a great Lover of Justice, and could not have been tempted to consent to the Oppression of an innocent Man: But in the discerning the several Species of Guilt, and in the proportioning the Degrees of Punishment to the Degree of Guilt, He had no Faculties or Measure of judging; nor was above the Temptation of general Prejudice, and it may be of particular Disobligations and Resentments, which proceeded from the Weakness of his Judgment, not the Malice of his Nature. The Earl of *Southampton* was not only an exact Observer of Justice, but so clear sighted a Discerner of all the Circumstances which might disguise it, that no false or fraudulent Color could impose upon him; and of

ſo ſincere and impartial a Judgment, that no Prejudice to the Perſon of any Man made him leſs awake to his Cauſe; but believed that there is *aliquid & in Hoſtem Neſas*, and that a very ill Man might be very unjuſtly dealt with.

This Difference of Faculties divided them quickly in the Progreſs of thoſe Buſineſſes, in the Beginning whereof They were Both of one Mind. They Both thought the Crown had committed great Exceſſes in the Exerciſe of its Power, which the one thought could not be otherwiſe prevented, than by its being deprived of it: The Conſequence whereof the other too well underſtood, and that the abſolute taking away that Power that might do Hurt, would likewiſe take away ſome of that which was neceſſary for the doing Good; and that a Monarch cannot be deprived of a fundamental Right, without ſuch a laſting Wound to Monarchy itſelf, that They who have moſt Shelter from it and ſtand neareſt to it, the Nobility, could not continue long in their native Strength, if the Crown received a Maim. Which if the Earl of *Effex* had comprehended, who ſet as great a Price upon Nobility as any Man living did, He could never have been wrought upon to have contributed to his own Undoing; which the other knew was unavoidable, if the King were undone. So They were Both ſatiſfied that the Earl of *Strafford* had countenanced ſome high Proceedings, which could not be ſupported by any Rules of Juſtice, though the Policy of *Ireland*, and the conſtant Courſe obſerved in the Government of that Kingdom, might have excuſed and juſtified many of the high Proceed-

ings with which He was reproached: And They who had now the Advantage-Ground, by being thought to be most solicitous for the Liberty of the Subject, and most vigilant that the same Outrages might not be transplanted out of the other Kingdom into this, looked upon him as having the strongest Influence upon the Counsels of *England* as well as Governor of *Ireland*. Then He had declared himself so averse and irreconcilable to the Sedition and Rebellion of the *Scots*, that the whole Nation had contracted so great an Animosity against him, that less than his Life could not secure them from the Fears They had conceived of him: And this Fury of theirs met with a full Concurrence from those of the *English*, who could not compass their own Ends without their Help. And this Combination too soon drew the Earl of *Essex*, who had none of their Ends, into their Party, to satisfy his Pride and his Passion, in removing a Man who seemed to have no Regard for him; for the Stories, which were then made of Disobligations from the Earl of *Strafford* towards the Earl of *Clanrickard*, were without any Foundation of Truth.

The Earl of *Southampton*, who had Nothing of Obligation, and Somewhat of Prejudice to some high Acts of Power which had been exercised by the Earl of *Strafford*, was not unwilling that they should be so far looked into and examined, as might raise more Caution and Apprehension in Men of great Authority of the Consequence of such Excesses. But when He discerned irregular Ways entered into to punish those Irregularities; and which might be attended with as ill Consequences, and that They intended

intended to compound one great Crime out of several smaller Trespases, and, to use their own Style, *to complicate a Treason out of Misdemeanors*, and so to take away his Life for what He might be fined and imprisoned; He first dissuaded and then abhorred that Exorbitance, and more abhorred it, when He found it passionately and maliciously resolved by a direct Combination.

From this Time He and the Earl of *Essex* were perfectly divided and separated, and seldom afterwards concurred in the same Opinion: But as He worthily and bravely stood in the Gap in the Defence of that great Man's Life, so He did afterwards oppose all those Invasions, which were every Day made by the House of Commons upon the Rights of the Crown, or the Privileges of the Peers, which the Lords were willing to sacrifice to the useful Humor of the other. And by this Means, whilst most of the King's Servants listed themselves with the Conspirators in promoting all Things which were ingrateful to him, this Lord, who had no Relation to his Service, was looked upon as a Courtier; and by the Strength of his Reason gave such a Check to their Proceedings, that He became little less odious to them than the Court itself; and so much the more odious, because as He was superior to their Temptations, so his unquestionable Integrity was out of their Reach, and made him contemn their Power as much as their Malice.

He had all the Detestation imaginable of the civil War, and discerned the dismal Effects it would produce, more than most other Men, which made him

do all He could to prevent it. But when it could not be avoided, He made no Scruple how to dispose of himself, but frankly declared for the King, who had a just Sense of the Service He had done him, and made him then both of his Privy-Council and Gentleman of his Bedchamber, without the least Application or Desire of his, and when most of those who were under Both those Relations had chosen, as the much stronger, the Rebels Side: And his receiving those Obligations at that present was known to proceed more from his Duty than his Ambition. He had all the Fidelity that God requires, and all the Affection to the Person of the King that his Duty suggested to him was due, without any Reverence for or Compliance with his Infirmities or Weakness; which made him many Times uneasy to the King, especially in all Consultations towards Peace, in which He was always desirous that his Majesty should yield more than He was inclined to do.

He was in his Nature melancholic, and reserved in his Conversation, except towards those with whom He was very well acquainted; with whom He was not only cheerful, but upon Occasion light and pleasant. He was naturally lazy, and indulged overmuch Ease to himself: Yet as no Man had a quicker Apprehension or solidier Judgment in Business of all Kinds, so, when it had a hopeful Prospect, no Man could keep his Mind longer bent, and take more Pains in it. In the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, which was a continued Fatigue of twenty Days, He never slept four Hours in a Night, who had never used to allow himself less than ten, and at the End of the Treaty

was much more vigorous than in the Beginning; which made the Chancellor to tell the King when They returned to *Oxford*, "that if He would have
 " the Earl of *Southampton* in good Health and good
 " Humor, He must give him good Store of Business
 " to do."

His Person was of a small Stature; his Courage, as all his other Faculties, very great; having no Sign of Fear or Sense of Danger, when He was in a Place where He ought to be found. When the King had withdrawn himself from *Oxford* in order to his Escape to the *Scotch* Army, and *Fairfax* had brought his Army before the Town; in some Debate at the Council-Board, there being some Mention of Prince *Rupert* with Reference to his Dignity in a large Degree above all the Nobility, the Earl of *Southampton*, who never used to speak indecently, used some Expressions, which being unfaithfully reported to the Prince, his Highness interpreted to be disrespectful towards him: Whereupon He sent the Lord *Gerard* to expostulate with him. To whom the Earl without any Apology related the Words He had used; which being reported by him again to the Prince, though they were not the same which He had been informed, yet He was not so well satisfied with them, but that He sent the same Lord to him again to tell him, "that
 " his Highness expected other Satisfaction from him,
 " and expected to meet him with his Sword in his
 " Hand, and desired it might be as soon as He could,
 " lest it might be prevented.

The Earl appointed the next Morning, at a Place well known; and being asked " what Weapon He

“ chose,” He said, “ that He had no Horſe fit for
“ ſuch a Service, nor knew where ſuddenly to get
“ one; and that He knew himſelf too weak to cloſe
“ with the Prince: And therefore He hoped his
“ Highneſs would excuſe him, if He made Choice
“ of ſuch Weapons as He could beſt uſe; and there-
“ fore He reſolved to fight on Foot with a Caſe of
“ Piſtols only;” which the Prince willingly con-
ſented to. And without Doubt They had met the
next Morning, the Earl having choſen Sir *George*
Villiers for his Second; but that the Lord *Gerard*’s
coming to the Earl ſo often, with whom He had no
Acquaintance, had been ſo much obſerved, that ſome
of the Lords who had been preſent at the Debate at
the Board, and heard ſome Replies which had been
made, and thence concluded that ill Offices had been
done, watched them Both ſo narrowly, and cauſed
the Town-Gates to be ſhut, that They diſcovered
enough, notwithstanding the Denial of Both Parties,
to prevent their Meeting; and afterwards interpoſed
till a Reconciliation was made: And the Prince ever
afterwards had a good Reſpect for the Earl.

After the Murder of the King, the Earl of *South-*
ampton remained in his own Houſe, without the
leaſt Application to thoſe Powers which had made
themſelves ſo terrible, and which ſeemed to reſolve
to root out the whole Party as well as the Royal
Family; and would not receive a Civility from any
of them: And when *Cromwell* was near his Houſe in
the Country, upon the Marriage of his Son in thoſe
Parts, and had a Purpoſe to have made a Viſit to
him; upon a private Notice there of, He immediate-

ly removed to another House at a greater Distance. He sent frequently some trusty Person to the King with such Presents of Money, as He could receive out of the Fortune They had left to him, which was scarce enough to support him in that Retirement: And after the Battle of *Worcester*, when the Rebels had set a Price upon the King's Head, and denounced the most terrible Judgment upon any Person, and his Posterity, that should presume to give any Shelter or Assistance to *Charles Stuart* towards his Escape; He sent a faithful Servant to all those Persons, who in Respect of their Fidelity and Activity were most like to be trusted upon such an Occasion, that They should advertise the King, "that He would most willingly receive him into his House, and provide a Ship for his Escape." And his Majesty received this Advertisement from him the Day before He was ready to embark in a small Vessel prepared for him in *Sussex*; which his Majesty always remembered as a worthy Testimony of his Affection and Courage in so general a Consternation. And the Earl was used to say, "that after that miraculous Escape, how dismal soever the Prospect was, He had still Confidence of his Majesty's Restoration."

His own natural Disposition inclined to melancholic; and his Retirement from all Conversation, in which He might have given some Vent to his own Thoughts, with the Discontinuance of all those bodily Exercises and Recreations to which He had been accustomed, brought many Diseases upon him, which made his Life less pleasant to him; so that from the Time of the King's Return, between the Gout

and the Stone, He underwent great Affliction. Yet upon the happy Return of his Majesty He seemed to recover great Vigor of Mind, and undertook the Charge of High Treasurer with much Alacrity and Industry, as long as He had any Hope to get a Revenue settled proportionable to the Expence of the Crown (towards which his Interest and Authority and Counsel contributed very much), or to reduce the Expence of the Court within the Limits of the Revenue. But when He discerned that the last did and would still make the former impossible (upon which He made as frequent and lively Representations as He thought himself obliged to do), and when He saw Irregularities and Excesses to abound, and to overflow all the Banks which should restrain them; He grew more dispirited, and weary of that Province, which exposed him to the Reproaches which others ought to undergo, and which supplied him not with Authority to prevent them. And He had then withdrawn from the Burden, which He infinitely desired to be eased of, but out of Conscience of his Duty to the King, who He knew would suffer in it; and that the People who knew his Affections very well, and already opened their Mouths wide against the Licence of the Court, would believe it worse and incurable if He quitted the Station He was in. This, and this only, prevailed with him still to undergo that Burden, even when He knew that They who enjoyed the Benefit of it were as weary that He should be disquieted with it.

He was a Man of great and exemplary Virtue and Piety, and very regular in his Devotions; yet was

not generally believed by the Bishops to have an Affection keen enough for the Government of the Church, because He was willing and desirous, that Somewhat more might have been done to gratify the *Presbyterians* than They thought just. But the Truth is; He had a perfect Detestation of all the *Presbyterian* Principles, nor had ever had any Conversation with their Persons, having during all those wicked Times strictly observed the Devotions prescribed by the Church of *England*; in the Performance whereof He had always an orthodox Chaplain, one of those deprived of their Estates by that Government, which disposed of the Church as well as of the State. But it is very true, that upon the Observation of the great Power and Authority which the *Presbyterians* usurped and were possessed of, even when *Cromwell* did all He could to divest them of it, and applied all his Interest to oppress or suppress them, insomuch as They did often give a Check to and divert many of his Designs; He did believe that their Numbers and their Credit had been much greater than in Truth they were. And then some Persons, who had Credit with him by being thought to have an equal Affection from them, persuaded him to believe, that they would be satisfied with very easy Concessions, which would bring no Prejudice or Inconvenience to the Church. And this Imagination prevailed with him, and more with others who loved them not, to wish that there might be some Indulgence towards them. But that which had the strongest Influence upon him, and which made him less apprehensive of the Weakness of any other Sect, was the extreme Jealousy He had

of the Power and Malignity of the *Roman Catholics*; whose Behaviour from the Time of the Suppression of the Regal Power, and more scandalously at and from the Time of the Murder of the King, had very much irreconciled him towards them: And He did believe, that the King and the Duke of *York* had a better Opinion of their Fidelity, and less Jealousy of their Affections, than They deserved; and so thought there could not be too great an Union of all other Interests to control the Exorbitance of that. And upon this Argument, with his private Friends, He was more passionate than in any other.

He had a marvellous Zeal and Affection for the Royal Family; insomuch as the two Sons of the Duke of *York* falling Both into Distempers (of which They Both shortly after died) very few Days before his Death, He was so marvellously affected with it, that many believed the Trouble of it, or a Presage what might befall the Kingdom by it, hastened his Death some Hours: And in the Agony of Death, the very Morning He died, He sent to know how They did; and seemed to receive some Relief, when the Messenger returned with the News, that They were both alive and in some Degree mended.

The King resolves to put the Treasury into Commission.

The next Day after his Death, which was about the End of *May*, the King called the Chancellor into his Closet; and, the Duke of *York* being only present, told him, "that He could think of no Man fit to be Treasurer, and therefore resolved, as He had long done, to put that Office into Commission;" and then asked, "who should be Commissioners:" To which He answered, "the Business would be much

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“ better done by a single Officer, if He could think
“ of a fit one; for Commissioners never had, never
“ would do, that Business well.” The Duke of *York*
said, “ that He believed it would be best done by
“ Commission; it had been so managed during all the
“ ill Times ” (for from the Beginning of the Troubles
there had been no Treasurer): “ And He had ob-
“ served (and the King found the Benefit of it). that
“ though Sir *William Compton* was an extraordinary
“ Person, and better qualified than most Men for
“ that Charge, yet since his Decease, that his Ma-
“ jesty had put the Office of the Ordnance under the
“ Government of Commissioners, it was in much
“ better Order, and the King was better served there
“ than He had ever been; and He believed He would
“ be so likewise in the Office of Treasury, if fit Per-
“ sons were chosen for it, who might have Nothing
“ else to do.” And the King seemed to be of the
same Mind.

The Chancellor replied, “ that He was very sorry,
“ that They were Both so much delighted with the
“ Function of Commissioners, which were more suit-
“ able to the modelling a Commonwealth, than for
“ the Support of Monarchy: That during the late
“ Troubles, whilst the Parliament exercised the
“ Government, They reduced it as fast as They
“ could to the Form of a Commonwealth; and then,
“ no Question, the putting the Treasury into the
“ Hands of Commissioners was much more suitable
“ to the rest of the Model, than it could be under
“ a single Person. Besides, having no Revenue of
“ their own, but being to raise one according to

The Chancel-
lor advises
him against it.

“ their Inventions and proportionable to their own
“ Occasions, it could never be well collected or or-
“ dered by old Officers, who were obliged to Forms
“ which would not be agreeable to their necessary
“ Transactions: So that new Ministers were to be
“ made for new Employments, who might be ob-
“ liged punctually to observe their new Orders,
“ without any Superiority over each other, but a
“ joint Obedience to the supreme Authority. But
“ when *Cromwell* assumed the entire Government
“ into his own Hands, He cancelled all those Repub-
“ lican Rules and Forms, and appointed inferior
“ Persons to several Functions, and reserved the
“ whole Disposition to himself, and was his own
“ High Treasurer: And it was well known that He
“ resolved, as soon as He should be able to reduce
“ Things to the Forms He intended, to cancel all
“ those Commissions, and invest single Persons in
“ the Government of those Provinces.”

He said, “ He would not take upon him to say any
“ Thing of the Office of the Ordnance, where the
“ Commissioners were his Friends; only He might
“ say, that that Kind of Administration had not been
“ yet long enough known to have a good Judge-
“ ment made of it: However, that it was of so dif-
“ ferent a Nature from the Office of the Treasury,
“ that no Observation of the one could be applied
“ to the other. The Ordnance was conversant only
“ with Smiths and Carpenters, and other Artificers
“ and Handicraftsmen, with whom all their Trans-
“ actions were: Whereas the Treasury had much to
“ do with the Nobility and chief Gentry of the

“ Kingdom; must have often Recourse to the King
 “ himself for his particular Directions, to the Privy-
 “ Council for their Assistance and Advice, to the
 “ Judges for their Resolutions in Matters of Diffi-
 “ culty; and if the Ministers of it were not of that
 “ Quality and Degree, that They might have free
 “ Recourse to all those, and find Respect from them,
 “ his Majesty’s Service would notoriously suffer.
 “ And that the White Staff itself, in the Hands of a
 “ Person esteemed, did more to the bringing in fe-
 “ veral Branches of the Revenue, by the Obedience
 “ and Reverence all Officers paid to it, than any
 “ Orders from Commissioners could do: And that
 “ how mean an Opinion soever some Men had of
 “ the Faculties of the late excellent Officer for that
 “ Administration, his Majesty would find by Ex-
 “ perience, that the vast Sums of Money, which He
 “ had borrowed in these late Years, had been in a
 “ great Measure procured upon the general Confi-
 “ dence all Men had in the Honor and Justice of
 “ the Treasurer; and that the Credit of Commission-
 “ ers would never be able to supply such Neces-
 “ sities.”

The King said, “ He was not at all of his Opinion,
 “ and doubted not his Business would be much
 “ better done by Commissioners; and therefore He
 “ should speak to the Nomination of those, since He
 “ was sure He could propose no single Person fit for
 “ it.” To which the Chancellor answered, “ that
 “ He thought it much harder to find a worthy Man,
 “ who would be persuaded to accept it in the Dis-
 “ order in which his Affairs were, than a Man who

“ might be very fit for it: And that if that Subject
 “ who had the greatest Fortune in *England* and the
 “ most general Reputation would receive it, his
 “ Majesty would be no Loser in conferring it on such
 “ a one; and till such a one might be found, He
 “ might put it into Commission. But” He said, “ He
 “ perceived well, that He would not approve the
 “ old Course in the Choice of Commissioners; who
 “ had always been the Keeper of the Great-Seal, and
 “ the two Secretaries of State, and two other of the
 “ principal Persons of the Council, besides the Chan-
 “ cellor of the Exchequer, who used to be the sole
 “ Person of the *Quorum*.”

Neither the King nor Duke seemed to like any of
 those; and the Chancellor plainly discerned from the
 Beginning that They were resolved upon the Per-
 sons, though his Opinion was asked: And the King
 said, “ He would chuse such Persons, whether Privy-
 “ Counsellors or not, who might have Nothing else
 “ to do, and were rough and illnatured Men, not
 “ to be moved with Civilities or Importunities in
 “ the Payment of Money; but would apply it all
 “ to his present Necessities, till some new Supplies
 “ might be gotten for the Payment of those Debts,
 “ which were first necessary to be paid. That He,
 “ the Chancellor, had so much Business upon his
 “ Hands, that He could not attend this other; and
 “ the Secretaries had enough to do: So He would
 “ have none of those.” And then He named Sir
Thomas Clifford, who was newly of the Council and
 Comptroller of the House, and Sir *William Coventry*;
 and said, “ He did not think there should be many:”

And the Duke then named Sir *John Duncombe*, as a Man of whom He had heard well, and every Body knew He was intimate with Sir *William Coventry*. The King said, " He thought They three would be enough, and that a greater Number would but make the Despatch of all Business the more slow." The Chancellor said, " He doubted those Persons would not have Credit and Authority enough to go through the necessary Affairs of that Province; that for his own Part, He was not desirous to meddle in it; He had indeed too much Business to do: That He had no Objection to the three Persons named, but that He thought them not known and esteemed enough for that Employment; and that it would be very incongruous to bring Sir *John Duncombe*, who was a private Country - Gentleman, and utterly unacquainted with Business of that Nature, to sit in equal Authority with Privy - Counsellors, and in Affairs which would be often debated at the Council - Table, where He could not be present." And He put his Majesty in Mind, " that He must put the Lord *Ashley* out of his Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, if He did not make him Commissioner of the Treasury, and of the *Quorum*:" And concluded, " that if He did not name the General, and some other Person that might give some Lustre to the others, the Work would not be done as it ought to be; for many Person would be sometimes obliged to attend upon the Treasury, who would not think those Gentlemen enough superior to them, how qualified soever."

Commissioners
of the Treasury
appointed.

The King said, " He could easily provide against
" the Exception to Sr. *John Duncombe*, by making
" him a Privy-Counsellor; and He did not care if He
" added the General to them " The Lord *Ashley*
gave him some Trouble, and He said enough to make
it manifest that He thought him not fit to be amongst
them: Yet He knew not how to put him out of his
Place; but gave Direction for preparing the Com-
mission for the Treasury to the Persons named before,
and made the Lord *Ashley* only one of the Commis-
sioners, and a major Part to make a *Quorum*; which
would quickly bring the Government of the whole
Business into the Hands of those three who were de-
signed for it. And *Ashley* rather chose to be degraded,
than to dispute it.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.



