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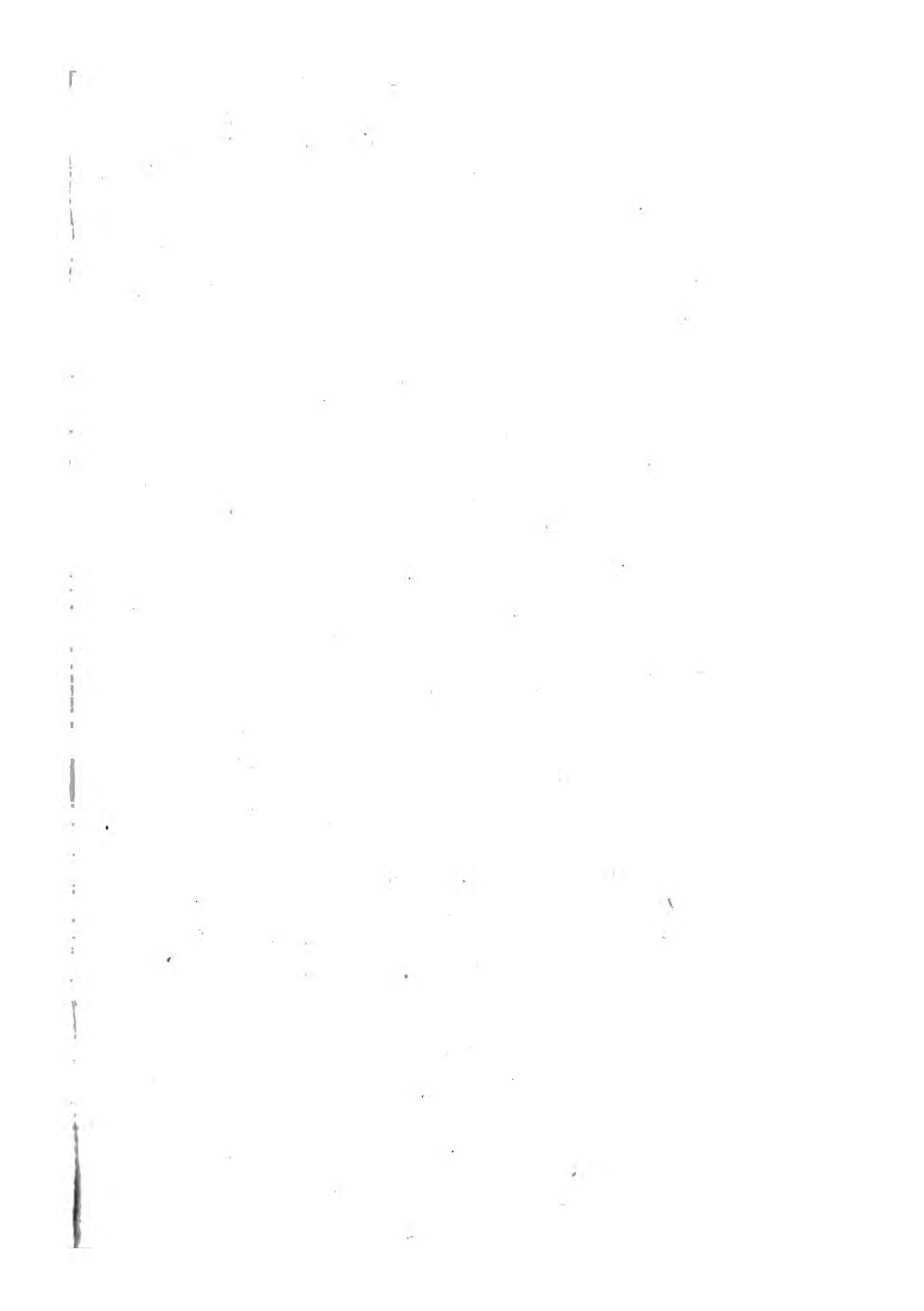


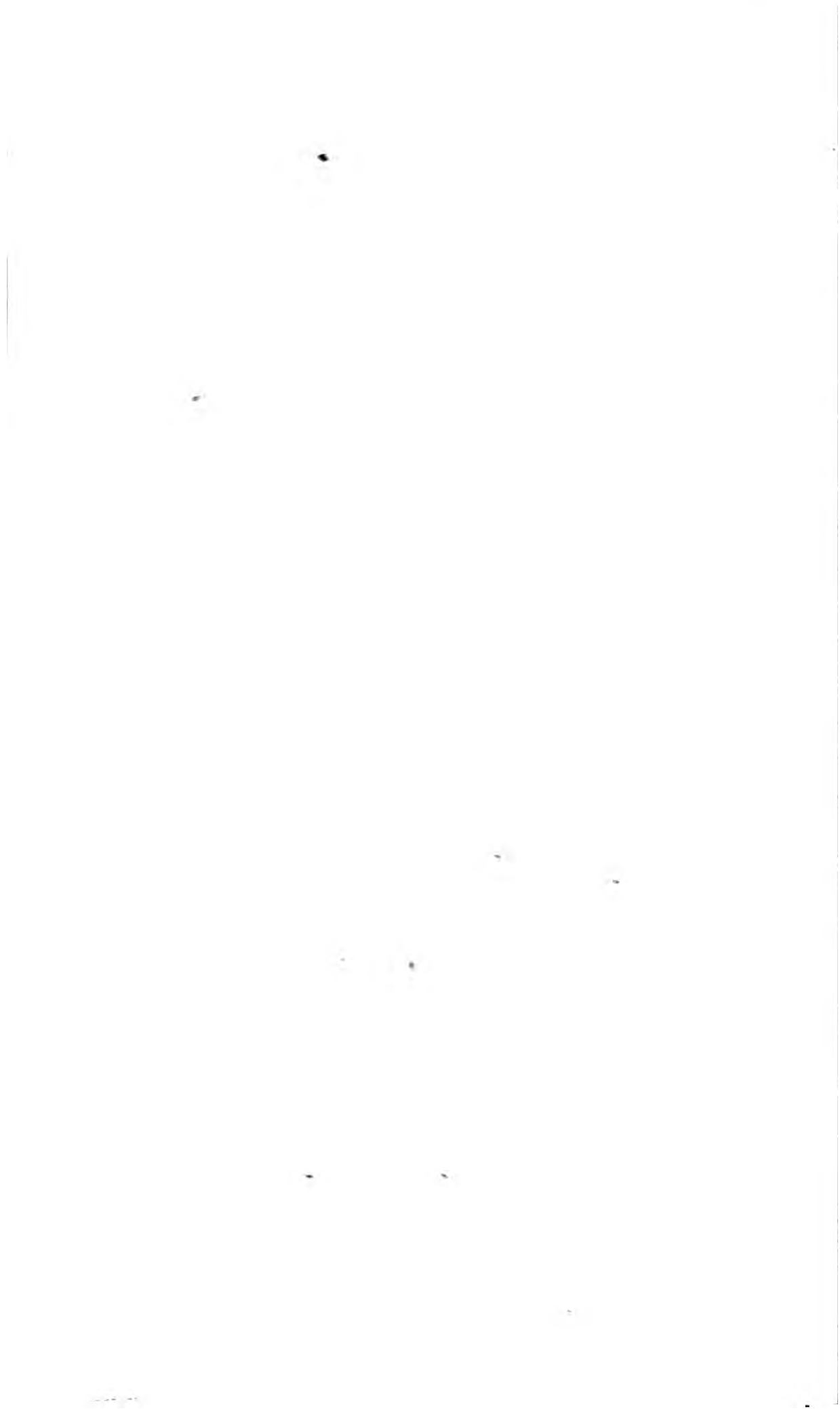
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THE
L I F E
O F
EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR of ENGLAND,
AND
CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD.
CONTAINING,

- 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 SECOND.

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MDCCLIG.



THE
CONTINUATION

Of the LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON, &c.

Molins, 8th Day of June, 1672. Reflections upon the most material Passages which happened after the King's Restoration to the Time of the Chancellor's Banishment; out of which his Children, for whose Information they are only collected, may add some important Passages to his Life, as the true Cause of his Misfortunes.

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

The Author's
Preface.

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

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

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

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

The King's
Council at the
Restoration.

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

Lord Chan-
cellor Hyde.

The Chancellor was the highest in Place, and thought to be so in Trust, because He was most in private with the King, had managed most of the secret Correspondence in *England*, and all Despatches of Importance had passed through his Hands; which had hitherto been with the less Envy, because the indefatigable Pains He took were very visible, and it was as visible that He gained Nothing by it. His Wants and Necessities were as great as any Man's, nor was the Allowance assigned to him by the King

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

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

The Marquis
of Ormond.

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

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. 7

and transported himself without so much as accepting as Pass from his Authority. in a little weak Vessel into *France* where He found the King, from whom He never parted till He returned with him into *England*. And having thus merited as much as a Subject can do from a Prince, He had much more Credit and Esteem with the King than any other Man: And the Lustre the Chancellor was in, was no less from the declared Friendship the Marquis had for him, than from the great Trust his Majesty reposed in him.

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

Secretary *Nicholas* was a Man of general good Reputation with all Men, of unquestionable Integrity and long Experience in the Service of the Crown; whom the late King trusted as much as any Man to his Death. He was one of those who were excepted by the Parliament from Pardon or Composition, and so was compelled to leave the Kingdom shortly after *Oxford* was delivered up, when the King was in the Hands of the *Scots*. The present King continued him in the Office of Secretary of State, which He had so long held under his Father. He was a Man of great

Gravity, and without any ambitious or private Designs; and had so fast a Friendship with the Chancellor for many Years, that He was very well content and without any Jealousy for his making many Despatches and other Transactions, which more immediately related to his Office, and which indeed were always made with his Privity and Concurrence.

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

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

The Temper
and Spirit of
that Time.

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

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

Importunate
Solicitations
made to the
King at Can-
terbury by
some Roy-
alists.

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

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

But there was another Mortification which immediately succeeded this, that gave him much more Trouble, and in which He knew not how to comport himself. The General, after He had given all necessary Orders to his Troops, and sent a short Despatch to the Parliament of the King's being come to *Canterbury*, and of his Purpose to stay there two Days till the next *Sunday* was past, He came to the King in his Chamber, and in a short secret Audience, and without any Preamble or Apology, as He was not a Man of a graceful Elocution, He told him "that He could not do him better Service, than by recommending to him such Persons, who were most grateful to the People, and in Respect of their Parts and Interests were best able to serve him:" And thereupon gave him a large Paper full of Names, which the King in Disorder enough received, and without reading put it into his Pocket that He might not enter into any particular Debate upon the Persons, and told him "that He would be always ready to receive his Advice, and willing to gratify him in any Thing He should desire, and which would not be prejudicial to his Service." The King, as soon as He could, took an Opportunity, when there remained no more in his Chamber, to inform the Chancellor of the first Assaults He had encountered as soon as He

Monk recommends a List of Privy Counsellors to the King.

alighted out of his Coach, and afterwards of what the General had said to him; and thereupon took the Paper out of his Pocket and read it. It contained the Names of at least three score and ten Persons, who were thought fittest to be made Privy-Counsellors; in the whole Number whereof, there were only two, who had ever served the King or been looked upon as zealously affected to his Service, the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, who were Both of so universal Reputation and Interest, and so well known to have the very particular Esteem of the King, that They needed no such Recommendation. All the rest were either those Counsellors who had served the King, and deserted him by adhering to the Parliament; or of those who had most eminently diserved him in the Beginning of the Rebellion, and in the carrying it on with all Fierceness and Animosity until the new Model, and dismissing the Earl of *Essex*: Then indeed *Cromwell* had grown terrible to them, and disposed them to wish the King were again possessed of his regal Power, and which They did but wish. There were then the Names of the principal Persons of the Presbyterian Party, to which the General was thought to be most inclined, at least to satisfy the foolish and unruly Inclinations of his Wife. There were likewise the Names of some who were most notorious in all the other Factions; and of some who in Respect of their mean Qualities and meaner Qualifications, no Body could imagine how They could come to be named, except that, by the very odd Mixture, any sober and wise Resolutions and Concurrence might be prevented.

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. 13

The King was in more than ordinary Confusion with the reading this Paper, and knew not well what to think of the General, in whose absolute Power He now was. However, He resolved in the Entrance upon his Government not to consent to such Impositions, which might prove perpetual Fetters and Chains upon him ever after. He gave the Paper therefore to the Chancellor, and bade him "take the first Opportunity to discourse the Matter with the General" (whom He had not yet saluted) "or rather with Mr. *Morrice* his most intimate Friend," whom He had newly presented to the King, and "with Both whom He presumed He would shortly be acquainted," though for the present Both were equally unknown to him. Shortly after, when mutual Visits had passed between them, and such Professions as naturally are made between Persons who were like to have much to do with each other; and Mr. *Morrice* being in private with him, the Chancellor told him "how much the King was surpris'd with the Paper He had received from the General, which at least recommended (and which would have always great Authority with him) some such Persons to his Trust, in whom He could not yet, till They were better known to him, repose any Confidence." And thereupon He read many of their Names, and said, "that if such Men were made Privy-Counsellors, it would either be imputed to the King's own Election, which would cause a very ill Measure to be taken of his Majesty's Nature and Judgment; or (which more probably would be the Case) to the Inclination and Power of the General, which would be

With which
He is dis-
pleas'd.

“ attended with as ill Effects.” Mr. *Morrice* seemed much troubled at the Apprehension, and said, “ the Paper was of his Hand-writing, by the General’s Order, who He was assured had no such Intention ; but that He would presently speak with him and return,” which He did within less than an Hour, and expressed “ the Trouble the General was in upon the King’s very just Exception ; and that the Truth was, *He had been obliged to have much Communication with Men of all Humors and Inclinations, and so had promised to do them good Offices to the King, and could not therefore avoid inserting their Names in that Paper, without any Imaginations that the King would accept them: That He had done his Part, and all that could be expected from him, and left the King to do what He had thought best for his own Service, which He would always desire him to do, whatever Proposition He should at any Time presume to make to his Majesty, which He would not promise should be always reasonable. However, He did still heartily wish, that his Majesty would make use of some of those Persons,*” whom He named, and said, “ *He knew most of them were not his Friends, and that his Service would be more advanced by admitting them, than by leaving them out.*”

But satisfied
by Monk’s
Explanation.

The King was abundantly pleased with this good Temper of the General, and less disliked those, who He discerned would be grateful to him, than any of the rest: And so the next Day, He made the General Knight of the *Garter*, and admitted him of the Council ; and likewise at the same Time gave the Signet to Mr. *Morrice*, who was sworn of the Council and

Secretary of State; and Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, who had been presented by the General under a special Recommendation, was then too sworn of the Council, and the rather, because having lately married the Niece of the Earl of *Southampton* (who was then likewise present, and received the *Garter* to which He had been elected some Years before) it was believed that his slippery Humor would be easily restrained and fixed by the Uncle. All this was transacted during his Majesty's Stay at *Canterbury*

Upon the 29th of *May*, which was his Majesty's Birth-Day, and now the Day of his Restoration and Triumph, He entered *London* the Highway from *Rochester* to *Blackheath*, being on both Sides so full of Acclamations of Joy, and crowded with such a Multitude of People that it seemed one continued Street wonderfully inhabited. Upon *Blackheath* the Army was drawn up, consisting of above fifty thousand Men, Horse and Foot, in excellent Order and Equipage, where the General presented the chief Officers to kiss the King's Hands, which Grace They seemed to receive with all Humility and Cheerfulness. Shortly after, the Lord Mayor of *London*, the Sheriffs, and Body of the Aldermen, with the whole Militia of the City, appeared with great Lustre; whom the King received with a most graceful and obliging Countenance, and knighted the Mayor and all the Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and the principal Officers of the Militia: an Honor the City had been without near eighteen Years, and therefore abundantly welcome to the Husbands and their Wives: With this Equipage the King was attended through the City of *London*, where the

The King's
triumphant
Entry into
London.

Excessive Joy
upon the
Restoration.

Streets were railed in on both Sides that the Livery of the Companies of the City might appear with the more Order and Decency, till he came to *Whitehall*; the Windows all the Way being full of Ladies and Persons of Quality, who were impatient to fill their Eyes with a beloved Spectacle of which They had been so long deprived. The King was no sooner at *Whitehall*, but (as hath been said) the Speakers, and both Houses of Parliament, presented themselves with all possible Professions of Duty and Obedience at his Royal Feet, and were even ravished with the cheerful Reception They had from him. The Joy was universal; and whosoever was not pleased at Heart, took the more Care to appear as if He was; and no Voice was heard but of the highest Congratulation, of extolling the Person of the King, admiring his Condescensions and Affability, raising his Praises to Heaven, and cursing and detesting the Memory of those Villains who had so long excluded so meritorious a Prince, and thereby withheld that Happiness from them, which They should enjoy in the largest Measure They could desire or wish. The Joy on all Sides was with the greatest Excess, so that most Men thought, and had Reason enough to think, that the King was even already that great and glorious Prince, which the Parliament had wantonly and hypocritically promised to raise his Father to be.

Both Houses
of Parliament
meet.

The Chancellor took his Place in the House of Peers with a general Acceptation and Respect; and all those Lords who were alive and had served the King his Father, and the Sons of those who were dead and were equally excluded from sitting there by Ordinances

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

Particularly
of the Pres-
byterian Party
in it.

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

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

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

They had the major Part of their Mind. And their Preachers were as solicitous and industrious to inculcate the same Doctrine to the principal Persons who had returned with the King, and every Day resorted to the Court as if They presided there, and had frequent Audiences of the King to persuade him to be of the same Opinion; from whom They received no other Condescensions than They had formerly had at the *Hague*, with the same gracious Affability and Expressions to their Persons.

That Party in the House that was in Truth devoted to the King, and to the old Principles of Church and of State, which every Day increased, thought not fit so to cross the *Presbyterians* as to make them desperate in their Hopes of Satisfaction, but, with the Concurrence with those who were of contrary Factions, diverted the Argument by proposing other Subjects of more immediate Relation to the public Peace, as the *Act of Indemnity* which every Man impatiently longed for, and the raising Money towards the Payment of the Army and the Navy, without which that unsupportable Charge could not be lessened, to be first considered and despatched; and the Model for Religion to be debated and prepared by that Committee, which had been nominated before his Majesty's Return to that Purpose; They not doubting to cross and puzzle any pernicious Resolutions there, till Time and their own extravagant Follies should put some End to their destructive Designs.

In the mean Time there were two Particulars, which the King with much inward Impatience, though with little outward Communication, did most desire,

the disbanding the Army, and the settling the Revenue, the Course and Receipt whereof had been so broken and perverted, and a great Part extinguished by the Sale of all the Crown-Lands, that the old Officers of the Exchequer, Auditors or Receivers, knew not how to resume their Administrations. Besides that the great Receipt of Excise and Customs was not yet vested in the King; nor did the Parliament make any Haste to assign it, finding it necessary to reserve it in the old Way, and not to divert it from those Assignments, which had been made for the Payment of the Army and Navy, for which until some other Provision could be made, it was to no Purpose to mention the disbanding the one or the other, though the Charge of Both was so vast and unsupportable, that the Kingdom must in a short Time sink under the Burden. For what concerned the Revenue and raising Money, the King was less solicitous, and yet there was not so much as any Assignation made for the Support of his Household, which caused a vast Debt to be contracted before taken Notice of, the Mischief of which is hardly yet removed. He saw the Parliament every Day doing somewhat in it, and it quickly dissolved all Bargains, Contracts and Sales, which had been of any of the Crown-Lands, so that all that Royal Revenue (which had been too much wasted and impaired in those improvident Times which had preceded the Troubles) was entirely remitted to those to whom it belonged, the King and the Queen his Mother; but very little Money was returned out of the same into the Exchequer in the Space of the first Year; so difficult it was to reduce any Payments

which had been made for so many Years irregularly, into the old Channel and Order. And every Thing else of this Kind was done, how slowly soever, with as much Expedition as from the Nature of the Affair, and the Crowd in which it was necessary to be agitated, could reasonably be expected; and therefore his Majesty was less troubled for those Inconveniences which He foresaw must inevitably flow from thence.

The Nature
and Inclina-
tion of the
Army.

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

the late Powers; and after the Parliament had declared for and proclaimed the King. He cashiered others, and gave their Offices to some eminent Commanders who had served the King; and gave others of the loyal Nobility Leave to lift Volunteers in Companies to appear with them at the Reception of the King, who had all met and joined with the Army upon *Blackheath* in the Head of their Regiments and Companies: Yet, notwithstanding all this Providence, the old Soldiers had little Regard for their new Officers, at least had no Resignation for them; and it quickly appeared, by the select and affected Mixtures of sullen and melancholic Parties of Officers and Soldiers, that as ill-disposed Men of other Classes were left as had been disbanded; and that much the greater Part so much abounded with ill Humors, that it was not safe to administer a general Purgation. It is true that *Lambert* was close Prisoner in the *Tower*, and as many of those Officers who were taken and had appeared in Arms with him when He was taken, were likewise there or in some other Prisons, with others of the same Complexion, who were well enough known to have the present Settlement that was intended in perfect Detestation: But this Leprosy was spread too far to have the Contagion quickly or easily extinguished. How close soever *Lambert* himself was secured from doing Mischief, his Faction was at Liberty and very numerous; his disbanded Officers and Soldiers mingled and conversed with their old Friends and Companions, and found too many of them possessed with the same Spirit; They concurred in the same Reproaches and Revilings of the General, as the Man

who had treacherously betrayed them, and led them into an Ambuscade from whence They knew not how to disentangle themselves. They looked upon him as the sole Person who still supported his own Model, and were well assured that if He were removed, the Army would be still the same and appear in their old Retrenchments; and therefore They entered into several Combinations to assassinate him, which They resolved to do with the first Opportunity. In a Word, They liked neither the Mien nor Garb nor Countenance of the Court, nor were wrought upon by the gracious Aspect and Benignity of the King himself.

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

There was yet added to this slippery and uneasy

Posture of Affairs, another Mortification, which made a deeper Impression upon the King's Spirit than all the rest, and without which the worst of the other would have been in some Degree remediable; that was, the Constitution and Disunion of those who were called and looked upon as his own Party, which without Doubt in the whole Kingdom was numerous enough, and capable of being powerful enough to give the Law to all the rest; which had been the Ground of many unhappy Attempts in the late Time, that if any present Force could be drawn together, and possessed of any such Place in which They might make a Stand without being over-run in a Moment, the general Concurrence of the Kingdom would in a short Time reduce the Army, and make the King superior to all his Enemies; which Imagination was enough confuted, though not enough extinguished, by the dear-bought Experience in the woful Enterprize at *Worcester*. However, it had been now a very justifiable Presumption in the King, to believe as well as hope, that He could not be long in *England* without such an Apparency of his own Party that wished all that He himself desired, and such a Manifestation of their Authority, Interest and Power, that would prevent or be sufficient to subdue any froward Disposition that might grow up in the Parliament, or more extravagant Demands in the Army itself. An Appearance there was of that People, great enough, who had all the Wishes for the King which He entertained for himself. But They were so divided and disunited by private Quarrels, Factions and Animosities; or so unacquainted with each other; or, which was worse,

Disunion of
the King's
Friends.

A Review of
the Causes of
this Disunion
previous to
the Restora-
tion.

so jealous of each other; the Understandings and Faculties of many honest Men were so weak and shallow, that They could not be applied to any great Trust; and others who wished and meant very well had a Peevishness, Frowardness and Opiniatrety, that They would be engaged only in what pleased themselves, nor would join in any Thing with such and such Men whom They disliked. The severe and tyrannical Government of *Cromwell* and the Parliament had so often banished and imprisoned them upon mere Jealousies, that They were grown Strangers to one another, without any Communication between them: And there had been so frequent Betrayings and Treacheries used, so many Discoveries of Meetings privately contrived, and of Discourses accidentally entered into, and Words and Expressions rashly and unadvisedly uttered without any Design, upon which Multitudes were still imprisoned and many put to Death, that the Jealousy was so universal, that few Men who had ever so good Affections for the King, durst confer with any Freedom together.

Most of those of the Nobility who had with Constancy and Fidelity adhered to the last King, and had greatest Authority with all Men who professed the same Affections, were dead, as the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earl of *Dorset*, the Lord *Capel*, the Lord *Hopton*, and many other excellent Persons. And of that *Classis*, that is, of a powerful Interest and unsuspected Integrity (for there were some very good Men, who were without any Cause suspected then, because They were not equally persecuted upon all Occasions) there were only two who survived, the Marquis of *Hertford*

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

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

were then left alive had had the most eminent Charges in the War, and executed them with great Courage and Discretion; so that few Men could with any reasonable Pretence refuse to receive Orders from them, or to serve under their Commands. They had great Affection for and Confidence in each other, and had frankly offered by an Express of their own Number, whilst the King remained in *France*, “ that, if They
 “ were approved and qualified by his Majesty, They
 “ would by joint Advice intend the Care of his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Service; and as They would not engage in
 “ any absurd and desperate Attempt, but use all their
 “ Credit and Authority to prevent and discounte-
 “ nance the same, so They would take the first rati-
 “ onal Opportunity, which They expected from the
 “ Divisions and Animosities which daily grew and
 “ appeared in the Army, to draw their Friends and
 “ old Soldiers who were ready to receive their Com-
 “ mands together, and try the utmost that could be
 “ done with the Loss or Hazard of their Lives:”
 Some of them having, beside their Experience in War, very considerable Fortunes of their own to lose, and were Relations to the greatest Families in *England*. And therefore They made it their humble Suit, “ that
 “ this secret Correspondence might be carried on and
 “ known to none but to the Marquis of *Ormond* and
 “ to the Chancellor; and that if any other Counsels
 “ were set on Foot in *England* by the Activity of par-
 “ ticular Persons, who too frequently with great Zeal
 “ and little Animadversion embarked themselves in
 “ impossible Undertakings, his Majesty upon Adver-
 “ tisement thereof would first communicate the Mo-

“ tives or Pretences which would be offered to him,
 “ to them; and then They would find Opportunity
 “ to confer with some sober Man of that Fraternity”
 (as there was no well-affected Person in *England*, who
 at that Time would not willingly receive Advice
 and Direction from most of those Persons) “ and
 “ thereupon They would present their Opinion to
 “ his Majesty, and if the Design should appear prac-
 “ ticable to his Majesty, They would cheerfully
 “ embark themselves in it, otherwise use their own
 “ Dexterity to divert it.” These Men had been armed
 with all necessary Commissions and Instructions ac-
 cording to their own Desires; the King consented to
 all They proposed; and the Ciphers and Correspond-
 ence were committed to the Chancellor, in whose
 Hands, with the Privy only of the Marquis of
Ormond, all the Intelligence with *England*, of what
 Kind soever, was intrusted.

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

by Expresses made Choice of by them, and supported at their Charge out of such Monies as were privately collected for public Uses, of which They, who contributed most, knew little more than the Integrity of him who was intrusted, who did not always make skilful Contributions.

It fell out unfortunately, that two of these principal Persons fell out, and had a fatal Quarrel, upon a Particular less justifiable than any Thing that could result from or relate to the great Trust They Both had from the King, which ought to have been of Influence enough to have suppressed or diverted all Passions of that Kind: But the Animosities grew suddenly irreconcilable, and if not divided the Affections of the whole *Knot*, at least interrupted or suspended their constant Intercourse and Confidence in each other, and so the diligent Account which the King used to receive from them. And the Cause growing more public and notorious, though not known in a long Time after to the King, exceedingly lessened Both their Reputations with the most sober Men; insomuch as They withdrew all Confidence in their Conduct, and all inclination to embark in the Business which was intrusted in such Hands. And which was worse than all this, one Person amongst them of as unblemished a Reputation as either of them, and of much better Abilities and Faculties of Mind, either affected with this untoward Accident, or broken with frequent Imprisonments and Despair of any Resurrection of the King's Interest, about this Time yielded to a foul Temptation; and for large Supplies of Money, which his Fortune stood in Need of, engaged to be a Spy to

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

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

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

Pre-

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

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

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

Cause of the Misfortune. And after some short Fits of Dejection and Acquiescence, upon the shedding so much Blood of their Friends and Confederates, and the notorious Discovery of being betrayed by those, who had been trusted by them, of the Army; They began again to resume Courage, to meet and enter upon new Counsels and Designs, imputing the former Want of Success to the Want of Skill and Conduct in the Undertakers, not to the all-seeing Vigilance of *Cromwell* and his Instruments, or to the formed Strength of his Government not to be shaken by weak or ill-seconded Conspiracies. Young Men were grown up, who inherited their Fathers Malignity, and were too impatient to revenge their Death, or to be even with their Oppressors, and so entered into new Combinations as unskilful and therefore as unfortunate as the former; and being discovered even before they were formed, *Cromwell* had Occasion given him to make himself more terrible in new Executions, and to exercise greater Tyranny upon the whole Party in Imprisonments, Penalties and Sequestrations; making those, who heartily desired to be quiet, and who abhorred any rash and desperate Insurrection, to pay their full Shares for the Folly of the other, as if all were animated by the same Spirit. And this unjust and unreasonable Rigor increased the Reproaches and Animosities in the King's Friends against each other: The wiser and more sober Part, who had most Experience, and knew how impossible it was to succeed in such enterprizes, and had yet preserved or redeemed enough of their Fortunes to sit still and expect some hopeful Revolution, were unexpressibly offended, and

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

It was at this Time, and upon these Reasons, that the King sent the Marquis of *Ormond* into *England*, to find out and discover whether in Truth there were any sober Preparations in Readiness for Action, and then to head and conduct it; or if it was not ripe, to compose the several Distempers, and unite, as far as was possible, all who wished well, to concur in the same Patience for the present, and in the same Activity when it should be seasonable. And He, upon full Con-

ference with the principal Persons of the most contradictory Judgments, quickly found that They who were accused to be lazy and unactive, were in Truth discreet Men, and as ready vigorously to appear as the other, when the Season should be advisable, which He clearly discerned it was not then; and that the Presumption of the other, upon Persons as well as Places, was in no Degree to be depended upon. And so, after He had done what was possible towards making a good Intelligence between Tempers and Understandings so different, the Marquis had the same good Fortune to retire from thence and bring himself safe to the King; which was the more wonderful Preservation, in that, during the whole Time of his Abode in *London*, He had trusted no Man more, nor conferred with any Man so much, as with that Person of the *Select Knot*, who had been corrupted to give all Intelligence to *Cromwell*: And as He had now blasted and diverted some ill-laid Designs, so He had discovered the Marquis his Arrival to him, but could not be prevailed with to inform him of his Lodging, which was particularly known to him upon every Change, or to contrive any Way for his Apprehension; on the contrary, as in all his Conferences with him He appeared a Man of great Judgment and Perspicacity, and the most ready to engage his Person in any Action that might be for his Majesty's Advantage, so he seemed best to understand the Temper of the Time, and the Parts, Faculties and Interest of all the King's Party; and left the Marquis abundantly satisfied with him, and of the general good Reputation He had with all Men: Which had afterwards an

ill Effect, for it kept the King and those who were trusted by him from giving Credit to the first Information He received, from a Person who could not be deceived, of his Tergiverfation; his late Fidelity to the Marquis of *Ormond* weighing down with them all the Intimations, until the Evidence was so pregnant, that there was no Room for any Doubt.

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

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

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

But the Intermiffion of the severe Prefecution; which had been formerly practifed againft the Royal Party, in this Nonage of *Richard's* Government, gave more Liberty to Communication; and the Prefbyterian Party grew more discontented and daring, and the Independant lefs concerned to prevent any Inconvenience or Trouble to the weak Son of *Oliver*, whom They refolved not to obey. Mr. *Mordaunt*, who had gained much Reputation by his steady Carriage in his late Mortification, and by his fo brisk Carriage fo soon after, found Credit with many Perfons of great Fortune and Intereft; as Sir *George Booth* and Sir *Thomas Middleton*, the greateft Men in *Cheshire* and *North-Wales*, who were reputed *Presbyterians*, and had been Both very active againft the King, and now refolved to declare for him; Sir *Horatio Townfend*, who was newly become of Age, and the moft powerful Perfon in *Norfolk*, where there were many gallant

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

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

Enterprifes, without the leaft Suspicion of Want of Affection and Refolution in any one of them, and lefs of Integrity. But the King was by this Time fully convinced where the Treachery was, without any Blemish to any one of the reft, who needed not to be afhamed of being deceived by a Man, whom all the Kingdom would have trusted. The ridiculous De-throning of *Richard* by the Army, and the re-affembling that Part of the old Parliament, which was called the *Rump*, and which was more terrible than any fingle Perfon could be, becaufe They prefently returned into their old Track, and renewed their former Rigor againft their old, more than their new Enemies, rather advanced than reftained this Combination; too much being known to too many to be fecure any other way than by purfuing it. So the King and *Duke*, according to their former Refolution, went to *Calais* and *Boulogne*, and prepared as well to make a Defcent into *Kent* with fuch Numbers of Men, as the Condition They were in would permit. How, many of thofe Defigns came to be wonderfully and even miraculoufly difappointed, and Sir *George Booth* defeated by *Lambert*, are particularly fet down by thofe, who have taken upon them to mention the Tranfactions of thofe Times. And from thence the Univerfality of all who were, or were fufpected to be, of the King's Party, were according to Custom imprifoned, or otherwife cruelly treated; and thereupon a new Fire kindled amongst themfelves: They who had done Nothing reproaching them who had brought that Storm upon them; and They who had been engaged more loudly and bitterly curfing the others,

as Deferters of the King, and the Cause of the Ruin of his Cause through their Want of Courage, or what was worse, of Affection. And so all Men's Mouths were opened wider to accuse and defame each other, than to defend their own Integrity and their Lives.

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

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

Many of them
much addicted
to Drinking.

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

Those who
had done least
the most im-
portunate.

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

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

under such Characters, and to whom They imputed such Weakness and Levities, as They had Collected from the several Parts of their Lives, as might render them much Disadvantage; and would by no Means admit, "that any of the Good, that afterwards befel the King resulted in any Degree from that rash Enterprize; but that thereby the King's Friends were so weakened, and more completely undone, that They were disabled to appear in that Conjunction, when the Army was divided, and in which They might otherwise have been considerable enough to have given the Law to all Parties."

And undervalue the more eminent Services of others.

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

Particularly of Mr. Mordaunt, who

had most significantly served the King.

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

Reproach of them, and an Upbraiding of their Want of Merit.

This unhappy Temper and Constitution of the Royal Party, with whom He had always intended to have made a firm Conjunction against all Accidents and Occurrences, which might happen at home or from abroad, did wonderfully displease and trouble the King; and, with the other Perplexities, which are mentioned before, did so break his Mind, and had that Operation upon his Spirits, that finding He could not propose any such Method to himself, by which He might extricate himself out of those many Difficulties, and Labyrinths, in which He was involved, nor expedite those important Matters, which depended upon the Good-Will and Despatch of the Parliament, which would proceed by its own Rules, and with its accustomed Formalities, He grew more disposed to leave all Things to their natural Course, and God's Providence; and by Degrees unbent his Mind from the knotty and ungrateful Part of his Business, grew more remiss in his Application to it, and indulged to his Youth and Appetite that Licence and Satisfaction, that it desired, and for which He had Opportunity enough, and could not be without Ministers abundant for any such Negotiations: the Time itself; and the young People thereof of either Sex having been educated in all the Liberty of Vice, without Reprehension or Restraint. All Relations were confounded by the several Sects in Religion, which discountenanced all Forms of Reverence and Respect, as Reliques and Marks of Superstition. Children asked not Blessing of their Parents; nor did They

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

He gives himself up to his Pleasures.

Wickedness of all Kinds introduced by the late Anarchy.

concern themselves in the Education of their Children, but were well content that They should take any Course to maintain themselves, that They might be free from that Expence. The young Women conversed without any Circumspection or Modesty, and frequently met at Taverns and common Eating-houses; and They who were stricter and more severe in their Comportment, became the Wives of the seditious Preachers or of Officers of the Army. The Daughters of noble and illustrious Families bestowed themselves upon the Divines of the Time, or other low and unequal Matches. Parents had no Manner of Authority over their Children, nor Children any Obedience or Submission to their Parents; but *every one did that which was good in his own Eyes*. This unnatural Antipathy had its first Rise from the Beginning of the Rebellion; when the Fathers and Sons engaged themselves in the contrary Parties, the one chusing to serve the King, and the other the Parliament; which Division and Contradiction of Affections was afterwards improved to mutual Animosities, and direct Malice, by the Help of the Preachers, and the several Factions in Religion, or by the Absence of all Religion: So that there were never such Examples of Impiety between such Relations in any Age of the World, Christian or Heathen, as in that wicked Time, from the Beginning of the Rebellion to the King's Return; of which the Families of *Hotham*, and *Vane*, are sufficient Instances; though other more illustrious Houses may be named, where the same accursed Fruit was too plentifully gathered, and too notorious to the World. The Relation between Masters and Servants had

had been long since dissolved by the Parliament, that their Army might be increased by the Prentices against their Masters Consent, and that They might have Intelligence of the secret Meetings and Transactions in those Houses and Families, which were not devoted to them; from whence issued the foulest Treacheries and Perfidiousness that were ever practised: And the Blood of the Master was frequently the Price of the Servant's Villany.

Cromwell had been most strict and severe in the forming the Manners of his Army, and in chastising all Irregularities; insomuch that sure there was never any such Body of Men, so without Rapine, Swearing, Drinking, or any other Debauchery, but the Wick- edness of their Hearts: And all Persons cherished by him were of the same Leaven, and to common Ap- pearance without the Practice of any of those Vices, which were most infamous to the People, and which drew the public Hatred upon those, who were noto- riously guilty of them. But then He was well pleased with the most scandalous Lives of those, who pre- tended to be for the King, and wished that all his were such, and took all the Pains He could that They might be generally thought to be such; whereas in Truth the greatest Part of those, who were guilty of those Disorders, were young Men, who had never seen the King, and had been born and bred in those corrupt Times, *when there was no King in Israel*. He was equal- ly delighted with the Luxury and Voluptuousness of the *Presbyterians*, who in Contempt of the Thrift, Sordidness, and affected ill Breeding of the *Independ- ants*, thought it became them to live more generously,

and were not strict in restraining or mortifying the unruly and inordinate Appetite of Flesh and Blood, but indulged it with too much and too open Scandal, from which He reaped no small Advantage; and wished all those, who were not his Friends, should not only be infected, but given over to the Practice of the most odious Vices and Wickedness.

In a Word, the Nation was corrupted from that Integrity, good Nature and Generosity, that had been peculiar to it, and for which it had been signal and celebrated throughout the World; in the Room whereof the vilest Craft and Dissembling had succeeded. The Tenderness of the Bowels, which is the Quintessence of Justice and Compassion, the very Mention of good Nature, was laughed at and looked upon as the Mark and Character of a Fool; and a Roughness of Manners, or Hardheartedness and Cruelty was affected. In the Place of Generosity, a vile and sordid Love of Money was entertained as the truest Wisdom, and *any Thing* lawful that would contribute towards being rich. There was a total Decay, or rather a final Expiration, of all Friendship; and to dissuade a Man from any Thing He affected, or to reprove him for any Thing He had done amiss, or to advise him to do any Thing He had no Mind to do, was thought an Impertinence unworthy a wise Man, and received with Reproach and Contempt. These Dilapidations and Ruins of the ancient Candor, and Discipline, were not taken enough to Heart, and repaired with that early Care and Severity that they might have been; for they were not then incorrigible; but by the Remissness of applying

Remedies to some, and the Unwariness in giving a Kind of Countenance to others, too much of that Poison insinuated itself into Minds not well fortified against such Infection: So that, much of the Malignity was transplanted, instead of being extinguished, to the Corruption of many wholesome Bodies, which, being corrupted, spread the Diseases more powerfully and more mischievously.

That the King might be the more vacant to those Thoughts and Divertisements, which pleased him best, He appointed the Chancellor, and some others, to have frequent Consultations with such Members of the Parliament, who were most able and willing to serve him; and to concert all the Ways and Means, by which the Transactions in the Houses might be carried with the more Expedition, and attended with the best Success. These daily Conferences proved very beneficial to his Majesty's Service; the Members of both Houses being very willing to receive Advice and Direction, and to pursue what They were directed; and all Things were done there in good Order, and succeeded well. All the Courts of Justice in *Westminster-Hall* were presently filled with grave and learned Judges, who had either deserted their Practice and Profession during all the rebellious Times, or had given full Evidence of their Affection to the King, and the established Laws, in many weighty Instances: And They were then quickly sent in their several Circuits, to administer Justice to the People according to the old Forms of Law, which was universally received and submitted to with all possible Joy and Satisfaction. All Commissions of the Peace were

The old Course
of Justice re-
stored.

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

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

The Chancellor was generally thought to have

most Credit with his Master, and most Power in the Counsels, because the King referred all Matters of what Kind soever to him. And whosoever repaired to him for his Direction in any Business was sent to the Chancellor, not only because He had a great Confidence in his Integrity, having been with him so many Years, and of whose indefatigable Industry He and all Men had great Experience; but because He saw those Men, whom He was as willing to trust, and who had at least an equal Share in his Affections, more inclined to Ease and Pleasure, and willing that the Weight of the Work should lie on the Chancellor's Shoulders, with whom They had an entire Friendship, and knew well that They should with more Ease be consulted by him in all Matters of Importance. Nor was it possible for him, at the first Coming, to avoid the being engaged in all the Counsels, of how distinct a Nature soever, because He had been best acquainted with all Transactions whilst the King was abroad; and therefore Communication with him in all Things was thought necessary by those, who were to have any Part in them. Besides that, He continued still Chancellor of the Exchequer by Virtue of the Grant formerly made to him by the last King, during whose Time He executed that Office, but resolved to surrender it into the King's Hand as soon as his Majesty should resolve on whom to confer it; He proposing Nothing to himself, but to be left at Liberty to intend only the Discharge of his own Office, which He thought himself unequal to, and hoped only to improve his Talent that Way by a most diligent Application, well knowing the great Abilities

The Chancellor principally engaged in the public Transactions.

of those, who had formerly sat in that Office, and that They found it required their full Time and all their Faculties. And therefore He did most heartily desire to meddle with Nothing but that Province, which though in itself and the constant Perquisites of it is not sufficient to support the Dignity of it, yet was then, upon the King's Return; and, after it had been so many Years without a lawful Officer, would unquestionably bring in Money enough to be a Foundation to a future Fortune, competent to his Ambition, and enough to provoke the Envy of many, who believed They deserved better than He. And that this was the Temper and Resolution He brought with him into *England*, and how unwillingly He departed from it, will evidently appear by two or three Instances, which shall be given in their proper Place. However, He could not expect that Freedom, till the Council should be settled (into which the King admitted all, who had been Counsellors to his Father, and had not eminently forfeited that Promotion by their Revolt, and many of those, who had been and still were recommended by the General, amongst whom there were some, who would not have been received upon any other Title,) and until those Officers could be settled, who might take particular Care of their several Provinces.

The King had upon great Deliberation whilst He was beyond the Seas, after that his Return appeared in View, firmly resolved to reform those Excesses, which were known to be in great Offices, especially in those of his Household, whilst the Places were vacant, and to reform all extravagant Expenses there;

and first himself to gratify those, who had followed and served him, in settling them in such inferior Offices and Places, as Custom had put in the Disposal of the great Officers, when they should become vacant after their Admission. And of this Kind He had made many Promises, and given many Warrants under his Sign Manual to Persons, who to his own Knowledge had merited those Obligations. But most of those Predeterminations, and many other Resolutions of that Kind, vanished and expired in the Jollity of the Return, and new Inclinations and Affections seemed to be more seasonable. The General, who was the sole Pillar of the King's Confidence, had by the Parliament been invested (before the King's Return) in all the Offices and Commands, which *Cromwell* had enjoyed. He was Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and General of all the Armies and Forces raised, or to be raised, in the three Kingdoms; and it was not fit that He should be degraded from either upon his Majesty's Arrival: Therefore all Diligence was used in dispatching Grants of all those Commands to him under the Great Seal of *England*. And that He might be obliged to be always near his Majesty's Person, He was presently sworn Gentleman of the Bedchamber; and might chuse what Office He liked best in the Court, whilst Titles of Honor were preparing by the Attorney, and Particulars of Lands inquired after by the Auditors and Receivers, which in all Respects might raise him to that Height, which would most please him. He made Choice to be Master of the Horse, and was immediately gratified with it; and thereby all those poor Gentlemen, who had Promises

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

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

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

The settling this great Officer in the Stables, made it necessary to appoint a Lord Steward of the Household, who was a necessary Officer for the Parliament, being by the Statute appointed to swear all the Members of the House of Commons; and to this Charge the Marquis of *Ormond* had been long designed, and

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

That He might give a lively Instance of his Grace to those, who had been of the Party which had been faulty, according to his Declaration from *Breda*, He made of his own free Inclination and Choice the The Earl of Manchester Lord Chamberlain. Earl of *Manchester* (who was looked upon as one of the principal Heads of the Presbyterian Party) Lord Chamberlain of his House; who, continuing still to perform all good Offices to his old Friends, complied very punctually with all the Obligations and Duties which his Place required, never failed being at Chapel, and at all the King's Devotions with all imaginable Decency; and, by his extraordinary Civilities and Behaviour towards all Men, did not only appear the fittest Person the King could have chosen for that

Office in that Time, but rendered himself so acceptable to all Degrees of Men, that none, but such, who were implacable towards all, who had ever diserved the King, were sorry to see him so promoted. And it must be confessed, that as He had Expressed much Penitence for what He had done amiss, and was mortally hated and persecuted by *Cromwell*, even for his Life, and had done many Acts of Merit towards the King; so He was of all Men, who had ever born Arms against the King, both in the Gentleness and Justice of his Nature, in the Sweetness and Evenness of his Conversation, and in his real Principles for Monarchy, the most worthy to be received into the Trust and Confidence, in which He was placed. With his, the two other white Staves were disposed of to those, to whom they were designed, when the King was Prince of *Wales*, by his Father: And all other inferior Officers were made, who were to take Care of the Expenses of the House, and were a great Part of it.

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

future ; and the Debt itself was not discharged in many Years.

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

The Earl of
Southamp-
ton made
Treasurer.

And Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper Chancellor of the Exchequer.

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

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

“ that the Credit He was thought to have with the
 “ King, and which He knew was much less than it
 “ was thought to be, and his being obliged by the
 “ King to conduct many Affairs, which were foreign
 “ to those which principally concerned and related
 “ to his Office, would in a short Time raise such a
 “ Storm of Envy and Malice against him, that He
 “ should not be able to stand the Shock.” All Men’s

The Chancellor foresees a
 Storm of Envy arising against
 him.

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

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

York's Marriage with the Chancellor's Daughter.

ment, was the Discovery of a great Affection that the Duke had for the Chancellor's Daughter, who was a Maid of Honor to the King's Sister the Princess Royal of *Orange*, and of a Contract of Marriage between them: With which Nobody was so surpris'd and confounded as the Chancellor himself, who being of a Nature free from any Jealousy, and very confident of an entire Affection and Obedience from all his Children, and particularly from that Daughter, whom He had always loved dearly, never had in the least Degree suspected any such Thing; though He knew afterwards, that the Duke's Affection and Kindness had been much spoken of beyond the Seas, but without the least Suspicion in any Body that it could ever tend to Marriage. And therefore it was cherish'd and promoted in the Duke by those, and only by those, who were declared Enemies to the Chancellor, and who hoped from thence, that some signal Disgrace and Dishonor would befall the Chancellor and his Family; in which They were the more reasonably confirmed by the Manner of the Duke's living towards him, which had never any Thing of Grace in it, but very much of Disfavor, to which the Lord *Berkeley*, and most of his other Servants to please the Lord *Berkeley*, had contributed all They could; and the Queen's notorious Prejudice to him had made it Part of his Duty to her Majesty, which had been a very great Discomfort to the Chancellor, in his whole Administration beyond the Seas. But now, upon this Discovery and the Consequence thereof, He looked upon himself as a ruined Person, and that the King's Indignation ought to fall upon him as the Contriver

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

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

presently to marry her; to which Purpose He had an Overture from a noble Family, on the Behalf of a well-bred hopeful young Gentleman, who was the Heir of it. His Daughter quickly arrived at her Father's House, to his great Joy, having always had a great Affection for her; and She being his eldest Child, He had more Acquaintance with her, than with any of his Children; and being now of an Age fit for Marriage, He was well pleased that He had an Opportunity to place her in such a Condition, as with God's Blessing was like to yield her much Content. She had not been long in *England*, when the Duke informed the King "of the Affection and Engagement that had been long between them; that They had been long contracted, and that She was with Child:" And therefore with all imaginable Impor- tunity He begged his Majesty's Leave and Permission upon his Knees "that He might publicly marry her, in such a Manner as his Majesty thought necessary for the Consequence thereof." The King was much troubled with it, and more with his Brother's Passion, which was expressed in a very wonderful Manner and with many Tears, protesting "that if his Majesty should not give his Consent, He would immediately leave the Kingdom, and must spend his Life in foreign Parts." His Majesty was very much perplexed to resolve what to do: He knew the Chancellor so well, that He concluded that He was not privy to it, nor would ever approve it; and yet that it might draw much Prejudice upon him, by the Jealousy of those who were not well acquainted with his Nature. He presently sent for the Marquis of *Ormond* and the Earl

The Duke's
Declaration of
it to the King.

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. 63

Earl of *Southampton*, who He well knew were his Bosom-Friends, and informed them at large and of all Particulars which had passed from the Duke to him, and commanded them presently to see for the Chancellor to come to his own Chamber at *Whitehall*, where They would meet him upon a Business of great Importance, which the King had commended to them for their joint Advice. They no sooner met, than the Marquis of *Ormond* told the Chancellor, "that He had a Matter to inform him of, that He doubted would give him much Trouble;" and therefore advised him to compose himself to hear it: And then told him, "that the Duke of *York* had owned a great Affection for his Daughter to the King, and that He much doubted that She was with Child by the Duke, and that the King required the Advice of them and of him what He was to do."

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

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

The Chancellor struck with it to the Heart.

And breaks
out into a very
immoderate
Passion.

“ to him.” Whereupon He fell into new Commotions, and said, “ if that were true, He was well prepared to advise what was to be done : That He had much rather his Daughter should be the Duke’s Whore, than his Wife : In the former Case Nobody could blame him for the Resolution He had taken, for He was not obliged to keep a Whore for the greatest Prince alive ; and the Indignity to himself He would submit to the good Pleasure of God. But if there were any Reason to suspect the other, He was ready to give a positive Judgment, in which He hoped their Lordships would concur with him ; that the King should immediately cause the Woman to be sent to the *Tower*, and to be cast into a Dungeon, under so strict a Guard, that no Person living should be admitted to come to her ; and then that an Act of Parliament should be immediately passed for the cutting off her Head, to which He would not only give his Consent, but would very willingly be the first Man that should propose it :” And whoever knew the Man, will believe that He said all this very heartily.

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

" more to be consulted with." Whereupon his Majesty looking upon him with a wonderful Benignity, said, " Chancellor, I knew this Business would trouble you; and there I appointed your two Friends to confer first with you upon it, before I would speak with you myself: But You must now lay aside all Passion that disturbs you, and consider that this Business will not do itself; that it will quickly take Air; and therefore it is fit that I first resolve what to do, before other Men uncalled presume to give the Counsel: Tell me therefore what You would have me do, and I will follow your Advice." Then his Majesty enlarged upon the Passion of his Brother, and the Expressions He had often used, " that He was not capable of having any other Wife, and the like." Upon which the Chancellor arose, and with a little Composedness said, " Sir, I hope I need make no Apology to you for myself, and of my own in this Matter, upon which I look with so much Detestation, that though I could have wished, that your Brother had not thought it fit to have put this Disgrace upon me, I had much rather submit and bear it with all Humility, than that it should be repaired by making her his Wife; the Thought whereof I do so much abominate, that I had much rather see her dead, with all the Infamy that is due to her Presumption." And then He repeated all that He had before said to the Lords, of sending her presently to the *Tower*, and the rest; and concluded, " Sir, I do upon all my Oaths which I have taken to you to give you faithful Counsels, and from all the sincere Gratitude I stand obliged to you for so many

“ Obligations, renew this Counsel to you; and do
 “ beseech you to pursue it, as the only Expedient
 “ that can free you from the Evils that this Business
 “ will otherwise bring upon you.” And observing by
 the King’s Countenance, that He was not pleased
 with his Advice, He continued and said, “ I am the
 “ dullest Creature alive, if, having been with your
 “ Majesty so many Years, I do not know your Infirmi-
 “ mities better than other Men. You are of too easy
 “ and gentle a Nature to contend with those rough
 “ Affronts, which the Iniquity and Licence of the
 “ late Times is like to put upon you, before it be
 “ subdued and reformed. The Presumption all Kinds
 “ of Men have upon your Temper is too notorious
 “ to all Men, and lamented by all who wish you well:
 “ And, trust me, an Example of the highest Severity
 “ in a Case that so nearly concerns you, and that re-
 “ lates to the Person who is nearest to you, will be so
 “ seasonable, that your Reign, during the remain-
 “ ing Part of your Life, will be the easier to you, and
 “ all Men will take Heed, how They impudently
 “ offend you.”

He had scarce done speaking, when the Duke of
York came in; whereupon the King spake of some
 other Business, and shortly after went out of the Room
 with his Brother, whom (as was shortly known) He
 informed of all that the Chancellor had said, who, as
 soon as He came to his House, sent his Wife to com-
 mand his Daughter to keep her Chamber, and not to
 admit any Visits; whereas before She had always been
 at Dinner and Supper, and had much Company
 resorting to her: Which was all that He thought fit

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

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

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

speaks from all Men, which He had been accustomed to. And the Duke himself, in the House of Peers, frequently sat by him upon the Wool - Sack, that He might the more easily confer with him upon the Matters which were debated, and receive his Advice how to behave himself; which made all Men believe, that there had been a good Understanding between them. And yet it is very true, that, in all that Time, the Duke never spake one Word to him of that Affair. The King spake every Day about it, and told the Chancellor, " that He must behave himself wisely, " for that the Thing was remediless; and, that his " Majesty knew that They were married, which " would quickly appear to all Men, who knew that " Nothing could be done upon it." In this Time the Chancellor had conferred with his Daughter, without any Thing of Indulgence, and not only discovered, that They were unquestionably married, but by whom, and who were present at it, who would be ready to avow it, which pleased him not, though it diverted him from using some of that Rigor, which He intended. And He saw no other Remedy could be applied, but that, which He had proposed to the King, who thought of Nothing like it.

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

after He had spoken to him of some Business that was to be done in his Absence, going out of the Room, the Duke stayed behind, and whispered the Chancellor in the Ear, because there were others at a little Distance, "that He knew that He had heard of the Business between him and his Daughter, and of which He confessed He ought to have spoken with him before; but that when He returned from *Dover*, He would give him full Satisfaction: In the mean Time," He desired him, "not to be offended with his Daughter." To which the Chancellor made no other Answer, than "that it was a Matter too great for him to speak of."

When the Princess Royal came to the Town, there grew to be a great Silence in that Affair. The Duke said Nothing to the Chancellor, nor came nor sent to his Daughter, as He had constantly used to do. And it was industriously published about the Town, that that Business was broken off, and that the Duke was resolved never to think more of it. The Queen had before written a very sharp Letter to the Duke, full of Indignation, that He should have so low Thoughts as to marry such a Woman; to whom He showed the Letter, as not moved by it. And now She sent the King Word, "that She was on the Way to *England*, to prevent, with her Authority, so great a Stain and Dishonor to the Crown;" and used many Threats and passionate Expressions upon the Subject. The Chancellor sat unconcerned in all the Rumors which were spread, "that the Queen was coming with a Purpose to complain to the Parliament against the Chancellor, and to apply

The Queen-
Mother great-
ly incensed
at it.

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

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

The King carries himself with extraordinary Grace towards the Chancellor.

The Queen was now ready to embark, inflamed and hastened by this Occasion; and it was fit for the King and the Duke, to wait on her at the Shore. But before his Majesty's Going, He resolved of himself to do a Grace to the Chancellor, that should publish, how far He was from being shaken in his Favor towards him, and to do it with such Circumstances, as gave it great Lustre. From the Time of his Coming into *England*, He had often offered the Chancellor to make him a Baron, and told him, “ that He was
 “ assured by many of the Lords, that it was most
 “ necessary for his Service in the Parliament.” But He had still refused it, and besought his Majesty
 “ not to think of it; that it would increase the Envy

“ against him, if He should confer that Honor upon
 “ him so soon; but that hereafter, when his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Affairs should be settled, and He, out of the
 “ extraordinary Perquisites of his Office, should be
 “ able to make some Addition to his small Fortune,
 “ He would, with that Humility that became him,
 “ receive that Honor from him.” The King, in few
 Days after, coming to him, and being alone with
 him in his Cabinet, at going away gave him a little
 Billet into his Hand, that contained a Warrant of his
 own Handwriting to Sir *Stephen Fox*, to pay to the
 Chancellor the Sum of twenty thousand Pounds;
 which was Part of the Money, which the Parliament
 had presented to the King at the *Hague*, and for which
 He had been compelled to take Bills of Exchange
 again from *Amsterdam* upon *London*; which was only
 known to the King, the Chancellor, and Sir *Stephen
 Fox*, who was intrusted to receive it, as He had done
 all the King’s Monies for many Years beyond the
 Seas. This Bounty flowing immediately from the
 King, at such a melancholic Conjunction, and of
 which Nobody could have Notice, could not but
 much raise the Spirits of the Chancellor. Nor did the
 King’s Goodness rest here, but the Night before He
 began his Journey towards the Queen, He sent for
 the Attorney - General, whom He knew to be most
 devoted to the Chancellor, and told him, “ that He
 “ must intrust him in an Affair, that He must not im-
 “ part to the Chancellor;” and then gave him a War-
 rant signed for the Creating of him a Baron, which
 He commanded “ to be ready to pass the Seal, against
 “ the Hour of his Majesty’s Return, and He would

Makes him a
 Present of
 20,000
 Pounds.

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

And creates
 him a Baron.

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

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

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

Upon which the Duke resolves to deny his Marriage.

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

Privy-Council in a Body waited upon the Queen, to congratulate her Return into *England*; and the Chancellor was obliged to go in the Head of them, and was received with the same Countenance that the rest were, which was very cheerful, and with many gracious Expressions. And from this Time He put not himself in her Majesty's Presence, nor appeared at all concerned at the scandalous Discourses against his Daughter. The Earl of *St. Albans* and all who were near the Queen in any Trust, and the Lord *Berkeley* and his Faction about the Duke, lived in Defiance of the Chancellor; and so imprudently that They did him no Harm, but underwent the Reproach of most sober Men. The King continued his Grace towards him without the least Diminution, and not only to him, but to many others who were trusted by him; which made it evident, that He believed Nothing of what Sir *Charles Berkeley* avowed, and looked on him as a Fellow of great Wickedness: Which Opinion the King was long known to have of him, before his coming into *England*, and after.

In the mean Time, the Season of his Daughter's Delivery was at Hand. And it was the King's Chance, to be at his House with the Committee of Council, when She fell in Labor: Of which being advertised by her Father, the King directed him "to send for
 " the Lady Marchioness of *Ormond*, the Countess of
 " *Sunderland*, and other Ladies of known Honor and
 " Fidelity to the Crown, to be present with her:"
 Who all came, and were present till She was delivered of a Son. The Bishop of *Winchester*, in the Interval of her greatest Pangs, and sometimes when they were

The Duchess
 delivered of a
 Son.

upon her, was present, and asked her such Questions as were thought fit for the Occasion; "whose the Child was of which She was in Labor," whom She averred, with all Protestations, to be the Duke's; "whether She had ever known any other Man," which She renounced with all Vehemence, saying, "that She was confident the Duke did not think She had;" and being asked, "whether She were married to the Duke," She answered, "She was, and that there were Witnesses enough, who in due Time, She was confident, would avow it." In a Word, her Behaviour was such as abundantly satisfied the Ladies who were present, of her Innocence from the Reproach; and They were not reserved in the Declaration of it, even before the Persons who were least pleased with their Testimony. And the Lady Marchioness of *Ormond* took an Opportunity to declare it fully to the Duke himself, and perceived in him such a Kind of Tendernefs, that persuaded her that He did not believe any Thing amiss. And the King enough published his Opinion and Judgment of the Scandal.

The Chancellor's own Carriage, that is, his doing Nothing, nor saying any Thing from whence They might take Advantage, exceedingly vexed them. Yet They undertook to know, and informed the Duke confidently, "that the Chancellor had a great Party in the Parliament;" and that "He was resolved within few Day to complain there, and to produce the Witnesses, who were present at the Marriage, to be examined, that their Testimony might remain there; which would be a great Affront to

“ him;” with many other Particulars, which might incense his Highness. Whereupon the Duke, who had been observed never to have spoken to him in the House of Peers, or any where else, since the Time of his going to meet his Sister, finding the Chancellor one Day in the Privy-Lodgings, whispered him in the Ear, “ that He would be glad to confer with him “ in his Lodging,” whither He was then going. The other immediately followed; and being come thither, the Duke sent all his Servants out of Distance; and then told him with much Warmth, “ what He had “ been informed of his Purpose to complain to the “ Parliament against him, which He did not value or “ care for: However, if He should prosecute any “ such Course, it should be the worse for him;” implying some Threats, “ what He would do, before “ He would bear such an Affront;” adding then, “ that for his Daughter, She had behaved herself so “ foully (of which He had such Evidence as was as “ convincing as his own Eyes, and of which He “ could make no Doubt) that Nobody could blame “ him for his Behaviour towards her;” concluding with some other Threats, “ that He should repent it, “ if He pursued his Intention of appealing to the “ Parliament.”

As soon as the Duke discontinued his Discourse, the Chancellor told him, “ that He hoped He would “ discover the Untruth of other Reports which had “ been made to him by the Falshood of this, which “ had been raised without the least Ground or Shadow “ of Truth. That though He did not pretend to “ much Wisdom, yet no Man took him to be such a

“ Fool, as He must be, if He intended to do such
 “ an Act as He was informed. That if his Highness
 “ had done any Thing towards or against him which
 “ He ought not to have done, there was One who is
 “ as much above him, as his Highness was above
 “ him, and who could both censure and punish it.
 “ For his own Part, He knew too well whose Son He
 “ was, and whose Brother He is, to behave himself
 “ towards him with less Duty and Submission than
 “ was due to him, and should be always paid by
 “ him.” He said, “ He was not concerned to vindicate
 “ his Daughter from any the most improbable Scandals and Aspersions: She had disobliged and deceived him too much, for him to be over-confident, that She might not deceive any other Man: And therefore He would leave that likewise to God Almighty, upon whose Blessing He would always depend, whilst himself remained innocent, and no longer.” The Duke replied not, nor from that Time mentioned the Chancellor with any Displeasure; and related to the King, and some other Persons, the Discourse that had passed, very exactly.

There did not after all this appear, in the Discourses of Men, any of that Humor and Indignation which was expected. On the contrary, Men of the greatest Name and Reputation spake of the Foulness of the Proceeding with great Freedom, and with all the Detestation imaginable against Sir *Charles Berkeley*, whose Testimony Nobody believed; not without some Censure of the Chancellor, for not enough appearing and prosecuting the Indignity: But He was not to be moved by any Instances, which He never

afterwards repented. The Queen's implacable Displeasure continued in the full Height, doing all She could to keep the Duke firm to his Resolution, and to give all Countenance to the Calumny. As before the Discovery of this Engagement of the Duke's Affection, the Duke of *Glocester* had died of the Small-pox, to the extraordinary Grief of the King and the whole Kingdom; so, at this Time, it pleased God to visit the Princess Royal with the same Disease, and of which She died within few Days; having in her last Agonies expressed a Dislike of the Proceedings in that Affair, to which She had contributed too much. The Duke himself grew melancholic and dispirited, and cared not for Company, nor those Divertisements in which He formerly delighted: Which was observed by every Body, and which in the End wrought so far upon the Conscience of the lewd Informer, that He, Sir *Charles Berkeley*, came to the Duke, and clearly declared to him; "that the general Discourse of Men, of what Inconvenience and Mischief, if not absolute Ruin, such a Marriage would be to his Royal Highness, had prevailed with him to use all the Power He had to dissuade him from it; and when He found He could not prevail with him, He had formed that Accusation, which He presumed could not but produce the Effect He wished; which He now confessed to be false, and without the least Ground; and that He was very confident of her Virtue:" And therefore besought his Highness to pardon a Fault, that was committed out of pure Devotion to him; and that He would not suffer him to be ruined by the Power of those, whom He
 " had

The Duke grows melancholic.

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

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

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

The Duke
 greatly pleased
 with this Con-
 fession.

The Queen
highly offend-
ed at this
Change in the
Duke.

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

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

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

Her Majesty
 suddenly
 alters her
 Behaviour.

made. And it was exceedingly labored, that the Chancellor would make the first Approach, by visiting the Earl of *St. Albans*; which He absolutely refused to do: And very well acquainted with the Arts of that Court, whereof Diffimulation was the Soul, did not believe that those Changes, for which He saw no reasonable Motive, could be real; until Abbot *Mountague* (who had so far complied with the Faction of that Court, as not to converse with an Enemy) visited him with all Openness, and told him, “ that this
 “ Change in the Queen had proceeded from a Letter
 “ She had newly received from the Cardinal, in
 “ which He had plainly told her, *that She would not*
 “ *receive a good Welcome in France, if She left her Sons*
 “ *in her Displeasure, and professed an Animosity against*
 “ *those Ministers, who were most trusted by the King.*
 “ *He extolled the Services done by the Chancellor, and*
 “ *advised her to comply with what could not be avoided,*
 “ *and to be perfectly reconciled to her Children, and to*
 “ *those who were nearly related to them or were intrusted*
 “ *by them: And that He did this in so powerful a*
 “ *Style, and with such powerful Reasons, that her*
 “ *Majesty’s Passions were totally subdued. And this,*”
 He said, “ was the Reason of the sudden Change, that
 “ every Body had observed; and therefore that He
 “ ought to believe the Sincerity of it, and to perform
 “ that Part which might be expected from him, in
 “ Compliance to the Queen’s Inclinations to have a
 “ good Intelligence with him.”

The Cause of
 this Change in
 the Queen.

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

Good-Will of the Cardinal had proceeded, who had never been propitious to him. He made all those Professions of Duty to the Queen that became him, and "how happy He should think himself in her Protection, which He had Need of, and did with all Humility implore; and that He would gladly cast himself at her Majesty's Feet, when She would vouchsafe to admit it." But for the adjusting this, there was to be more Formality; for it was necessary that the Earl of *St. Albans* (between whom and the Chancellor there had never been any Friendship) should have some Part in this Composition, and do many good Offices towards it, which were to precede the final Conclusion. The Duke had brought Sir *Charles Berkeley* to the Duchess, at whose Feet He had cast Himself, with all the Acknowledgment and Penitence He could express; and She, according to the Command of the Duke, accepted his Submission, and promised to forget the Offence. He came likewise to the Chancellor with those Professions which He could easily make: and the other was obliged to receive him civilly. And then his Uncle, the Lord *Berkeley*, waited upon the Duchess; and afterwards visited her Father, like a Man (which He could not avoid) who had done very much towards the bringing so difficult a Matter to so good an End, and expected Thanks from all; having that Talent in some Perfection, that after He had crossed and puzzled any Business as much as was in his Power, He would be thought the only Man, who had untied all Knots, and made the Way smooth, and removed all Obstructions.

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

Duke greatly
pleas'd with
this Change in
the Queen.

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

The Chancellor answered, "that He did not know, that He had fail'd in any Thing, that in good Manners or Decency could be required from him: But He confess'd, that lately his Thoughts were more perplexed, and troublesome to himself, than they had ever been before; and therefore it was no Wonder, if his Looks were not the same they had us'd to be. That though He had been surpris'd to

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

“ and how insupportable that Envy must be, upon
“ this new Relation, He could not but foresee; to-
“ gether with the Jealousies, which artificial Men
“ would be able to insinuate into his Majesty, even
“ when They seemed to have all possible Confidence
“ in the Integrity of the Chancellor, and when They
“ extolled him most; and that how firm and con-
“ stant soever his Majesty’s Grace and Favor was to
“ him at present (of which He had lately given such
“ lively Testimony,) and how resolved soever He
“ was to continue it, his Majesty himself could not
“ know how far some Jealousies, cunningly suggest-
“ ed by some Men, might by Degrees be entertained
“ by him. And therefore that, upon all the Revolv-
“ ings He had with himself, He could not think of
“ any Thing, that could contribute equally to his
“ Majesty’s Service and his Quiet, and to the Happi-
“ ness and Security of himself, as for him to retire
“ from the active Station He was in, to an absolute
“ Solitude and visible Inactivity in all Matters relat-
“ ing to the State: And which He thought could not
“ be so well, under any Retirement into the Coun-
“ try or any Part of the Kingdom, as by his leaving
“ the Kingdom, and fixing himself in some Place
“ beyond the Seas remote from any Court.” And
having said all this, or Words to the same Effect, He
fell on his Knees; and with all possible Earnestness
desired the King, “ that He would consent to his
“ Retirement as a Thing most necessary for his Ser-
“ vice, and give his Pass to go and reside in any such
“ Place, beyond the Seas, as his Majesty would make
“ Choice of.”

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

The next Morning, which was of the last Day that the Queen was to stay, the Earl of *St. Albans* visited the Chancellor with all those Compliments, Professions and Protestations, which were natural, and which He did really believe every Body else thought to be very sincere; for He had that Kindness for himself, that He thought every Body did believe him. He expressed “ a wonderful Joy, that the Queen
 “ would now leave the Court united, and all the
 “ King’s Affairs in a hopeful Condition, in which the
 “ Queen confessed that the Chancellor’s Counsels had
 “ been very prosperous, and that She was resolved
 “ to part with great and a sincere Kindness towards
 “ him; and that He had Authority from her to assure
 “ him so much, which She would do herself when
 “ She saw him:” And so offered “ to go with him
 “ to her Majesty, at such an Hour in the Afternoon
 “ as He should appoint.” The other made such Returns to all the Particulars as were fit, and “ that He
 “ would be ready to attend the Queen, at the Time
 “ She should please to assign:” And in the Afternoon the Earl of *St. Albans* came again to him; and They went together to *Whitehall*, where They found the Queen in her Bedchamber, where many Ladies were present, who came then to take their Leave of her Majesty, before She begun her Journey.

The Queen reconciled to the
 Duchefs of
 York.

The Duke of *York* had before presented his Wife to his Mother, who received her without the least Show of Regret, or rather with the same Grace as if She had liked it from the Beginning, and made her sit down by her. When the Chancellor came in, the Queen rose from her Chair, and received him with a

Countenance very ferene. The Ladies, and others who were near, withdrawing, her Majesty told him, “ that He could not wonder, much lefs take it ill, “ that She had been much offended with the Duke, “ and had no Inclination to give her Consent to his “ Marriage; and if She had, in the Paffion that could “ not be condemned in her, fpake any Thing of him “ that He had taken ill, He ought to impute it to “ the Provocation She had received, though not from “ him. She was now informed by the King, and “ well affured, that He had no Hand in contriving “ that Friendship, but was offended with that Paffion “ that really was worthy of him. That She could “ not but confefs, that his Fidelity to the King her “ Husband was very eminent, and that He had ferved “ the King her Son with equal Fidelity and extraor- “ dinary Succes. And therefore as She had received “ his Daughter as her Daughter, and heartily forgave “ the Duke and her, and was refolved ever after to “ live with all the Affection of a Mother towards “ them; fo She refolved to make a Friendship with And to the
Chancellor. “ him, and hereafter to expect all the Offices from “ him, which her Kindnefs fhould deferve.” And when the Chancellor had made all thofe Acknow- ledgments which He ought to do, and commended her Wifdom and Indignation in a Bufinefs, “ in which “ She could not fhew too much Anger and Averfion, “ and had too much forgotten her own Honor and “ Dignity if She had been lefs offended,” and magni- fied her Mercy and Generofity “ in departing fo foon “ from her neceffary Severity, and pardoning a Crime “ in itfelf fo unpardonable;” He made thofe Profes-

fions of Duty to her which were due to her, and “ that He should always depend upon her Protection “ as his most gracious Mistress, and pay all Obedience to her Commands. ” The Queen appeared well pleased, and said “ She should remain very confident of his Affection, ” and so discoursed of some Particulars ; and then opening a Paper that She had in her Hand, She recommended the Despatch of some Things to him, which immediately related to her own Service and Interest, and then some Persons, who had either some Suits to the King, or some Controversies depending in Chancery. And the Evening drawing on, and very many Ladies and others waiting without to kiss her Majesty’s Hand, He thought it Time to take his Leave ; and after having repeated some short Professions of his Duty, He kissed her Majesty’s Hand : And from that Time there did never appear any Want of Kindness in the Queen towards him, whilst He stood in no Need of it, nor until it might have done him Good.

Thus an Intrigue, that without Doubt had been entered into and industriously contrived by those, who designed to affront and bring Dishonor upon the Chancellor and his Family, was, by God’s Pleasure, turned to their Shame and Reproach, and to the Increase of the Chancellor’s Greatness and Prosperity. And so We return to the Time from whence this Digression led us, and shall take a particular View of all those Accidents, which had an Influence upon the Quiet of the Kingdom, or which were the Cause of all the Chancellor’s Misfortunes ; which, though the Effect of them did not appear in many Years,

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

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

The Chancellor not elated with this Marriage of his Daughter.

well, that their Design was to create by Degrees in him a Jealousy of his Power and Credit with the King, as if it eclipsed his. But this was only their own dark Purposes, which had been all blasted, if they had been apparent; for the Duke did not only profess a very great Affection for the Chancellor, but gave all the Demonstration of it that was possible, and desired Nothing more, than that it should be manifest to all Men, that He had an entire Trust from the King in all his Affairs, and that He would employ all his Interest to support that Trust: Whilst the Chancellor himself declined all the Occasions, which were offered for the Advancement of his Fortune, and desired wholly to be left to the Discharge of his Office, and that all other Officers might diligently look to their own Provinces, and be accountable for them; and detested Nothing more than that Title and Appellation, which He saw He should not always be able to avoid, of principal Minister or Favorite, and which was never cast on him by any Designation of the King, (who abhorred to be thought to be governed by any single Person) but by his preferring his Pleasures before his Business, and so sending all Men to the Chancellor to receive Advice. And hereby the Secretaries of State, not finding a present Access to him when the Occasions pressed, resorted to the Chancellor, with whom his Majesty spent most Time, to be resolved by him; which Method exceedingly grieved him, and to which He endeavoured to apply a Remedy, by putting all Things in their proper Channel, and by prevailing with the King, when He should be a little satiated with the

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

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

Some Instances of his Disinterestedness.

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

He refused a considerable Offer of Crown-Lands.

“ King for himself, He would undertake to move it
 “ for him, and was confident that the King would
 “ willingly grant it:” And thereupon showed him a
 Paper, which contained the King’s just Title to ten
 thousand Acres of Land in the *Great Level of the Fens*,
 which would be of a good yearly Value; or They,
 who were unjustly possessed of it, would be glad to
 purchase the King’s Title with a very considerable
 Sum of Money. And, in the End, He frankly told
 him, “ that He made this Overture to him with the
 “ King’s Approbation, who had been moved in it,
 “ and thought at the first Sight, out of his own Good-
 “ ness, that it might be fit for him, and wished the
 “ Marquis to propose it to him.”

When the Chancellor had extolled the King’s Ge-
 nerosity, that He could, in so great Necessities of his
 own, think of dispensing so great a Bounty upon a
 poor Servant, who was already recompensed beyond
 what He could be ever able to deserve; He said,
 “ that He knew very well the King’s Title to that
 “ Land, of which He was in Possession before the
 “ Rebellion began, which the old and new *Adventu-*
 “ *urers* now claimed by a new Contract, confirmed by
 “ an Ordinance of Parliament, which could not
 “ deprive the Crown of its Right; which all the
 “ *Adventurers* (who for the greatest Part were worthy
 “ Men) well knew, and would for their own Sakes
 “ not dispute, since it would inevitably produce a
 “ new Inundation, which all their Unity and Consent
 “ in maintaining the Banks would and could with
 “ Difficulty enough but prevent. That He would
 “ advise his Majesty to give all the Countenance He
 “ could,

“ could, to the carrying on and perfecting that great
 “ Work, which was of great Benefit as well as Honor
 “ to the Public, at the Charge of private Gentlemen,
 “ who had paid dear for the Land They had recover-
 “ but that He would never advise him, to begin his
 “ Reign with the Alienation of such a Parcel of Land
 “ from the Crown to any one particular Subject, who
 “ could never bear the Envy of it. That his Majesty
 “ ought to reserve that Revenue to himself, which
 “ was great, though less than it was generally reputed
 “ to be; at least, till the Value thereof should be
 “ clearly understood (and the detaining it in his own
 “ Hands for some Time would be the best Expedient
 “ towards the finishing all the Banks, when the
 “ Season should be fit, which else would be neglected
 “ by the Discord among the *Adventurers*) and the
 “ King knew what He gave. He must remember,
 “ that He had two Brothers,” (for the Duke of
Glocester was yet alive) “ who were without any
 “ Revenue; and towards whom his Bounty was to
 “ be first extended; and that this Land would be a
 “ good Ingredient towards an Appanage for them
 “ Both. And that till They were reasonably provided
 “ for, no private Man in his Wits would be the Ob-
 “ ject of any extraordinary Bounty from the King,
 “ which would unavoidably make him the Object of
 “ an universal Envy and Hatred. That, for his own
 “ Part, He held by the King’s Favor the greatest
 “ Office of the Kingdom in Place; and though it was
 “ not near the Value it was esteemed to be, and that
 “ many other Offices were more profitable, yet it was
 “ enough for him, and would be a good Foundation

“ to improve his Fortune: So that,” He said, “ He
 “ had made a Resolution to himself, which He
 “ thought He should not alter, not to *make Haste to*
 “ *berich*. That it was the principal Part or Obligation
 “ of his Office, to dissuade the King from making
 “ any Grants of such a Nature (except where the
 “ Necessity or Convenience was very notorious)
 “ and even to stop those which should be made of
 “ that Kind, and not to suffer them to pass the Seal,
 “ till He had again waited upon the King, and in-
 “ formed him of the evil Consequence of those
 “ Grants; which Discharge of his Duty could not but
 “ raise him many Enemies, who should not have that
 “ Advantage, to say that He obstructed the King’s
 “ Bounty towards other Men, when He made it
 “ very profuse towards himself. And therefore, that
 “ He would never receive any Crown-Lands from
 “ the King’s Gift, and did not wish to have any other
 “ Honor or any Advantage, but what his Office
 “ brought him till seven Years should pass; in which
 “ all the Distractions of the Kingdom might be com-
 “ posed, and the Necessities thereof so provided for,
 “ that the King might be able, without hurting
 “ himself, to exercise some Liberality towards his
 “ Servants who had served him well.” How He seem-
 ed to part from this Resolution in some Particulars
 afterwards, and why He did so, may be collected out
 of what hath been truly set down before.

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

“ was a Fool for his Labor, and that He would be
 “ much better in being envied than in being pitied.”
 And though the Inheritance of those Lands was
 afterwards given to the Duke, yet there were such
 Estates granted for Years to many particular Persons,
 most whereof had never merited by any Service, that
 Half the Value thereof never came to his Highness.

As soon as the King and Duke returned from
Portsmouth, where They had seen the Queen em-
 barked for *France*, the King had appointed a Chapter,
 for the electing some Knights of the *Garter* into the
 Places vacant. Upon which the Duke desired him
 “ to nominate the Chancellor,” which his Majesty
 said “ He would willingly do, but He knew not
 “ whether it would be grateful to him; for He had
 “ refused so many Things, that He knew not what
 “ He would take;” and therefore wished him “ to
 “ take a Boat to *Worcester-House*, and propose it to
 “ him, and He would not go to the Chapter till his
 “ Highness returned.” The Duke told the Chan-
 cellor what had passed between the King and him,
 and “ that He was come only to know his Mind,
 “ and could not imagine but that such an Honor
 “ would please him.” The Chancellor, after a Mil-
 lion of humble Acknowledgments of the Duke’s
 Grace and the King’s Condescension, said, “ that the
 “ Honor was indeed too great by much for him to
 “ sustain; that there were very many worthy Men,
 “ who well remembered him of their own Condi-
 “ tion, when He first entered into his Father’s Ser-
 “ vice, and believed that He was advanced too much
 “ before them.” He besought his Highness, “ that

He declined
 being made
 Knight of the
 Garter.

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



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

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

tested to him, "that He so absolutely and entirely
 " depended upon his Protection, that He would
 " never receive any Favor from the King, but by
 " his Mediation and Interposition:" To which the
 Duke answered, "that He should see whether He
 " would have that Deference to him shortly."

He refused to
 be made an
 Earl.

And it was not long before the Day for the Coro-
 nation was appointed, when the King had appointed
 to make some Barons, and to raise some who were
 Barons to higher Degrees of Honor; most of whom
 were Men not very grateful, because They had been
 faulty, though They had afterwards redeemed what
 was past, by having performed very signal Services
 to his Majesty, and were able to do him more: Upon
 which the King had resolved to confer those Ho-
 nors upon them, and in Truth had promised it to
 them, or to some of their Friends, before He came
 from beyond the Seas. At this Time the Duke came
 to the Chancellor, and said, "He should now disco-
 " ver whether He would be as good as his Word;"
 and so gave him a Paper, which was a Warrant
 under the King's Sign Manual to the Attorney-Ge-
 neral, to prepare a Grant, by which the Chancellor
 should be created an Earl. To which, upon the Rea-
 ding, He began to make Objections; when the Duke
 said, "my Lord, I have thought fit to give you this
 " Earnest of my Friendship, You may reject it if
 " You think fit," and departed. And the Chan-
 cellor, upon Recollection, and Conference with his
 two Friends, the Treasurer and the Marquis of
Ormond, found He could not prudently refuse it. And
 so, the Day or two before the Coronation, He was

But at length

with the others created an Earl by the King in the *Banqueting-House*; and, in the very Minute of his Creation, had an Earnest of the Envy that would ensue, in the Murmurs of some, who were ancienter Barons, at the Precedence given to him before them, of which He was totally ignorant, it being resolved by the King upon the Place, and the View of the Precedents of all Times; when any Officers of State were created with others. Yet one of the Lords concerned swore in the Ears of two or three of his Friends, at the same Time, "that He would be revenged for that Affront," which related not to the Chancellor's Precedence, for the other was no Baron, but for the Precedence given to another, whom He thought his Inferior, and imputed the Partiality to his Power, who had not the least Hand in it, nor knew it before it was determined. Yet the other was as good as his Word, and took the very first Opportunity that was offered for his Revenge.

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

He was
strongly urged
to resign his
Office of Chan-
cellor.

to him, and being in private, said, “ He came to
 “ speak to him of himself, and to let him know not
 “ only his own Opinion, but the Opinion of his
 “ best Friends, with whom He had often conferred
 “ upon the Argument: And that They all wondered,
 “ that He so much affected the Post He was in, as to
 “ continue in the Office of Chancellor, which took
 “ up most of his Time, especially all the Mornings,
 “ in Business that many other Men could discharge
 “ as well as He. Whereas He ought to leave that to
 “ such a Man as He thought fit for it, and to betake
 “ himself to that Province, which Nobody knew so
 “ well how to discharge. That the Credit He had
 “ with the King was known to all Men, and that He
 “ did in Truth remit that Province to him, which
 “ He would not own, and could not discharge by
 “ the Multiplicity of the Business of his Office, which
 “ was not of that Moment. That the King every Day
 “ took less Care of his Affairs, and affected those
 “ Pleasures most, which made him averse from the
 “ other. That He spent most of his Time with con-
 “ fident young Men, who abhorred all Discourse
 “ that was serious, and, in the Liberty They assumed
 “ in Drollery and Raillery, preserved no Reverence
 “ towards God or Man, but laughed at all sober
 “ Men, and even at Religion itself; and that the
 “ Custom of this Licence, that did yet only make the
 “ King merry for the present, by Degrees would
 “ grow acceptable to him; and that these Men
 “ would by Degrees have the Presumption (which
 “ yet They had not, nor would He in Truth then
 “ suffer it) to enter into his Business, and by admi-

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON. 105

“ nistering to those Excesses, to which his Nature
“ and Constitution most inclined him, would not
“ only powerfully foment those Inclinations, but
“ intermeddle and obstruct his most weighty Coun-
“ sels. That, for the Prevention of all this Mischief,
“ and the preserving the excellent Nature and Un-
“ derstanding of the King from being corrupted by
“ such lewd Instruments, who had only a scurrilous
“ Kind of Wit to procure Laughter, but had no
“ Sense of Religion, or Reverence for the Laws;
“ there was no Remedy in View, but his giving
“ up his Office, and betaking himself wholly to
“ wait upon the Person of the King, and to be with
“ him in those Seasons, when that loose People
“ would either abstain from coming, or, if They
“ were present, would not have the Confidence to
“ say or do those Things which They had been ac-
“ customed to do before the King. By this Means,
“ He would find frequent Opportunities to inform
“ the King of the true State of his Affairs, and the
“ Danger He incurred, by not thoroughly understand-
“ ing them, and by being thought to be negligent
“ in the Duties of Religion and settling the Distrac-
“ tions in the Church; at least, He would do some
“ Good in all these Particulars, or keep the Licence
“ from spreading farther, which in Time it would
“ do, to the robbing him of the Hearts of his People.
“ That the King, from the long Knowledge of his
“ Fidelity, and the Esteem He had of his Virtue, re-
“ ceived any Advertisements and Animadversions,
“ and even suffered Reprehensions, from him, better
“ than from any other Man; therefore He would be

And to assume
the Character
of Prime Mi-
nister.

Which would
be more bene-
ficial to him.

“ able to do much Good, and to deserve more than
 “ ever He had done from the whole Kingdom. And
 “ He did verily believe, that this would be accept-
 “ able to the King himself, who knew He could not
 “ enough attend to the many Things, which being
 “ left undone, must much disorder the whole Ma-
 “ chine of his Government, or, being ill done, would
 “ in Time dissolve it; and that his Majesty would
 “ assign such a liberal Allowance for this Service,
 “ that He should find himself well rewarded, and a
 “ great Gainer by accepting it and putting off his
 “ Office.”

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

When the Marquis had ended, with the Warmth
 of Friendship which was superior to any Tempta-
 tion, and in which no Man ever excelled him, nor
 delivered what He had a Mind to say more clearly,
 or with a greater Weight of Words; the Chancellor
 said, “ that He did not much wonder that many of
 “ his Friends, who had not the Opportunity to know

“ him enough, and who might propose to them-
 “ selves some Benefit from his unlimited Greatness,
 “ might in Truth out of their Partiality to him, and
 “ by their not knowing the King’s Nature, believe,
 “ that his Wariness and Integrity, and his Know-
 “ ledge of the Constitution of the Government and
 “ the Nature of the People, would conduct the
 “ King’s Counsels in such a Way, as would lead best
 “ to his Power and Greatness, and to the Good and
 “ Happiness of the Nation, which would be the
 “ only secure Support of his Power and Authority.
 “ But that He, who knew both the King and him so
 “ well, that no Man living knew either of them so
 “ well, should be of that Opinion He had expressed,
 “ was Matter of Admiration and Surprisal to him.”
 He appealed to him, “ how often He had heard him
 “ say to the King in *France, Germany, and Flanders,*
 “ when They two took all the Pains They could to
 “ fix the King’s Mind to a lively Sense of his Con-
 “ dition; *That He must not think now to recover his*
 “ *three Kingdoms by the dead title of his Descent and*
 “ *Right, which had been so notoriously baffled and*
 “ *dishonored, but by the Reputation of his Virtue,*
 “ *Courage, Piety, and Industry; that all these Virtues*
 “ *must centre in himself, for that his Fate depended*
 “ *upon his Person; and that the English Nation would*
 “ *sooner submit to the Government of Cromwell, than*
 “ *to any other Subject who should be thought to govern*
 “ *the King. That England would not bear a Favorite,*
 “ *nor any one Man, who should out of his Ambition*
 “ *engross to himself the Disposal of the public Affairs.”*

He said, “ He was more now of the same Mind, But this He

absolutely re-
fused.

“ and was confident that no honest Man, of a com-
 “ petent Understanding, would undertake that Pro-
 “ vince; and that for his own Part, if a Gallows
 “ were erected, and if He had only the Choice to be
 “ hanged or to execute that Office, He would rather
 “ submit to the first than the last. In the one, He
 “ should end his Life with the Reputation of an
 “ honest Man; in the other, He should die with
 “ Disgrace and Infamy, let his Innocence be what
 “ it would.” He put the Marquis in Mind, “ how
 “ far the King was from observing the Rules He
 “ had prescribed to himself before He came from
 “ beyond the Seas, and was so totally unbent from
 “ his Business and addicted to Pleasures, that the
 “ People generally began to take Notice of it; that
 “ there was little Care taken to regulate Expenses,
 “ even when He was absolutely without Supply;
 “ that He would on a sudden be overwhelmed with
 “ such Debts, as would disquiet him, and dishonor
 “ his Counsels;” of which the Lord Treasurer was
 so sensible, that He was already weary of his Staff,
 before it had been in his Hands three Months.
 “ That the Confidence the King had in him, besides
 “ the Assurance He had of his Integrity and Industry,
 “ proceeded more from his Aversion to be troubled
 “ with the Intricacies of his Affairs, than from any
 “ Violence of Affection, which was not so fixed in
 “ his Nature as to be like to transport him to any
 “ one Person: And that as He could not, in so short
 “ a Time, be acquainted with many Men, whom
 “ in his Judgment He could prefer before the Chan-
 “ cellor for the Managery of his Business, who had

“ been so long acquainted with it; so He would, in
 “ a short Time, be acquainted with many, who
 “ would by finding Fault with all that was done
 “ be thought much wiser Men, it being one of his
 “ Majesty’s greatest Infirmities, that He was apt to
 “ think too well of Men at the first or second Sight.”
 He said, “ whilst He kept the Office He had (which
 “ could better bear the Envy of the Bulk of the
 “ Affairs, than any other Qualification could) and
 “ that it supported him in the Execution of it, the
 “ King felt not the Burden of it; because little of
 “ the Profit of it proceeded out of his own Purse,
 “ and, if He were dead to morrow, the Place still
 “ must be conferred upon another. Whereas, if He
 “ gave over that Administration, and had Nothing
 “ to rely upon for the Support of himself and Family,
 “ but an extraordinary Pension out of the Exche-
 “ quer, under no other Title or Pretence but of
 “ being First Minister (a Title so newly translated
 “ out of *French* into *English*, that it was not enough
 “ understood to be liked, and every Man would
 “ detest it for the Burden it was attended with); the
 “ King himself, who was not by Nature immode-
 “ rately inclined to give, would be quickly weary
 “ of so chargeable an Officer, and be very willing
 “ to be freed from the Reproach of being governed
 “ by any (the very Suspicion whereof He doth ex-
 “ ceedingly abhor) at the Price and Charge of the
 “ Man, who had been raised by him to that incon-
 “ venient Height above other Men. That whilst
 “ He had that Seal, He could have Admission to
 “ his Majesty as often as He desired, because it was

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

“esteemed by him to be greater, than in Truth it
 “would be. That when these two Things should
 “be brought to pass, He did hope, that the King
 “would take Pleasure in making himself Master of
 “every Part of his Business, and not charge any
 “one Man with a greater Share of it than He can
 “discharge, or than will agree with his own Dignity
 “and Honor. In the mean Time,” He besought the
 “Marquis, “that He would convert the Duke of
 “York and all other Persons from that Opinion,
 “which could not but appear erroneous to himself
 “by the Reasons He had heard; and that if He could
 “be brought to consent to what had been proposed
 “to him (and which rather than He would do, He
 “would suffer a thousand Deaths), as it would
 “inevitably prove his own Ruin and Destruction,
 “so it would bring an irreparable Damage to the
 “King.” And therefore He conjured him “to in-
 “vite the King by his own Example, and by assum-
 “ing his own Share of the Work,” which for some
 Time He had declined since the Return into *England*;
 and by being “himself constantly with his Majesty,
 “to whom He was acceptable at all Hours, He
 “would obstruct the Operation of that ill Company,
 “which neither knew how to behave themselves,
 “nor could reasonably propose so much Benefit to
 “themselves, as by the Propagation of their Follies
 “and Villanies, and by Degrees induce his Majesty
 “more proportionably to mingle his Business with
 “his Pleasures, which He could not yet totally
 “abandon.”

The Marquis could not deny, but that many of

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

Commissioners
sent to the
King from
Scotland and
Ireland.

Whilst the general Affairs of *England*, by the long Debates in Parliament, remained thus unsettled, the King was no less troubled and perplexed how to compose his two other Kingdoms of *Scotland* and *Ireland*; from Both which there were several Persons of
the

the best Condition of either Kingdom sent, with the Tender and Presentation of their Allegiance to his Majesty, and expected his immediate Direction to free them from the Distractions they were in; and by taking the Government upon himself into his own Hands, to be freed from those extraordinaty Commissions, under which they had been Both governed with a Rod of Iron by the late Powers; the shifting of which from one Faction to another had administered no Kind of Variety to them, but they had remained still under the same full Extent of Tyranny.

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

The State of
Scotland at
that Time.

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

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

it, as a Committee for that Kingdom, were united between themselves, and did, or did pretend to desire the same Things. They all appeared under the Protection and Recommendation of the General; and their Dependance was the more upon him, because He still commanded those Garrisons and Forces in *Scotland*, which kept them to their Obedience. And He was the more willing to give them a Testimony of their Affection to the King, and that without their Help He could not have been able to have marched into *England* against *Lambert*, that They might speak the more confidently, "that They gave him that Assistance, because They were well assured that his Intention was to serve the King:" Whereas They did indeed give him only what They could not keep from him, nor did They know any of his Intentions, or himself at that Time intend any Thing for the King. But it is very true, They were all either Men who had merited best from the King, or had suffered most for him, or at least had acted least against him, and (which They looked upon as the most valuable Qualification) They were all, or pretended to be, the most implacable Enemies to the Marquis of *Argyle*, which was the *Shibboleth* by which the Affections of that whole Nation were best distinguished.

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

Some Account
of the Scotch
Commissioners.

Of the Earl
of Selkirk.

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

Of the Earl of
Glencarne.

The Earl of *Glencarne* was another of the Commissioners, a Man very well born and bred, and of very good Parts. As He had rendered himself very acceptable to the King, during his being in *Scotland*, by his very good Behaviour towards him, so even after that fatal Blow at *Worcester* He did not dissemble his Affection to his Majesty; but withdrawing himself into the *Highlands*, during the Time that *Cromwell* remained in *Scotland*, He sent over an Express to assure the King of his Fidelity, and that He would take the first Opportunity to serve him. And when upon his Desire *Middleton* was designed to command there, He first retired into the *Highlands*, and drew a Body of Men together to receive him. He was a Man of Honor, and good Principles as well with

Reference to the Church as to the State, which few others, even of those which now appeared most devoted to the King, avowed to be; for the Presbytery was yet their Idol. From the Time that He had received a Protection and Safeguard from General *Monk*, after there was little Hope of doing Good by Force, He lived quietly at his House, and was more favored by the General than any of those who spoke most loudly against the King, and was most trusted by him when He was at *Berwick* upon his March into *England*; and was now presented by him to the King, as a Man worthy of his Trust in an eminent Post of that Kingdom.

With these there were others of less Name, but of good Affections and Abilities, who came together from *Scotland* as Commissioners; but They found others in *London* as well qualified to do their Country Service, and whose Names were wisely inserted in their Commission by those who assumed the Authority to send the other. The Earl of *Lautherdale*, who had been very eminent in contriving and carrying on the King's Service, when his Majesty was crowned in *Scotland*, and thereby had wrought himself into a very particular Esteem with the King, had marched with him into *England*, and behaved himself well at *Worcester*, where He was taken Prisoner; had, besides that Merit, the suffering an Imprisonment from that very Time with some Circumstances of extreme Rigor, being a Man against whom *Cromwell* had always professed a more than ordinary Animosity. And though the Scene of his Imprisonment had been altered according to the Alteration of the Govern-

Of the Earl of
Lautherdale.

ments which succeeded, yet He never found himself in complete Liberty till the King was proclaimed by the Parliament, and then He thought it not necessary to repair into *Scotland* for Authority or Recommendation; but sending his Advice thither to his Friends, He made Haste to transport himself with the Parliament-Commissioners to the King, and left Nothing undone on his Part that might cultivate those old Inclinations, being a Man of as much Address and Insinuation, in which that Nation excels, as was then amongst them. He applied himself to those who were most trusted by the King with a marvellous Importunity, and especially to the Chancellor, with whom, as often as They had ever been together, He had had a perpetual War. He now magnified his Constancy with loud Elogies, as well to his Face as behind his Back, remembered "many sharp Expressions formerly used by the Chancellor, which He confessed had then made him mad, though upon Recollection afterwards He had found them to be very reasonable." He was very polite in all his Discourses, called himself and his Nation "a thousand Traitors and Rebels," and in his Discourses frequently said, "when I was Traitor," or "when I was in Rebellion," and seemed not equally delighted with any Argument, as when He scornfully spake of the *Covenant*, upon which He brake a hundred Jest. In Sum, all his Discourses were such as pleased all the Company, who commonly believed all He said, and concurred with him. He renewed his old Acquaintance and Familiarity with *Middleton* by all the Protestations of Friendship, assured him "of

“ the unanimous Desire of *Scotland* to be under his
 “ Command,” and declared to the King, “ that He
 “ could not send any Man into *Scotland*, who would
 “ be able to do him so much Service in the Place of
 “ Commissioner as *Middleton*, and that it was in his
 “ Majesty’s Power to unite that whole Kingdom to
 “ his Service as one Man.” All which pleased the
 King well: So that, by the Time that the Commis-
 sioners appeared at *London*, upon some old Promise
 in *Scotland*, or new Inclination upon his long Suffer-
 ings, which He magnified enough, the King gave
 him the Signet, and declared him to be Secretary of
 State to that Kingdom; and at the same Time declared
 that *Middleton* should be his Commissioner; the Earl
 of *Glencarne* his Chancellor; the Earl of *Rothes* who
 was likewise one of the Commissioners, and his Per-
 son very agreeable to the King, President of the Coun-
 cil; and conferred all other inferior Offices upon
 Men most notable for their Affection to the old
 Government of Church and State.

Many of the
 great Offices
 of that King-
 dom disposed
 of.

And the first Proposition that the Commissioners
 made after their Meeting together, and before They
 entered upon Debate of the Public, was, “ that his
 “ Majesty would add to the Council of *Scotland*,
 “ which should reside near his Person, the Chan-
 “ cellor and Treasurer of *England*, the General, the
 “ Marquis of *Ormond*, and Secretary *Nicholas*, who
 “ should be always present when any Thing should
 “ be debated and resolved concerning that King-
 “ dom :” Which Desire, so different from any that
 had been in Times past, persuaded the King that
 their Intentions were very sincere. Whatever

Of the Earl
of Crawford
Lindsey.

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

The Marquis
of Argyle sent
to the Tower.

The Marquis of *Argyle* (without mentioning of whom there can hardly be any Mention of *Scotland*) though He was not of this Fraternity, yet thought He could tell as fair a Story for himself as any of the rest, and contribute as much to the King's absolute

Power in *Scotland*. And therefore He had no sooner unquestionable Notice of the King's being in *London*, but He made Haste thither with as much Confidence as the rest. But the Commissioners who were before him wrought so far with the King, that in the very Minute of his Arrival He was arrested by a Warrant under the King's Hand, and carried to the *Tower*, upon a Charge of High-Treason.

He was a Man like *Drances* in *Virgil*.

Largus Opum, & Linguâ melior, sed frigida Bello His Character.
Dextera, Consiliis habitus non futilis Auâtor,
Seditione potens.

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

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

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

Sent into
Scotland to
be tried.

The Lords of the *English* Council, who were appointed to sit with the *Scots*, met with them to consult upon the Instructions which were to be given to the King's Commissioner, who was now created Earl of *Middleton*. The *Scots* seemed all resolute and impatient to vindicate their Country from the Infamy of delivering up the last King (for all Things relating to the former Rebellion had been put in Oblivion by his late Majesty's *Act of Indemnity* at his last being in *Scotland*) and strictly to examine who of that Nation had contributed to his Murder, of which They were confident *Argyle* would be found very guilty. *Middleton* was very earnest, "that He might, for the Humi-

The Earl of Middleton proposes the Re-establishment of Episcopacy in Scotland.

In which all the Commissioners concur except *Lautherdale*.

"liation of the Preachers, and to prevent any unruly Proceeding of theirs in their Assembly, begin with rescinding the *Act of the Covenant*, and all other Acts which had invaded the King's Power Ecclesiastical, and then proceed to the erecting of Bishops in that Kingdom, according to the ancient Institution." And with him *Glencarne*, *Roths*, and all the rest (*Lautherdale* only excepted) concurred; and averred, "that it would be very easily brought to pass, because the tyrannical Proceedings of the Assemblies and their several Presbyteries had so far incensed Persons of all Degrees, that not only the Nobility, Gentry, and common People would be glad to be freed from them, but that the most learned and best Part of the Ministers desired the same, and to be subject again to the Bishops; and that there would be enough found of the *Scots* Clergy, very worthy and very willing to supply those Charges."

Lautherdale, with a Passion superior to the rest, inveighed against the *Covenant*, called “ it a wicked, “ traiterous Combination of Rebels against their “ lawful Sovereign, and expressly against the Laws “ of their own Country; protested his own hearty “ Repentance for the Part He had acted in the Pro- “ motion thereof, and that He was confident that “ God, who was Witness of his Repentance, had “ forgiven him that foul Sin: That no Man there “ had a greater Reverence for the Government by “ Bishops than He himself had; and that He was most “ confident, that the Kingdom of *Scotland* could “ never be happy in itself, nor ever be reduced to a “ perfect Submission and Obedience to the King, till “ the Episcopal Government was again established “ there. The Scruple that only remained with him, “ and which made him differ with his Brethren, was “ of the Manner how it should be attempted, and of “ the Time when it should be endeavoured to be “ brought to pass.” And then with his usual Warmth when He thought it necessary to be warm (for at other Times He could be as calm as any Man, though not so naturally) He desired “ that the Commissioner “ might have no Instruction for the present to make “ any Approach towards either; on the contrary, “ that He might be restrained from it by his Majesty’s Who artfully attempts to get it delayed. “ special Direction: For though his own Prudence, “ upon the Observation He should quickly make “ when He came thither, would restrain him from “ doing any Thing which might be inconvenient to “ his Majesty’s Service; yet without that He would “ hardly be able to restrain others, who for Want of

“ Understanding, or out of Ill-Will to particular
 “ Men, might be too forward to set such a Design
 “ on Foot.”

He desired “ that in the first Session of Parliament
 “ no farther Attempt might be made, than in Pur-
 “ suance of what had been first mentioned, the vindi-
 “ cating their Country from all Things which related
 “ to the Murder of the late King, which would com-
 “ prehend the Delivering up of his Person, the assert-
 “ ing the King’s Royal Power, by which all future
 “ Attempts towards Rebellion would be prevented,
 “ and the Trial of the Marquis of *Argyle*; all which
 “ would take up more Time than Parliaments in that
 “ Kingdom, till the late ill Times, had used to con-
 “ tinue together. That after the Expiration of the
 “ first Session, in which a good Judgment might be
 “ made of the Temper of that Kingdom, and the
 “ Commissioner’s Prudence might have an Influence
 “ upon many leading Men to change their present
 “ Temper, such farther Advance might be made for
 “ the Reformation of the Kirk as his Majesty should
 “ judge best; and then He made no Doubt, but all
 “ would by Degrees be compassed in that Particular
 “ which could be desired, and which was the more
 “ resolutely to be desired, because He still confessed
 “ that the King could not be secure nor the Kingdom
 “ happy, till the Episcopal Government could be
 “ restored. But He undertook to know so well the
 “ Nature of that People” (though He had not been
 in that Kingdom since his Majesty left it) “ that if it
 “ were undertaken presently, or without due Cir-
 “ cumstances in preparing more Men than could in a

“ short Time be done, it would not only miscarry ,
 “ but with it his Majesty be disappointed of many of
 “ the other Particulars, which He would otherwise
 “ be sure to obtain.”

He named many of the Nobility and leading Men,
 who He said “ were still so infatuated with the *Cove-*
 “ *nant*, that They would with equal Patience hear of
 “ the Rejection of the four Evangelists, who yet, by
 “ Conversation and other Information and Applica-
 “ tion , might in Time be wrought upon.” He
 frequently appealed to the King’s own Memory, and
 Observation when He was in that Kingdom, “ how
 “ superstitious They, who were most devoted to do
 “ him Service, and were at his Disposal in all Things,
 “ were towards the *Covenant*: That all They did for
 “ him, which was all that He desired them to do, was
 “ looked upon as the Effects of those Obligations
 “ which the *Covenant* had laid upon them.” He
 appealed to the General, (“ who,” He said, “ knew
 “ *Scotland* better than any one Man of that Nation
 “ could pretend to do) whether He thought this a
 “ proper Season to attempt so great a Change in that
 “ Kingdom, before other more pressing Acts were
 “ compassed ; and whether He did not know , that
 “ the very pressing the Obligations in the *Covenant*
 “ lately in *England* had not contributed very much to
 “ the Restoration of the King, which the *London*
 “ Ministers confidently urged at present as an Argu-
 “ ment for his Indulgence towards them. And,” He
 said, “ though He well knew, that his Majesty was
 “ fully resolved to maintain the Government of the
 “ Church of *England* in its full Lustre, (which He

“ thanked God for, being in his Judgment the best
 “ Government Ecclesiastical in the World) yet He
 “ could not but observe, that the King’s Prudence
 “ had yet forborne to make any new Bishops, and
 “ had upon the Matter suspended the *English Liturgy*
 “ by not enjoining it, out of Indulgence to Dissent-
 “ ers, and to allow them Time to consider and to be
 “ well informed and instructed in those Forms, which
 “ had been for so many Years rejected or discon-
 “ tinued, that the People in general and many
 “ Ministers had never seen or heard it used: So that
 “ the *Presbyterians* here remained still in Hope of his
 “ Majesty’s Favor and Condescension, that They
 “ should be permitted to continue their own Forms,
 “ or no Forms, in their Devotions and public Wor-
 “ ship of God. In Consideration of all which, He
 “ thought it very incongruous, and somewhat
 “ against his Majesty’s Dignity, suddenly and with
 “ Precipitation to begin and attempt such an Altera-
 “ tion in *Scotland*, against a Government that had
 “ more Antiquity there; and was more generally
 “ submitted to and accepted, than it had been in
 “ *England*, before He himself had declared his own
 “ Judgment against it in this Kingdom; which He
 “ presumed He would shortly do, and which would
 “ be the best Introduction to the same in *Scotland*,
 “ where all the King’s Actions and Determinations
 “ would be looked upon with the highest Veneration.”

He concluded, “ that if the other more vigorous
 “ Course should be resolved upon, the Marquis of
 “ *Argyle* would be very glad of it; for though He
 “ was generally odious to all Degrees of Men, yet

“ He

“ He was not so much hated as the *Covenant* was
 “ beloved and worshipped: And that when They
 “ should discern that They must be deprived of that,
 “ They would rather desire to preserve Both. And
 “ therefore,” He said, “ his Advice still was, that
 “ He should be first out of the Way, who was looked
 “ upon as the Upholder of the *Covenant* and the
 “ chief Pillar of the Kirk, before any visible Attempt
 “ should be made against the other, which would
 “ assuredly be done by Degrees.”

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

His Discourse
 makes some
 Impression on
 the King.

Presbyterian Party here, and especially to the Preachers, to whom He wished well for his Wife's Sake, or rather for his own Peace with his Wife, who was deeply engaged to that People for their seasonable Determination of some nice Cases of Conscience, whereby He had been induced to repair a Trespas He had committed, by marrying her; which was an Obligation never to be forgotten.

Middleton
and the other
Lords discover
Lautherdale's
Design.

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

“ pressed, upon his Commissioner, that though He
 “ should find the Parliament most inclined to do that
 “ now, which every Body confessed necessary to be
 “ done at some Time, He should not accept their
 “ Good-Will, but hinder them from pursuing it, as
 “ very ungrateful to the King; which,” They said,
 “ would be a greater Countenance to and Confir-
 “ mation of the *Covenant* than it had ever yet re-
 “ ceived, and a greater Wound to Episcopacy.”
 And that indeed was consented to by all. And there-
 upon the King resolved to put Nothing like Restraint And prevent
 upon his Commissioner from effecting that He wished
 might be done to morrow if it could be, but to leave
 it entirely to his Prudence to judge of the Conjun-
 cture, with Caution “ not to permit it to be attemp-
 “ ted, if He saw it would be attended with any ill
 “ Consequence or Hazard to his Service.” And so
 the Commissioner, with the other Officers for *Scot-*
land, were dismissed to their full Content; and
 therewith the King was at present eased, by having
 separated one very important Affair from the Crowd
 of the rest, which remained to perplex him.

That in *Ireland* was much more intricate, and the The State of
Ireland at that
Time.
 Intricacy in many Respects so involved, that No-
 body had a Mind to meddle with it. The Chancellor
 had made it his humble Suit to the King, “ that no
 “ Part of it might ever be referred to him;” and the
 Duke of *Ormond* (who was most concerned in his
 own Interest that all Men’s Interests in that Kingdom
 might be adjusted, that He might enjoy his, which
 was the greatest of all the rest) could not see any
 Light in so much Darkeness, that might lead him to

any Beginning. The King's Interest had been so totally extinguished in that Kingdom for many Years past, that there was no Person of any Consideration there, who pretended to wish that it were revived. At *Cromwell's* Death, and at the Deposition of *Richard*, his younger Son *Harry* was invested in the full Authority, by being Lieutenant of *Ireland*. The two Presidents of the two Provinces, were the Lord *Broghill* in that of *Munster*, and Sir *Charles Coote* in that of *Conaught*; Both equally depending upon the Lieutenant: And They more depended upon him and courted his Protection, by their not loving one another, and being of several Complexions and Constitutions, and both of a long Aversion to the King by Multiplications of Guilt. When *Richard* was thrown out, the supreme Power of the Militia was vested in *Ludlow*, and all the civil Jurisdiction in Persons who had been Judges of the King, and possessed ample Fortunes, which They could no longer hold than their Authority should be maintained. But the two Presidents remained in their several Provinces with their full Power, either because They had not deserved to be suspected, or because They could not easily be removed, being still subject to the Commissioners at *Dublin*. The next Change of Government removed *Ludlow* and the rest of that desperate Crew, and committed the Government to others of more moderate Principles, - yet far enough from wishing well to the King. In those Revolutions Sir *Charles Coote* took an Opportunity to send an Express to the King, who was then at *Brussels*, with the Tender of his Obedience, with great Cautions

as to the Time of appearing; only desired "to have such Commissions in his Hands as might be applied to his Majesty's Service in a proper Conjunction," which were sent to him, and never made Use of by him. He expressed great Jealousy of *Broghill*, and an Unwillingness that He should know of his Engagement. And the Alterations succeeded so fast one upon another, that They Both chose rather to depend upon General *Monk* than upon the King, imagining, as They said afterwards, "that He intended Nothing but the King's Restoration, and best knew how to effect it." And by some private Letter, for there was no Order sent, to *Coot*e and some other Officers there, "that They would adhere to his Army for the Service of the Parliament against *Lambert*," *Coot*e found Assistance to seize upon the Castle of *Dublin*, and the Persons of those who were in Authority, who were imprisoned by them, and the Government settled in that Manner as They thought most agreeable to the Presbyterian Humor, until the General was declared Lieutenant of *Ireland*, who then sent Commissioners to the same Persons, who as soon as the King was proclaimed, sent their Commissioners to the King, who were called Commissioners from the State, and brought a Present of Money to the King from the same, with all Professions of Duty which could be expected from the best Subjects.

Commissioners
from the differ-
ent Parties
in Ireland.

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

1. Commis-
sioners from the
State.

the King ; but upon the Advantage of having been discountenanced, and suffered long Imprisonment and other Damages, under *Cromwell*, They called themselves the King's Party, and brought Expectations with them to be looked upon and treated as such. Amongst them was a Brother, and other Friends, made Choice of and more immediately trusted by Sir *Charles Coote*, who remained in the Castle of *Dublin*, and presided in that Council that supplied the Government, and was thought to have the best Interest in the Army as well as in his own Province. " And these Men," He said, " had been privy to the Service He meant to have done the King, and expected the Performance of several Promises He had then made them by Virtue of some Authority had been sent to him to assure those, who should join with him to do his Majesty Service." All these Commissioners from the State had Instructions, to which They were to conform in desiring Nothing from the King, but " the settling his own Authority amongst them, the ordering the Army, the reviving the Execution of the Laws, and settling the Courts of Justice" (all which had been dissolved in the late Usurpation) " and such other Particulars as purely related to the Public." And their public addresses were to this and no other Purpose. But then to their private Friends, and such as They desired to make their Friends, most of them had many Pretences of Merit, and many Expedients by which the King might reward them, and out of which They would be able liberally to gratify their Patrons. And by this Means all who served the King were

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

2. Deputies
from the
Bishops and
Clergy.

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

Negotiation) dissembled not his old Animosity against the Bishops, the Cross, and the Surplice, and wished that all might be abolished; though He knew well that his Vote would signify Nothing towards it. And that Spirit of his had been so long known, that it was now imputed to Sincerity and Plain-dealing, and that He would not dissemble (which many others were known to do, who had the same Malignity with him;) and was the less ill thought of, because in all other Respects He was of a generous and a jovial Nature, and complied in all Designs which might advance the King's Interest or Service.

3. There appeared likewise a Committee deputed by the *Adventurers* to solicit their Right, which was the more numerous by the Company of many Aldermen and Citizens of the best Quality, and many honest Gentlemen of the Country; who all desired "that their Right might not be disturbed, which had been settled by an Act of Parliament ratified by the last King before the Troubles; and that if it should be thought just, and any of the Lands of which They stood possessed should be taken from them, upon what Title soever, They might first be put into the Possession of other Lands of equal Value, before They should be dispossessed of what They had already." All that They made Claim to seemed to be confirmed by an Act of Parliament. The Case was this: When the Rebellion first brake out in *Ireland*, the Parliament then sitting, and there being so much Money to be raised and already raised for the Payment of and disbanding two Armies, and for the composing or compounding the Rebellion of

3. A Committee deputed by the Adventurers.

An Account of these Adventurers.

Scotland, where the King was at that Time; it had been propounded, “ that the War of *Ireland* might
“ be carried on at the Charges of particular Men, and
“ so all Imposition upon the People might be preven-
“ ted, if an Act of Parliament were passed for the Satis-
“ faction of all those who would advance Monies
“ for the War, out of the Lands which should be-
“ come forfeited.”

And this Proposition being embraced, an Act was prepared to that Purpose; in which it was provided,
“ that the forfeited Lands in *Leinster*, *Munster*, *Con-*
“ *aught*, and *Ulster*, should be valued at such several
“ Rates by the Acre, and how many Acres in either
“ should be assigned for the Satisfaction of one hun-
“ dred Pounds, and so proportionally for greater
“ Sums. That for all Monies which should be sub-
“ scribed within so many Days (beyond which Time
“ there should be no more Subscriptions) for that
“ Service, one Moiety thereof should be paid to the
“ Treasurer appointed, within few Days, for the
“ present Preparations; and the other Moiety be
“ paid within six Months, upon the Penalty of lo-
“ sing all Benefit from the first Payment. That when
“ God should so bless their Armies (which They
“ doubted not of) that the Rebels should be so near
“ reduced, that They should be without any Army
“ or visible Power to support their Rebellion; there
“ should a Commission issue out, under the Great
“ Seal of *England*, to such Persons as should be no-
“ minated by the Parliament, who should take the
“ best Way They could in their Discretion think fit,
“ to be informed, whether the Rebels were totally

“ subdued and so the Rebellion at an End. And
 “ upon their Declaration, that the Work was fully
 “ done and the War finished, other Commissions
 “ should likewise issue out, in the same Manner, for
 “ the convicting and attainting all those who were
 “ guilty of the Treason and Rebellion by which their
 “ Estates were become forfeited; and then other
 “ Commissions, for the Distribution of the forfeited
 “ Lands to the several *Adventurers*, according to the
 “ Sums of Money advanced by them. The King
 “ was to be restrained from making any Peace with
 “ the *Irish* Rebels, or Cessation, or from granting Par-
 “ don to any of them; but such Peace, Cessation, or
 “ Pardon should be looked upon as void and null.”

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

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

When the Success of the Parliament had totally subdued the King's Arms, and himself was so inhumanly murdered, neither the Forces in *Ireland* under the King's Authority, nor the *Irish*, who had too late promised to submit to it, could make any long Resistance; so that *Cromwell* quickly dispersed them by his own Expedition thither: And by licensing as many as desired it to transport as many from thence, for the Service of the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, as They would contract for, quickly made a Disappearance of any Army in that Kingdom to oppose his Conquests. And after the Defeat of the King at *Worcester*, He seemed to all Men to be in as quiet a Possession of *Ireland* as of *England*, and to be as

much without Enemies in the one as the other Kingdom ; as in a short Time He had reduced *Scotland* to the same Exigent.

Shortly after that Time, when *Cromwell* was invested with the Office of Protector, all those Commissions were issued out, and all the Formality was used that was prescribed by that Act for the *Adventurers*. Not only all the *Irish* Nation (very few excepted) were found guilty of the Rebellion, and so to have forfeited all their Estates; but the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord *Inchiquin*, and all the *English Catholics*, and whosoever had served the King, were declared to be under the same Guilt; and the Lands seized upon for the Benefit of the State. There were very vast Arrears of Pay due to the Army, a great Part of which (now the War was ended) must be disbanded; for the doing whereof no Money was to be expected out of *England*, but They must be satisfied out of the Forfeitures of the other Kingdoms. The whole Kingdom was admeasured; the Accounts of the Money paid by the *Adventurers* within the Time limited, and what was due to the Army for their Pay, were stated; and such Proportions of Acres in the several Provinces were assigned to the *Adventurers* and Officers and Soldiers, as were agreeable to the Act of Parliament, by Admeasurement. Where an Officer of Name had been likewise an *Adventurer*, his Adventure and his Pay amounted to the more. And sometimes the whole Company and Regiment contracted for Money with their Captains or Colonels, and assigned their Interest in Land to them; and Possession was accordingly delivered without

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Another Class
 of Adven-
 turers ap-
 pears.

Right as any of the other; and that was, They, or the Heirs and Executors of them, who upon the first making of the Act of Parliament, had subscribed several good Sums of Money, and paid in their first Moieties; but the Rebellion coming on, and the Monies already paid in being notoriously and visibly employed contrary to the Act, and against the Person of the King himself, They had out of Conscience forborne to pay the second Moiety, lest it might also be so employed; whereby, according to the Rigor of the Law, They lost the Benefit of the first Payment. And They had hitherto sustained that Loss, with many other, without having ever applied themselves for Relief. “ But now when it had pleased
 “ God to restore the King, and so many who had
 “ not deserved very well desired Help from the King
 “ upon the Equity of that Act of Parliament, where
 “ the Letter of the Law would do them no Good,
 “ They presumed to think, that by the Equity of
 “ the Law They ought to be satisfied for the Money
 “ They did really pay; and that They should not
 “ undergo any Damage for not paying the other
 “ Moiety, which out of Conscience and for his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Service They had forborne to do.” No Man will doubt but that the King was very well inclined to gratify this *Classis* of *Adventurers*, when He should find it in his Power. But it is Time to return to the Committee and Deputies of the other Parties in that distracted Kingdom.

4. A Committee from the Army.

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

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

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

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

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

6. Lastly, there was a Committee for or rather the whole Body of the *Irish Catholics*, who, with less Modesty than was suitable to their Condition, demanded in Justice to be restored to all the Lands that had been taken from them; alledging "that
 " They were all at least as innocent as any of them
 " were, to whom their Lands had been assigned."
 They urged "their early Submission to the King,
 " and the Peace They had first made with the Mar-
 " quis of *Ormond*, by which an Act of Indemnity
 " had been granted for what Offences soever had
 " been committed, except such in which none of
 " them were concerned." They urged, "the Peace
 " They had made with the Marquis of *Ormond* upon
 " this King's first coming to the Crown, wherein a
 " Grant of Indemnity was again renewed to them ;"

6. A Committee for the Roman Catholics.

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

“ by his Majesty’s own immediate Act.” Amongst these, with the same Confidence, They who had been transplanted into *Conaught* appeared, related the Circumstances of the Persecution They had undergone, and “ how impossible it had been for them “ to refuse their Submission to that They had no “ Power to resist, and therefore that it would be “ against all Conscience to alledge their own Con- “ sent, and their Releases and other Grants, which “ had They not consented to in that Point of Time, “ They, their Wives and Children, could not have “ lived four-and-twenty Hours.” All these Particulars were great Motives to Compassion, and disposed his Majesty’s Heart to wish that any Expedient might be found, which might consist with Justice and necessary Policy, that though it might not make them very happy, yet might preserve them from Misery, until He should hereafter find some Opportunity to repair their Condition according to their several Degrees and Merit.

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

The King greatly perplexed with these contradictory Addresses.

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

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

to merit from the King; and their not loving one another, disposed them the more to do any Thing that might be grateful to his Majesty. But They were all united and agreed in one unhappy Extreme, that made all their other Devotion less applicable to the public Peace, that is, their implacable Malice to the *Irish*: Infomuch as They concurred in their Desire, that They might gain Nothing by the King's Return, but be kept with the same Rigor, and under the same Incapacity to do Hurt, which They were till then. For which Instance They were not totally without Reason, from their barbarous Behaviour in the first Beginning of the Rebellion, which could not be denied, and from their having been compelled to submit to and undergo the most barbarous Servitude, that could not be forgotten. And though Eradication was too foul a Word to be uttered in the Ears of a Christian Prince, yet it was little less or better that They proposed in other Words, and hoped to obtain: Whereas the King thought that miserable People to be as worthy of his Favor, as most of the other Parties; and that his Honor, Justice and Policy, as far as they were unrestrained by Laws and Contracts, obliged him more to preserve them, at least as much as He could. And yet it can hardly be believed, how few Men, in all other Points very reasonable, and who were far from Cruelty in their Nature, cherished that Inclination in the King; but thought it in him, and more in his Brother, to proceed from other Reasons than They published: Whilst others, who pretended to be only moved by Christian Charity and Compassion, were more cruel

towards them, and made them more miserable, by extorting great Engagements from them for their Protection and Intercession, which being performed would leave them in as forlorn a Condition as They were found.

In this Intricacy and Perplexity, the King thought it necessary to begin with settling his own Authority in one Person over that Kingdom, who should make Haste thither, and establish such a Council there, and all Courts of Justice, and other civil Officers, as might best contribute towards bringing the rest in Order. And to this Purpose He made Choice of several Persons of the Robe, who had been known by or recommended to the Marquis of *Ormond*, but of more by the Advice and Promotion of *Daniel O Neile* of his Bedchamber, who preferred a Friend of his and an *Irishman* to the Office of Attorney-General, (a Place in that Conjunction of vast Importance to the Settlement) and many others to be Judges. And all this List was made and settled without the least Communication with the Chancellor, who might have been presumed to be easily informed of that Rank of Men. But to find a Person fit to send thither in the supreme Authority, was long deliberated by the King, and with Difficulty to be resolved. The General continued Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* which He had no Mind to quit, for He had a great Estate there, having for some Time been General of that Army, and received for the Arrears of his Pay, and by *Cromwell's* Bounty, and by some Purchases He made of the Soldiers, an Estate of at least four thousand Pounds *per Annum*, which He thought He could

The General
continues Lord
Lieutenant.

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

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

most Part in the Country; where He censured their Proceedings, and had his Conversation most with those who were known to wish well to the King, and who gave him a great Testimony, as if He would be glad to serve his Majesty upon the first Opportunity. The Truth is, the Wickedness of the succeeding Time was so much superior and overshadowed all that had been done before, that They who had only been in Rebellion with the Earl of *Essex*, looked upon themselves as innocent, and justified their own Allegiance, by loading the Memory of *Cromwell* with all the Reproaches and Maledictions imaginable. The greatest Exception that the King had to the Lord *Roberts*, who was already of the Privy-Council by the Recommendation and Instance of the General, was, that He was generally esteemed a *Presbyterian*, which would make him unfit for that Trust for many Reasons; besides that He would not cheerfully act the King's Part in restoring and advancing the Government of the Church, which the King was resolved to settle with all the Advantages which He could contribute towards it. Nor did the Lord *Roberts* profess to be an Enemy to Episcopacy.

Before the King would make any public Declaration of his Purpose, He sent the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor, who were most acquainted with him, to confer freely with him, and to let him know the good Esteem his Majesty had of him, and of his Abilities to serve him. "That the Government of *Ireland* would require a very steady and a prudent Man; That the General did not intend to go

“ into that Kingdom, and yet would remain Lieute-
 “ nant thereof, from which Office his Majesty knew
 “ not how nor thought it seasonable to remove him,
 “ and therefore that the Place must be supplied by a
 “ Deputy; for which Office the King thought him
 “ the most fit, if it were not for one Objection, which
 “ He had given them Leave to inform him of parti-
 “ cularly, there being but one Person more privy to
 “ his Majesty’s Purpose, who was the Marquis of
 “ *Ormond*; and that He might conclude, that the
 “ King was desirous to receive Satisfaction to his
 “ Objection, by the Way He took to communicate
 “ it to him,” And then They told him, “ that He
 “ had the Reputation of being a *Presbyterian*, and
 “ that his Majesty would take his own Word, whe-
 “ ther He was or was not one.”

He answered without any Kind of Ceremony, to
 which He was not devoted, or so much as acknow-
 ledging the King’s Favor in his Inquiry, “ That no
 “ *Presbyterian* thought him to be a *Presbyterian*, or
 “ that He loved their Party. He knew them too
 “ well. That there could be no Reason to suspect
 “ him to be such, but that which might rather induce
 “ Men to believe him to be a good *Protestant*, that
 “ He went constantly to Church as well in the After-
 “ noons as Forenoons on the *Sundays*, and on those
 “ Days forbore to use those Exercises and Recrea-
 “ tions, which He used to do all the Week besides.”
 He desired them “ to assure the King, that He was so
 “ far from a *Presbyterian*, that He believed Epif-
 “ copacy to be the best Government the Church
 “ could be subject to.” They asked him then,

“ whether He would be willing to receive that
 “ Government of Deputy of *Ireland*, if the King
 “ were willing to confer it upon him.” There He let
 himself to fall to an Acknowledgment of the King’s
 Goodness, “ that He thought him worthy of so great
 “ an Honor:” But He could not conceal the Dis-
 dain He had of the General’s Person, nor how unwill-
 ing He was to receive Orders from him, or to be
 an Officer under his Command. They told him,
 “ that there would be a Necessity of a good Corre-
 “ spondence between them, both whilst They stayed
 “ together in *England*, and when He should be in
 “ *Ireland*; but beyond that there would be no Obli-
 “ gation upon him, for that He was to receive his
 “ Commission immediately from the King, contain-
 “ ing as ample Powers as were in the Lieutenant’s
 “ own Commission: That He was not the Lieutenant’s
 “ Deputy, but the King’s; only that his Commission
 “ ceased when the Lieutenant should be upon the
 “ Place, which He was never like to be.” Upon the
 whole Matter, though it appeared that the Superiority
 was a great Mortification to him, He said, “ that He
 “ referred himself wholly to the King to be disposed
 “ of as He thought best for his Service, and that He
 “ would behave himself with all possible Fidelity
 “ to him.”

Lord Roberts
 made Deputy
 of Ireland.

Upon this Report made to the King, shortly after
 his Majesty in Council declared, “ that He had made
 “ the Lord *Roberts* Deputy of *Ireland*,” and then
 charged him, “ that He would prepare as soon as was
 “ possible for his Journey thither, when those
 “ Officers, who were designed by him for the civil

“ Justice of the Kingdom, should be ready to attend
 “ upon him; and in the mean Time that He would
 “ send the Commissioners, and all others who solicit-
 “ ed any Thing that had reference to *Ireland*, to wait
 “ upon him, to the End, that He being well informed
 “ of the Nature and Consistency of the several Pre-
 “ tences, and of the general State of the Kingdom,
 “ might be the better able to advise his Majesty upon
 “ the whole Matter, and to prescribe, for the enter-
 “ ing upon it by Parts, such a Method, that his Ma-
 “ jesty might with less Perplexity give his own
 “ Determination in those Particulars, which must
 “ chiefly depend upon himself and his Direction.”
 Thus the King gave himself a little Ease, by referring
 the Gros to the Lord Deputy, in whose Hands we
 shall for the present leave it, that We may take a
 View of the other Particulars that more immediately
 related to *England*; though We shall be shortly
 called back again to *Ireland*, which enjoyed little
 Repose in the Hands in which it was put.

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

Transactions
 in Parliament
 concerning
 the Act of In-
 demnity.

them ; but had clearly enough expressed, that He presumed that They would not suffer any of those who had sat as Judges upon his Father, and condemned him to be murdered, to remain alive. And the guilty Persons themselves made so little Doubt of it, that They made what Shift They could to make their Escape into the Parts beyond the Seas, and many of them had transported themselves ; whilst others lay concealed for other Opportunities ; and some were apprehended when They endeavoured to fly, and so were imprisoned.

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

“ better Condition than They who fled beyond the
 “ Seas, which They were not in any Degree, if
 “ They were put upon their Trial; for to be tried
 “ and to be condemned was the same Thing, since the
 “ Guilt of all was equally notorious and manifest.”
 And this Kind of Reasoning prevailed upon the
 Judgments and Understandings of many, who had all
 Manner of Detestation for the Persons of the Men.
 In the End, the House of Peers after long Contests
 was obliged to consent, “ that all the Persons who
 “ were fled, and those who had not rendered them-
 “ selves, should be brought to a Trial and attainted
 “ according to Law, together with those who were
 “ or should be taken;” whereby They would forfeit
 all their Estates to the King: “ But for those who had
 “ rendered themselves upon the Faith of the Parlia-
 “ ment,” as They called it, “ They should remain in
 “ such Prisons as his Majesty thought fit during their
 “ Lives, and neither of them be put to Death without
 “ Consent of Parliament.”

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

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

And it was then and more afterwards imputed to the Chancellor, that there were no more Exceptions in the *Act of Indemnity*, and that He labored for Expedition of passing it, and for excluding any extraordinary Exceptions; which Reproach He neither then nor ever after was solicitous to throw off. But his Authority and Credit, though He at that Time was generally esteemed, could not have prevailed in that Particular (wherein there were few Men without some Temptation to Anger and Indignation, and none more than He, who had undergone Injuries and Indignities from many Men then alive) but that it was very evident to the King himself, and to all dispassioned Men, that no Person was so much concerned, though all were enough, that there should be no longer Delay in passing the *Act of Indemnity*, as the

King himself was; there being no Progress made in any other Business, by the Disorder and ill Humor that grew out of that. There was no Attempt to be made towards disbanding the Army, until the *Act of Indemnity* should be first passed; nor could They begin to pay off the Navy, till They were ready to pay off the Arrears of the Army. This was the *Remora* in all the Counsels; whilst there wanted not those, who infused Jealousies into the Minds of the Soldiers, and into the City, “ that the King had no Purpose ever to consent to the *Act of Indemnity*,” which was looked upon as the only universal Security for the Peace of the Nation: And till that was done, no Man could say that He dwelt at Home, nor the King think himself in any good Posture of Security. And therefore no Man was more impatient, and more instant in Council and Parliament, to remove all Causes which obstructed that Work, than the Chancellor. And He put the King in Mind, “ how much He had opposed some Clauses and Expressions which were in the Declaration and Letters from *Breda*,” which notwithstanding were inserted, as most agreeable to the General's Advice; and that He then said to his Majesty, in the Presence of those who were consulted with, “ that it would come to his Turn to insist upon the Performance of those Concessions, which He was against the making of, when many others would oppose them, which may-be at that present would advise much larger:” Which his Majesty acknowledged to be true, and confessed upon many Occasions. And the Chancellor did in Truth conceive, that the King's taking Advantage of the good

The King concerned at the Delays in passing it

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

He interposes
with the Par-
liament.

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

And gets it
passed.

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

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

The Parliam^t
ment adjourn^d
ed.

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

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

Venner raises
an Insurrec-
tion of the
Fanatics in
London.

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

not Patience to make Use of the Silence of the Night, till They could draw their several Bodies together. But their several Rendezvouses no sooner met, than They fell into Noise and Exclamations, "that all Men should take Arms to assist the Lord Jesus Christ;" and when the Watch came towards them, They resolutely defended themselves, and killed many of those who came to assault them: So that the Alarum was in a short Time spread over the City, and from thence was carried to *Whitehall*, where the Duke of *York* was and the General, with a Regiment of Guards and some Horse, which were quickly drawn together.

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

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

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

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

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

For which He
and several of
his Associates
are executed.

There is no Occasion for mentioning more of the particular Proceedings of this Parliament, which though it met afterwards at the Time appointed, and proceeded with all Duty to the King, in raising

great Sums of Money for the Army and the Navy, and for the Payment of other great Debts, which They thought themselves concerned to discharge, and which had never been incurred by the King; and likewise passed many good Acts for the settling a future Revenue for the Crown, and a Vote that They would raise that Revenue to twelve hundred thousand Pounds yearly: Yet They gave not any Thing to the King himself (all the rest was received and paid by those who were deputed by them to that Purpose) but seventy thousand Pounds towards the Discharge of his Coronation, which He had appointed to be in the Beginning of *May* following. And this seventy thousand Pounds was all the Money the King received or could dispose of, in a full Year after his Coming to *London*; so that there could not but be a very great Debt contracted in that Time, for the Payment whereof He must afterwards provide as well as He could. I say, I shall not mention more of the Particulars of that Parliament, because it was foreseen by all, that though their Meeting had produced all those good Effects, in the restoring the King, disbanding the Army, and many other Things, which could be wished; yet that the lasting Validity of all They had done, would depend upon another Parliament to be legally summoned by the King with all those Formalities which this wanted; and the Confirmation of that Parliament would be necessary for the People's Security, that They should enjoy all that this had granted: So that when I shall speak again of the Proceedings of Parliament, it will be of that Parliament which will be called by his Majesty's Writ.

• Only before We dissolve this, and because there hath been so little said of the Licence and Distemper in Religion, which his Majesty exceedingly apprehended would have received some Countenance from the Parliament; We shall remember that the King having by his Declaration from *Breda* referred the composing and settling all that related to the Government of the Church to the Parliament. He could do nothing towards it himself: But by his gracious Reception of the old Bishops who were still alive, and his own Practice in his Devotions and the Government of his Royal Chapel, He declared sufficiently what should be done in other Places. The Party of the *Presbyterians* was very numerous in the House of Commons, and had before the King's Return made a Committee to devise such a Government for the Church, as might either totally exclude Bishops, or make them little superior to the rest of the Clergy. But the Spirit of the Time had of itself elected many Members, notwithstanding the Injunctions sent out with the Writs, and expressly contrary to such Injunctions, of a very different Alay; who together with such as were chosen after his Majesty's Return, were numerous enough to obstruct and check any Prevalence of that Party, though not of Power enough to compel them to consent to sober Counsels. And so the Business was kept still at the Committee, now and then getting Ground, and then cast back again, as the sober Members attended; so that no Report was brought to the House from thence, which might have given the King some Trouble. And by Degrees the Heads of that Party

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

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

The King pub-
lishes a De-
claration con-
cerning Ec-
clesiastical
Affairs.

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

Here I cannot but instance two Acts of the *Pres-*
byterians, by which, if their Humor and Spirit were
 not enough discovered and known, their Want of In-
 genuity and Integrity would be manifest, and how
 impossible it is for Men who would not be deceived
 to depend on either. When the Declaration had been
 delivered to the Ministers, there was a Clause in it,
 in which the King declared “ his own constant Prac-
 “ tice of *the Common-Prayer*, and that He would
 “ take it well from those who used it in their Chur-
 “ ches, that the common People might be again ac-
 “ quainted with the Piety, Gravity and Devotion
 “ of it, and which He thought would facilitate their
 “ living in a good Neighbourhood together;” or
 Words to that Effect. When They had considered
 the Whole some Days, Mr. *Calamy* and some other
 Ministers deputed by the rest, came to the Chan-

Two instances
 of the Disin-
 genuity of the
 Presbyterian
 Ministers.

cellor to redeliver it to his Hands. They acknowledged " the King had been very gracious to them " in his Concessions; though He had not granted all " that some of their Brethren wished, yet They were " contented:" Only desired him, " that He would " prevail with the King, that the Clause mentioned " before might be left out; which " They protested " was moved by them for the King's own End, and " that They might show their Obedience to him, " and Resolution to do him Service. For They were " resolved themselves to do what the King wished, " and first to reconcile the People, who for near " twenty Years had not been acquainted with that " Form, by informing them that it contained much " Piety and Devotion, and might be lawfully used; " and then that They would begin to use it themselves, and by Degrees accustom the People to it: " Which " they said " would have a better Effect, " than if the Clause were in the Declaration; for " They should be thought in their Persuasions to " comply only with the King's Recommendation, " and to merit from his Majesty, and not to be moved from the Conscience of the Duty; and so " they should take that Occasion to manifest their " Zeal to please the King. And They feared there " would be other ill Consequences from it, by the " Waywardness of the common People, who were " to be treated with Skill, and would not be prevailed upon all at once." The King was to be present the next Morning, to hear the Declaration read the last Time before Both Parties; and then the Chancellor told him, in the Presence of all the rest,

what the Ministers had desired ; which They again enlarged upon with the same Protestations of their Resolutions, in such a Manner, that his Majesty believed They meant honestly ; and the Clause was left out. But the Declaration was no sooner published, than observing that the People were generally satisfied with it, They sent their Emissaries abroad : And many of their Letters were intercepted, and particular a Letter from Mr. *Calamy* to a leading Minister in *Somersetshire*, whereby He advised and entreated him, “ that He and his Friends would continue and persist in the Use of *The Directory*, and by no Means admit *The Common-Prayer* in their Churches ; for that He made no Question but that They should prevail farther with the King, than he had yet consented to in his Declaration.”

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

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

The Parlia-
 ment meets
 again, and is
 dissolved.

When the Parliament came together again after
 their Adjournment, They gave the King public
 Thanks for his Declaration, and never proceeded
 farther in the Matter of Religion, of which the King
 was very glad: Only some of the Leaders brought
 a Bill into the House “ for the making that Declara-
 “ tion a Law,” which was suitable to their other
 Acts of Ingenuity, to keep the Church for ever un-
 der the same Indulgence and without any Settlement;
 which being quickly perceived, there was no farther
 Progress in it. And the King upon the nine-and-twen-
 tieth of *December*, after having given them an ample
 Testimony of their Kindness towards him, which
 He magnified with many gracious Expressions, and
 his Royal Thanks for the settling his Revenue and
 Payment of the public Debts, promised “ to send
 “ out Writs for the calling another Parliament,
 “ which He doubted not would confirm all that
 “ They had done, and in which He hoped many of
 “ them would be elected again to serve:” And so
 dissolved the present Parliament with as general an
 Applause as hath been known; though it was quick-
 ly known, that the Revenue They had settled was
 not in Value equal to what They had computed.
 Nor did the Monies They granted in any Degree
 arise to enough to pay either the Arrears to the
 Army, or the Debts to the Navy; Both which must
 be

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

A new Parliament summoned to meet.

When the King arrived in *England*, *Monfieur Bordeaux* was there Ambassador from the King of *France*, and had resided Ambassador there about three Years in *Cromwell's* Time, and lived in marvellous Lustre, very acceptable and dear to *Cromwell*, having treated all the secret Alliance between the Cardinal and him; and was even trusted by the Protector in many of his Counsels, especially to discover any Conspiracy against him; for He lived jovially, made great Entertainments to Lords and Ladies without Distinction, and amongst them would frequently let fall some Expressions of Compassion and Respect towards the King. After *Cromwell's* Death his Credentials were quickly renewed to *Richard* his Successor, with whom all the former Treaties were again established. And when He was put down, He was not long without fresh Credit to the Commonwealth that succeeded: And so upon all Vicissitudes was supplied with Authority to endear his Master's Affection to the present Powers, and to let them know, "how well the Cardinal was disposed to join the Power of *France* to their Interest." And his Dexterity had been such towards all, that the Cardinal

thought fit to send him new Credentials against the Time of the King's Coming to *London*. And within few Days after, when He had provided a new Equipage to appear in more Glory than He had ever yet done, He sent to desire an Audience from the King.

The Earl of *St. Albans* was newly come from *France*; and to him *Bordeaux* had applied himself, who was always very ready to promote any Thing that might be grateful to that Crown. But the King would not resolve any Thing in the Point, till he had conferred upon it with the Council: Where it being debated, there was an unanimous Consent (the Earl of *St. Albans* only excepted, who exceedingly labored the contrary), "that it could not
 " stand with his Majesty's Honor to receive him as
 " Ambassador, who had transacted so many Things
 " to his Disadvantage, and shifted his Face so often,
 " always in Conjunction with his greatest Enemies;
 " and that it was a great Disrespect in the Crown of
 " *France* towards his Majesty in sending such a Per-
 " son, who They could not believe (without great
 " undervaluing the King) could be acceptable to
 " him." The King himself was of that Opinion; and instead of assigning him a Day for his Audience, as was desired, He sent him an express Command to depart the Kingdom. And when He afterwards, with much Importunity, desired only to be admitted as a Stranger to see his Majesty, and to speak to him; his Majesty as positively refused to admit him to his Presence. All which was imputed principally to the Chancellor, who had with some Warmth opposed his being received as Ambassador; and when He

The Ambassa-
dor from
France to the
late Powers
commanded
to quit the
Kingdom.

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

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

The Ambassa-
dor from
Portugal to
the late Pow-
ers kindly
received

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

An Account of
the Treaty
and Marriage
with *Portugal*.

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

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

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

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

The Portu-
guese Amba-
sador proposes
the Marriage.

“ which was about his own Marriage,” He said,
 the Lord Chamberlain (who was then Earl of *Manchester*) “ had held a Discourse with him some Days
 “ past, that seemed to have somewhat in it that was
 “ worth the thinking of. That He had told him,
 “ *the Portugal Ambassador had made him a Visit, and*
 “ *having some Conference with him concerning the King,*
 “ *towards whose Person He professed a profound Respect,*
 “ *He said it was Time for his Majesty to think of Mar-*
 “ *riage; which Nothing could keep him from, but the*
 “ *Difficulty of finding a fit Consort for him. That there*
 “ *was in Portugal a Princess in her Beauty, Person and*
 “ *Age, very fit for him, and who would have a Portion*
 “ *suitable to her Birth and Quality. That it is true She*
 “ *was a Catholic, and would never depart from her*
 “ *Religion; but was totally without that Meddling and*
 “ *Activity in her Nature, which many Times made those*
 “ *of that Religion troublesome and restless, when They*
 “ *came into a Country where another Religion was prac-*
 “ *tised. That She had been bred under a wise Mother,*
 “ *who was still Regent in that Kingdom, who had care-*
 “ *fully infused another Spirit into her, and kept her from*
 “ *affecting to have any Hand in Business, and which She*
 “ *had never been acquainted with; so that She would*
 “ *look only to enjoy her own Religion, and not at all*
 “ *concern herself in what others professed. That He*
 “ *had Authority to make the Proposition to the King,*
 “ *with such Particularities as included many Advantages*
 “ *above any, He thought, which could accompany any*
 “ *Overture of that Kind from another Prince. To*
 “ which the Chamberlain had added, *that there could*
 “ *be no Question, but that a Protestant Queen would in*

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

His Majesty said, “ that He had only answered the
 “ Chamberlain, that He would think of it. But that
 “ the very Morning of this Day, the Ambassador of
 “ Portugal had been with him, and without any For-
 “ mality had entered into the same Discourse, and
 “ said all that the Lord Chamberlain had mentioned:
 “ To which He added, that He had Authority to offer
 “ to his Majesty five hundred thousand Pounds Ster-
 “ ling in ready Money, as a Portion with the Infanta;
 “ and likewise to assign over, and for ever to annex to
 “ the Crown of England, the Possession of Tangier upon
 “ the African Shore in the Mediterranean Sea, a Place
 “ of that Strength and Importance, as would be of in-
 “ finite Benefit and Security to the Trade of England;
 “ and likewise to grant to the English Nation a free
 “ Trade in Brasil and in the East-Indies, which They
 “ had hitherto denied to all Nations but themselves. And
 “ for their Security to enjoy that Privilege, They would
 “ put into his Majesty’s Hands and Possession, and for
 “ ever annex to the Crown of England, the Island of
 “ Bombayne (with the Towns and Castles therein,
 “ which are within a very little Distance from Bom-

The King approves the Proposal.

“ bayne); *which hath within itself a very good and spacious Harbour, and would be a vast Improvement to the East-India Trade.* And those two Places, He said, of *Tangier and Bombayne, might reasonably be valued above the Portion in Money.*” The King mentioned all the Discourse as a Matter that pleased him, and might prove of notable Advantage to the Kingdom; and said “ that He had wished the Ambassador to confer with him (the Chancellor) upon it;” and then asked him “ what He thought of it:” To which He answered, “ that He had not heard of it enough to think of it” (for He had never heard or thought of it before that Moment); “ and therefore He should not be able to do more when the Ambassador came to him, than to hear what He said, and report it to his Majesty for the present.” He only asked, “ whether his Majesty had given over all Thoughts of a Protestant Wife:” To which He answered, “ He could find none such, except amongst his own Subjects; and amongst them He had seen none that pleased him enough to that End.” And observing the Chancellor to look fixedly upon him, He said, “ that he would never think more of the Princess of *Orange’s* Daughter, her Mother having used him so ill when He proposed it; and if He should now think of it, He knew his Mother would never consent to it, and that it would break his Sister’s Heart: Therefore He had resolved never to entertain that Thought again. And that he saw no Objection against this Overture from *Portugal*, that would not occur in any other, where the Advantages would not be so many or so great.”

What could the Chancellor say? What Objection could He make, why this Overture should not be hearkened to? And what would the King have thought, or what might He not have thought, if He had advised him to reject this Motion? He gave him no other Answer for the present, than "that He desired Nothing more in this World, than to see his Majesty well married; and He was very confident that all his good Subjects were of the same Mind: And therefore there must be some very visible Inconvenience in it, when He should dissuade him not to embrace such an Opportunity. That He would be ready to confer with the *Portugal* Ambassador when He came, and then He should entertain his Majesty farther upon that Subject." The Ambassador came to him, repeated what he said and proposed to the King, with little other Enlargement, than concerning the Benefit *England* would receive by the two Places of *Tangier* and *Bombayne*, and the Description of their Situation and Strength; of all which the Chancellor gave his Majesty a faithful Account, without presuming to mingle with it a Word of his own Advice. The King appeared abundantly pleased, and willing to proceed farther; and asked "what was next to be done:" To which He answered, "that it was a Matter of too great Importance for him to deliver any Opinion upon; indeed too great for his Majesty himself to resolve, upon the private Advice of any one Man, how agreeable soever it should be to his own Inclination and Judgment." And therefore He desired him "that He would call

“ to him four or five Persons, whom He thought
 “ to be the most competent Considerers of such an
 “ Affair, and consult it very maturely with them,
 “ before he entertained any more Conference with
 “ the Ambassador. For whatsoever he should
 “ resolve upon it, it ought yet to be kept in all
 “ possible Secrecy: If it should be thought fit to
 “ be rejected, it ought to be without the least Noise,
 “ and the least Reflection upon the Overture, which
 “ had been made with all the possible Demonstration
 “ of Esteem: If it should appear worthy of
 “ Entertainment and Acceptation, it would still
 “ require the same Secrecy; till the Value and Con-
 “ sequence of all the Particulars proposed by the
 “ Ambassador might be fully examined and weighed,
 “ and a more particular and substantial Assurance
 “ given for the Accomplishment, than the bare
 “ Word of the Ambassador.”

He appoints a
 Committee to
 enter into a
 Treaty with
 the Ambassa-
 dor.

The King appointed that the Lord Treasurer, the
 Marquis of *Ormond*, the Lord Chamberlain, and Se-
 cretary *Nicholas*, should be together at the Chan-
 cellor's House, where his Majesty would likewise be
 and propose the Business to them. And accordingly
 He did relate to them the whole Series of what had
 passed, and required them “ with all possible Free-
 “ dom to deliver their Opinions, and to consider
 “ whether there was any other Princess or Lady in
 “ their View, with whom he might marry more
 “ advantageously.” He added, “ that He had spo-
 “ ken both with the Earl of *Sandwich* and Sir *John*
 “ *Lawson* occasionally and merely as loose Discourse,
 “ *what Place Tangier was*, which He pointed to it

“ the Map, and *whether it was well known to them:*
 “ and They Both said *They knew it well from Sea.*
 “ But that Sir *John Lawson* had been in it, and said,
 “ *it was a Place of that Importance, that if it were in*
 “ *the Hands of the Hollanders, They would quickly*
 “ *make a Mole, which They might easily do; that now*
 “ *Ships could not ride there in such a Wind,*” which
 his Majesty named; “ *but if there were a Mole, they*
 “ *would ride securely in all Weather; and They would*
 “ *keep the Place against all the World, and give the*
 “ *Law to all the Trade of the Mediterranean:*” With
 which Discourse his Majesty seemed very much affected. After many Questions and much Debate, and some of the Lords wishing that it were possible to get a Queen that was a *Protestant*, and One of them naming the Daughter of *Harry Prince of Orange*, of whom They had heard some Mention when his Majesty was beyond the Seas, and of whose eldest Sister (then married to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*) there had been some Discourse in the Life of the late King; (but his Majesty quickly declared, “ that He
 “ had very unanswerable Reasons why he could not
 “ entertain that Alliance”): All the Lords unani-
 “ mously agreed, that there was no Catholic Prin-
 “ cefs in *Europe*, whom his Majesty could with so
 “ much Reason and Advantage marry, as the *Infanta*
 “ of *Portugal*. That the Portion proposed in Money,
 “ setting aside the Places, was much greater, almost
 “ double to what any King had ever received in
 “ Money by any Marriage. And the Places seemed
 “ to be situated very usefully for Trade, the Increase
 “ whereof his Majesty was to endeavour with all

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

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

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

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

But the Lords found, upon Perusal of the Treaty, one Article (which was indeed the only Article that made any Show of Benefit and Advantage to *Portugal*) by which *Cromwell* was obliged to assist *Portugal* when They should require it, with six thousand Foot, to be levied in *England* at their Charge. And now the Ambassador urged, "that in Consideration

“ of the Marriage, the Portion, the Delivery of
 “ those Places, and his Majesty’s own Interest by
 “ that Marriage in *Portugal*, which upon the Death
 “ of the King and his Brother must devolve to his
 “ Majesty; He would take upon him the Protection
 “ of that Kingdom, and denounce War with *Spain*.”
 To which his Majesty warmly and positively answered,
 “ that He would admit no such Engagement;
 “ that He was not in a Condition to make a War
 “ till He could not avoid it. He would do what
 “ was lawful for him to do; He would chuse a
 “ Wife for himself, and he could help a Brother and
 “ Ally with a Levy of Men at their Charge, without
 “ entering into a War with any other Prince. And
 “ if *Spain* should, either upon his Marriage or such
 “ Supply, declare a War against him, He would
 “ defend himself as well as He could, and do as
 “ much Damage as He could to *Spain*; and then
 “ that He would apply such Assistance to *Portugal*,
 “ as should be most advantageous to it: And that
 “ He should not be willing to see it reduced under
 “ the Obedience of *Spain* for many Reasons. That in
 “ mean Time he would assist them with the same
 “ Number as *Cromwell* had promised, and transport
 “ them at his own Charge thither; provided that as
 “ soon as They were landed, They should be received
 “ in the King of *Portugal*’s Pay:” Which Offer the
 King made upon a Reason not then communicated,
 and which will be mentioned hereafter; besides that
 He had such a Body of Men ready for such a Service,
 and which could with much more Security and little
 more Charge be transported to *Portugal*, than be
 disbanded in the Place where They were.

When the Ambaffador found that the King would not be perfuaded to enter directly into a War with *Spain*, though He offered "to put *Barcelona* into " his Hands, of which *Don Joseph Margarita*" (a Person who had conducted the Revolt of that City, and all the Rebellion which had been lately in *Catalonia*) " then in *Paris* should come over and give un- " questionable Affurance," (all which, with many other Propofitions of the fame Nature, his Majesty totally rejected); He concluded, that the Alliance and Marriage would give a prefent Reputation to *Portugal*, and make Impreffion upon the Spirits of *Spain*, and that a War would hereafter fall out unavoidably: And fo accepted what the King had offered. And then there remained Nothing to be done, but to give unquestionable Security to the King, for the Performance of all the Particulars which had been promifed; and for which there appeared yet no other Warrant, than Letters and Inffructions to the Ambaffador from the Queen-Regent. And for farther Satisfaction therein, the Ambaffador offered " prefently to pafs into *Portugal*, and doubted not, in " as fhort a Time as could be expected, to return " with fuch Power and Authority, and fuch a full " Conceffion of what had been propofed, as fould " be very fatisfactory:" Which his Majesty well liked; and writ himfelf to the Queen-Regent and to the King fuch Letters, as fignified " his full Refolu- " tion for the Marriage, if all the Particulars pro- " mifed by the Ambaffador in Writing fould be " made good;" and writ likewise a Letter with his " own Hand to the *Infanta*, as to a Lady whom He

The Treaty of
Commerce
with Portu-
gal fettled.

The Ambassa-
dor goes into
Portugal for
farther Pow-
ers.

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

An Account
of the Earl of
Bristol's Be-
haviour
abroad.

That I may not break off the Thread of this Dis-
course till I bring it to a Conclusion , nor leave out
any important Particular that related to that Subject ;
I shall in this Place make Mention of a little Cloud
or Eclipse , raised by the Activity and Restlessness
of the Earl of *Bristol* , that seemed to interpose and
darken the Splendor of this Treaty , and to threaten
the Life thereof , by extinguishing it in the Bud :
Upon which Occasion the Chancellor thought him-
self obliged to appear more for it , than He had hi-
therto done ; and which afterwards (how unjustly
soever) was turned to his Reproach . This Earl (who
throughout the whole Course of his Life frequently
administered Variety of Discourse , that could not be
applied to any other Man) upon the Defeat of Sir
George Booth , when all the King's Hopes in *England*
seemed desperate , had not the Patience to expect
another

another Change that presently succeeded; but presently changed his Religion, and declared himself a *Roman Catholic*, that He might with undoubted Success apply himself to the Service of *Spain*, to which the present good Acceptation He had with *Don Juan* was the greater Encouragement. He gave Account by a particular Letter to the Pope of this his Conversion, which was delivered by the General of the *Jesuits*; in Return of which He received a customary Brief from his Sanctity, with the old Piece of Scripture never left out in those Occasions, *Tu conversus converte Fratres tuos.*

The Noise and Scandal of this Defection and Apostasy in a sworn Counsellor of the King and one of his Secretaries of State, made it necessary for the King to remove him from both those Trusts, which He had made himself incapable to execute by the Laws of *England*, and which He proposed to himself to enjoy with the more Advantage by his Change; and believed that the King, who seemed to have no other Hopes towards his Restoration than in Catholic Princes, would not think this a Season in ordinary Policy to disgrace a Servant of his Eminency and Relation, for no other Reason than his becoming *Catholic*, by which He should have so many Opportunities to serve his Master. And this He had the Confidence to urge to the King, before He was obliged to deliver the Signet, and to forbear the being present any more in Council. And this Displacing and Remove He imputed entirely to his old Friend the Chancellor (with whom till that Minute He had for many Years held a very firm Friendship),

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

When the King made his Journey to *Fuentarabia* to the Treaty between the two Crowns, the Earl of *Bristol's* irresistible Importunity prevailed with him to permit him to go likewise, though his Majesty had received Advertisement from Sir *Henry Bennet*,

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

The News of the King's miraculous Restoration quickly arrived at *Madrid*, and put an End to the Earl's father Designs, believing He could not do better abroad than He might do in his own Country; and so He undertook his Journey through *France*, laden with many Obligations from that Court, and arrived at *London* about the Time that the Ambassa-

An Account of
the Spanish
Ambassador.

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

In the first private Audience He had, He delivered a Memorial to his Majesty; in which He required
 “ the Delivery of the Island of *Jamaica* to his Master,
 “ it having been taken by his rebel Subjects contrary
 “ to the Treaty of Peace between the two Crowns;
 “ and likewise that his Majesty would cause *Dunkirk*
 “ and *Marsike* to be restored to his *Catholic* Majesty,
 “ they having not only been taken contrary to that
 “ Treaty, but when his Majesty was entertained in
 “ that King's Dominions with all Courtesy and Re-
 “ spect.” And He likewise required in the King his
 Master's Name, “ that the King would not give any

“ Assistance, nor enter into any Treaty of Alliance
 “ with *Portugal*: For that the same, as the rest, was
 “ directly contrary to the last Treaty, which was
 “ now again revived and stood in Force by the De-
 “ claration of his Majesty’s Resident at *Madrid*,”
 which was the first Notice any of his Majesty’s Minis-
 ters had of any such Declaration. But when He had
 deliver’d those Memorials to the King, He never
 called for an Answer, nor willingly entered upon the
 Discourse of either of the Subjects; but put it off
 merely as a Thing He was to do of Form once, that
 his Master’s just Title might be remembered, but not
 to be pressed till a fitter Conjunction. For He easily
 discovered what Answer He should receive: And so
 took the Advantage of the Licence of the Court,
 where no Rules or Formalities were yet establish’d
 (and to which the King himself was not enough inclin-
 ed), but all Doors open to all Persons. Which the
 Ambassador finding, He made himself a Domestic,
 came to the King at all Hours, and spake to him when
 and as long as He would, without any Ceremony,
 or desiring an Audience according to the old Custom;
 but came into the Bedchamber whilst the King was
 dressing himself, and mingled in all Discourses with
 the same Freedom He would use in his own. And
 from this never heard of Licence, introduced by the
French and the *Spaniard* at this Time without any
 Dislike in the King, though not permitted in any
 other Court in *Christendom*, many Inconveniences
 and Mischiefs broke in, which could never after
 be shut out.

As soon as the Earl of *Bristol* came to the Court,

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

The Earl had always promised himself (though He knew He could not be of the Council, nor in any Ministry of State, by Reason of his Religion) that He was in so good Esteem with his Majesty and with most of those who were trusted by him, that He should have a great Share in all foreign Affairs, and should be consulted with in all Matters of that Kind, in Regard of the long Experience He had in foreign Parts; which indeed amounted to no more, than a great Exactness in the Languages of those Parts. And therefore He was surpris'd with the Notice of this Affair, and presently expressed his Dislike of it, and told his Majesty "that He would be exceedingly deceived in
" it; that *Portugal* was poor, and not able to pay the

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

Ambassador
 obstruct the
 Marriage.

The Earl, who valued himself upon his great Fa-
 culty in obstructing and puzzling any Thing that was
 agreed upon, and in contriving whereof He had no
 Hand, repaired to the *Spanish* Ambassador, and in-
 formed him, under Obligation of Secrecy, of what
 Treaty the King was entered upon with *Portugal* by
 the Advice of the Chancellor; which He hoped
 “ that They two should find some Means to break.”
 But the Ambassador’s Breast was not large enough to
 contain that Secret. He talked of it in all Places with
 great Passion, and then took it up as from common
 Report, and spake to the King of it, and said, “ the
 “ *Portugal* Ambassador had in his Vanity bragged of
 “ it to some *Catholics*, and promised them great

“ Things upon it ; none of which He was confident
 “ could be true, and that his Majesty could never be
 “ prevailed with to consent to such a Treaty, which
 “ would prove ruinous to himself and his Kingdom ;
 “ for the King of *Spain* could not but resent it to such
 “ a Degree, as would bring great Inconvenience to
 “ his Affairs.” And his Majesty forbearing to give
 him any Answer, at least not such a one as pleased
 him, his Rage transported him to undervalue the
 Person of the *Infanta* ; He said, “ She was deformed,
 “ and had many Diseases ; and that it was very well
 “ known in *Portugal* and in *Spain*, that She was in-
 “ capable to bear Children ;” and many Particulars of
 that Nature.

When He had said the same Things several Days
 to the King, the Earl of *Bristol* took his Turn again,
 and told the King other Things which the Ambassa-
 dor had communicated to him in Trust, and which
 He durst not presume to say to his Majesty, and which
 in Truth He had said himself, being concerning the
 Person of the *Infanta*, and her Incapacity to have Chil-
 dren ; upon which He enlarged very pathetically, and
 said, “ He would speak freely with the Chancellor of
 “ it, upon whom the ill Consequences of this Counsel
 “ would fall.” He told him, “ there were many
 “ beautiful Ladies in *Italy*, of the greatest Houses ;
 “ and that his Majesty might take his Choice of them,
 “ and the King of *Spain* would give a Portion with
 “ her, as if She were a Daughter of *Spain* ; and the
 “ King should marry her as such.” And the Ambassa-
 dor shortly after proposed the same Thing, and en-
 larged much upon it. And both the Earl and the Am-



bassador conferred with the Chancellor (concealing the Propositions They had made concerning the *Italian Ladies*) "as of a Matter the Town talked of" and exceedingly disliked, the more because it was "generally known, that that Princess could not have any Children." The King himself had informed the Chancellor of all that passed from the Ambassador, and of his Rudeness towards the *Infanta*, and his declaring that She could have no Children; and told him, "that the Earl of *Bristol* resolved to confer with him, and doubted not to convert him;" without seeming himself to have been moved with any Thing that the Ambassador or the Earl had said to him: So that when They both came afterwards to him, not together but severally, and He perceived that his Majesty had not to either of them imparted how far He had proceeded (but had heard them talk as of somewhat They had taken up from public Rumor, and had himself discoursed of it as sprung from such a Fountain), the Chancellor did not take himself to bear Liberty to enter into a serious Debate of the Matter with them; but permitted them to enjoy the Pleasure of their own Opinion, and to believe that either there had been no Inclination to such a Treaty, or that the Weight of their Reasons would quickly enervate it.

Whether the King grew less inclined to marry, and liked the Liberty He enjoyed too well to be willing to be restrained; or whether what had been said to him of the *Infanta's* Person and her Unaptness for Children, had made some Impression in him; or whether the Earl of *Bristol's* describing the Persons of

The King appears much colder towards the Treaty.

the *Italian Ladies*, and magnifying their Conversations (in which Arguments He had naturally a very luxurious Style, unlimited by any Rules of Truth or Modesty); it is not to be denied, that his Majesty appeared much colder, and less delighted to speak of *Portugal*, than He had been, and would sometimes wish “that the Ambassador had not gone, and that He would quickly return without Commission to give his Majesty Satisfaction.” He seemed to reflect upon a War with *Spain*, “which,” He said, “could not possibly be avoided in that Alliance,” with more Apprehension than He had formerly done, when that Contingency had been debated. All which Discourses troubled the Lords who had been trusted, very much, not conceiving that the Ambassador’s frantic Discourse could have any Weight in it, or that the Earl of *Bristol* (whose Levity and Vanity was enough known to the King) could make that Impression in him. However it appeared, that the Earl was much more in private with him than He had used to be, many Hours shut up together; and when the King came from him, that He seemed to be perplexed and full of Thoughts.

One Morning the Earl came to the Chancellor, and after some Compliments and many Protestations of his inviolable Friendship, He told him, “He was come to take his Leave of him for some Months, being to begin a long Journey as soon as He should part with him; for He had already kissed the King’s Hand: And his Friendship would not permit him to be reserved towards him, and to keep a Secret of that vast Importance from his Knowledge.” He

said, " that the King had heard such unanswerable
 " Reasons against this Marriage with *Portugal*, that
 " He was firmly resolved never more to entertain a
 " Thought of it; That the *Spanish* Ambassador had
 " recommended two Princesses to him, whereof He
 " might take his Choice, of incomparable Beauty and
 " all excellent Parts of Mind, who should be endow-
 " ed as a Daughter of *Spain* by that King, to whom
 " They were allied;" and so named the Ladies. He
 said, " this Discourse had prevailed very far upon the
 " King, as a Thing that could raise no Jealousies in
 " *France*, with whom He desired so to live, that He
 " might be sure to have Peace in his own Dominions.
 " There was only one Thing in which He desired to
 " be better satisfied, which was the Persons, Beauties
 " and good Humors of the Princesses; and that He
 " had so good an Opinion of his Judgment, that He
 " was confident if He saw them, He would easily
 " know whether either of them were like to please
 " his Majesty, and would so far trust him, that if He
 " did believe, knowing his Majesty so well as He did,
 " that one of them would be grateful, He should
 " carry Power with him to propound and conclude a
 " Treaty; which," He said, " He carried with him,
 " and likewise other Letters, upon which He should
 " first find such Access and Admission, as would
 " enable him to judge of their Nature and Humor as
 " well as of their Beauty." He seemed much trans-
 ported with the great Trust reposed in him, and with
 the Assurance that He should make the King and
 Kingdom happy, And He said, " one Reason, besides
 " his Friendship, that had made him impart this great

“ Secret, was a Presumption, that now He knew
 “ how far his Majesty was disposed and in Truth
 “ engaged in this Particular, He would not do any
 “ Thing to cross or interrupt the Design.” The
 Chancellor, enough amazed, by some Questions
 found He was utterly uninformed, how far the King
 stood engaged in *Portugal*; and knowing the in-
 credible Power the Earl had over himself, to make
 him believe any Thing He had a Mind should be true,
 He used little more Discourse with him than “ to wish
 “ him a good Journey. ”

Upon the first Opportunity He told the King all
 that the Earl had said to him; with which his Ma-
 jesty seemed not pleased, as expecting that the Secret
 should have been kept better. He did not dissemble
 his not wishing that the Treaty with *Portugal* might
 succeed; and confessed “ that He had sent the Earl
 “ of *Bristol* to see some Ladies in *Italy*, who were
 “ highly extolled by the *Spanish* Ambassador,” but
 denied that He had given him such Powers as He
 bragged of. The Chancellor thereupon asked him,
 “ whether He well remembered his Engagement,
 “ which He had voluntarily made, and without any
 “ Body’s Persuasion, to the King and Queen-*Re-*
 “ gent;” and desired him “ to impart his new *Re-*
 “ solution to the Lords who were formerly trusted
 “ by him That probably He might find good Reason
 “ and just Arguments to break off the Treaty with
 “ *Portugal*; which ought to be first done; before He
 “ embarked himself in another: Otherwise that He
 “ would so far expose his Honor to Reproach, that
 “ all Princes would be afraid of entering into any

“ Treaty with him.” This was every Word of Persuasion, that He then or ever after used to him upon this Affair; nor did it at that Time seem to make any Impression in him, However He sent for the Lord Treasurer, and conferred at large with him and the Lord Marquis of *Ormond*. And finding them exceedingly surpris’d with what He had done, and that They gave the same and other stronger Arguments against it than the other had done, his Majesty seem’d to recollect himself, and to think, that whatever Resolution He should think fit to take in the End, that He had not chosen the best Way and Method of proceeding towards it; and resolv’d to call the Earl back, “ which,” He said, “ He could infallibly do by Sir *Kenelm Digby*, who knew how to send a Letter to him, before He had proceeded farther in his Journey, it having been before agreed, that He should make a Halt in such and such Places, to the End that He might be advertis’d of any new Occurrences.” And his Majesty did write the same Night to him “ to return, because it was necessary to have some more Conference with him.” And the Letter was sent by Sir *Kenelm Digby*, and probably received by the Earl in Time. But He continued his Journey into *Italy*: and after his Return pretended not to have received that Letter, or any other Order to return, till it was too late, being at that Time entered upon the Borders or Confines of *Italy*; in which He had not the good Fortune to be believed.

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

The Portuguese Ambassador returns, and is coldly received.

Satisfaction to all Particulars as could be expected; but found his Reception with such a Coldness, that struck the poor Gentleman (who was naturally hypochondriac) to the Heart; nor could He be informed from whence this Distemper proceeded. And therefore He forbore to deliver his Letters, which He thought might more expose the Honor of his Master and Mistress to Contempt, and remained quietly in his House, without demanding a second Audience; until He could by some Way or other be informed what had fallen out since his Departure, that could raise those Clouds which appeared in every Man's Looks. He saw the *Spanish* Ambassador exceedingly exalted with the Pride of having put an insolent Affront upon the Ambassador from *France*, which cost his Master dear; and heard that He had bragged loudly of his having broken the Treaty of *Portugal*. And it is very true, that He did every Day somewhat either vainly or insolently, that gave the King Offence, or lessened the Opinion He had of his Discretion, and made him withdraw much of that Countenance from him, which He had formerly given him. This, and the Return of the *Portugal* Ambassador with a new Title of Marquis *de Sande* (an Evidence according to the Custom of that Court, that He had well served his Master in his Employment), put him into new Fury; so that He came to the King with new Expostulations, and gave him a Memorial, in which He said "that He had Order
" from his Master to let his Majesty know, that if his
" Majesty should proceed towards a Marriage with
" the Daughter of the Duke of *Braganza*, his Master's

“ Rebel, He had Order to take his Leave presently,
 “ and to declare War against him.” The King return-
 ed some sharp Answer presently to him, and told him
 “ He might be gone as soon as He would, and that
 “ He would not receive Orders from the *Catholic*
 “ King, how to dispose himself in Marriage.” Upon
 which the Ambassador seemed to think He had gone
 too far; and the next Day desired another Audience,
 wherein He said, “ He had received new Orders:
 “ And that his *Catholic* Majesty had so great an Affec-
 “ tion for his Majesty and the Good of his Affairs,
 “ that having understood that, in Respect of the
 “ present Distempers in Religion, Nothing could be
 “ more mischievous to him than to marry a *Catholic*;
 “ therefore,” He declared, “ that if there were any
 “ *Protestant* Lady, who would be acceptable to his
 “ Majesty,” (and named the Daughter of the Prin-
 cess Dowager of *Orange*) “ the King of *Spain* would
 “ give a Portion with her, as with a Daughter of
 “ *Spain*; by which his Majesty’s Affairs and Occa-
 “ sions would be supplied.”

The multiplying these and many other Extrava-
 gancies made the King reflect upon all the Ambassa-
 dor’s Proceedings and Behaviour, and revolve the
 Discourses He had held with him; and to reconsider,
 whether they had not made greater Impressions upon
 him, than the Weight of them would bear. He had
 himself spoken with some who had seen the *Infanta*,
 and described her to be a Person very different from
 what the Ambassador had delivered. He had seen a
 Picture that was reported to be very like her; and
 upon the View of it his Majesty said, “ that Person

“ could not be unhandfome.” And by Degrees confidering the many Things alledged by the Ambaffador, which could not be known by him, and could refult from Nothing but his own Malice, his Majesty returned to his old Refolution; and fpake at large with the *Portugal* Ambaffador with his ufual Freedom, and received both the Letters and Information He brought with him, and declared “ that He was “ fully fatisfied in all the Particulars.”

Extravagant
Behaviour of
the Spanish
Ambaffador.

Nor did the Carriage of the *Spanifh* Ambaffador contribute a little towards his Majesty’s Refolution: For He, without any other Ground than from his own Fancy (for the King had not declared his Purpose to any, nor was the Thing fpoken of abroad), and from what He collected from his Majesty’s fharp Replies to his insolent Expreffions, took upon him to do an Act of the higheft Extravagancy, that hath been done in *Europe* by the Minifter of any State in this Age. He caufed to be printed in *Englifh* the Copies of the Memorials which He had prefented to the King, and of the Difcourfes He had made againft the Match with *Portugal*, with the Offers the King of *Spain* had made to prevent fo great a Mifchief to the Kingdom, and other feditious Papers to the fame Purpose; and caufed thofe Papers to be fpread abroad in the Army and amongst the Populace: Some whereof were caft out of his own Windows amongst the Soldiers, as They paffed to and from the Guard. Upon which unheard of Mifdemeanor, the King was fo much incensed, that He fent the Secretary of State “ to require him forthwith to depart “ the Kingdom, without feeing his Majesty’s Face,”
which

For which He
is required to
leave the
Kingdom.

which He would not admit him to do ; and to let him know, “ that He would fend a Complaint of his “ Misbehaviour to the King his Master, from whom “ He would expect that Justice should be done upon “ him.” The Ambassador received this Message with exceeding Trouble and Grief, even to Tears, and desired, “ to be admitted to see the King, and to “ make his humble Submission, and to beg his Par- “ don ; which He was ready to do :” But that being denied, within few Days He departed the Kingdom, carrying with him the Character of a very bold rash Man.

There was an Accident about this Time, that it is probable did confirm the King in his Resolution concerning *Portugal*. At this Time Cardinal *Mazarin* was dead, and had never been observed to be merry and to enjoy his natural pleasant Humor, from the Time of the King's Restoration, which had deceived all his Calculations, and broken all his Measures. Upon his Death the Ministry was committed to three Persons (the King himself being still present at all their Consultations), *Monsieur de Tellier* and *Monsieur de Lionne*, the two Secretaries of State, and *Monsieur Fouquet*, *Surintendant* of the Finances and *Procureur Général du Roy*, who was a Man of extraordinary Parts, and being not forty Years of Age, enjoyed his full Vigor of Body and Mind, and in Respect of his sole Power over the Finances was looked upon as the *Premier Ministre*. This Man, as soon as He was in the Business, sent an Expreſs into *England* with a Letter to the Chancellor. The Messenger was *La Bastide* who having been Secretary during the Time of his

An Incident
that promotes
the Treaty of
Marriage.

being in *England* to *Bordeaux* whilst He was Ambassador, spake *English* very well He, as soon as He arrived, went to the Chancellor's House, and desired one of his Servants to let his Lord know, "that He
 " was newly come from *France*, and that He desired
 " to be admitted to a private Audience with him,
 " where Nobody else might be present:" And so He was brought into a Backroom, whither the Chancellor came to him; to whom He presented a Letter directed to him from *Monsieur Fouquet*. The Letter after general Compliments took Notice "of the great Trust He had with his Master; and that He
 " being now admitted to a Part of his Master's most
 " secret Affairs, and knowing well the Affection that
 " was between the two Kings, much desired to hold
 " a close and secret Correspondence together, which
 " He presumed would be for the Benefit of Both
 " their Masters." The rest contained only a Credential "that He should give Credit to all that the Bearer
 " should say, who was a Person entirely trusted by
 " him," And then He entered upon his Discourse, consisting of these Parts:

Some particular Overtures from the Court of France.

(1.) "That the King of *France* was troubled to
 " hear, that there was some Obstruction fallen out in
 " the Treaty with *Portugal*; and that it would be a
 " very generous Thing in his Majesty to undertake
 " the Protection of that Crown, which if it should
 " fall into the Possession of *Spain*, would be a great
 " Damage and a great Shame to all the Kings in
 " *Europe*. That himself had heretofore thought of
 " marrying the *Infanta* of that Kingdom, who is a
 " Lady of great Beauty and admirable Endowments;

“ but that his Mother and his then Minister, and
 “ indeed all other Princes, so much desired the Peace
 “ between the Crowns, that He was diverted from
 “ that Design. And that for the perfecting that Peace
 “ and his Marriage with *Spain*, He had been com-
 “ pelled to desert *Portugal* for the present; and was
 “ obliged to send no Kind of Assistance thither, nor
 “ to receive any Ambassador from thence, nor to
 “ have any there: All which He could not but
 “ observe for some Time. But that *Portugal* was well
 “ assured of the Continuance of his Affection, and
 “ that He would find some Opportunity by one Way
 “ or other to preserve it. That He foresaw that his
 “ Majesty might not be provided so soon after his
 “ Return, in Regard of his other great Expenses,
 “ to disburse such a Sum of Money, as the sending a
 “ vigorous Assistance, which was necessary, would
 “ require. But for that He would take Care; and for
 “ the present cause to be paid to his Majesty three
 “ hundred thousand *Pistoles*, which would defray
 “ the Charge of that Summer’s Expedition; and for
 “ the future, Provision should be made proportion-
 “ able to the Charge:” And concluded, “ that He
 “ believed the King could not bestow himself better
 “ in Marriage, than with the *Infanta of Portugal*.”

(2.) A second Part was, “ That there were now
 “ in *France* Ambassadors from the *States of the United*
 “ *Provinces*, and the like in *England*, to renew the
 “ Alliance with Both Crowns; which They hoped
 “ to do upon the disadvantageous Terms They had
 “ used to obtain it. That those People were grown
 “ too proud and insolent towards all their Neigh-

“ bours, and treated all Kings as if They were at
 “ least their Equals: That *France* had been ill used
 “ by them, and was sensible of it; and that the King
 “ had not been much beholden to them.” And
 therefore He proposed, “ that Both Kings upon this
 “ Occasion would so communicate their Counsels,
 “ that They might reduce that People to live like
 “ good Neighbours, and with more good Manners;
 “ and that They would treat solely and advance
 “ together, and that the One should promise not to
 “ conclude any Thing without communicating it to
 “ the other: So that Both Treaties might be con-
 “ cluded together.”

(3) “ That those Particulars, and whatsoever passed
 “ between *M. Fouquet* and the Chancellor, might be
 “ retained with wonderful Secrecy; which it would
 “ not be, if it were communicated to the Queen or
 “ the Earl of *St. Albans*” (who were at that Time in
France): “ And therefore his *Christian* Majesty de-
 “ fired, that neither of them should know of this Cor-
 “ respondence, or any Particular that passed by it.”

When the Gentleman had finished his Discourse,
 the Chancellor told him, “ that He knew *M. Fouquet*
 “ to be so wise a Man, that He would not invite or
 “ enter into such a Correspondence, without the
 “ Privity and Approbation of his Master: And He
 “ presumed that He had likewise so good an Opinion
 “ of him, as to believe, that He would first inform
 “ his Majesty of all that He received from him,
 “ before He would return any Answer himself. That
 “ He would take the first Opportunity to acquaint
 “ the King his Master; and if He would come the

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

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

Which the
 King readily
 embraces.

them in near six Months after; which his Majesty looked upon as a great Disrespect), "He would
 " comply with what the King desired; and that his
 " *Christian* Majesty should from Time to Time re-
 " ceive an Account how it should advance, and that
 " He would not conclude any Thing without his
 " Privity." How ill Both these Engagements which
 related to *Portugal* and *Holland* were afterwards ob-
 served by *France*, is fit for another Discourse by itself.
 The Gentleman, much satisfied with what the King
 had said, proposed "that He would make a Cipher
 " against the next Day to be left in the Chancellor's
 " Hand; because *M. Fouquet* desired for Preserva-
 " tion of the Secret, that the Chancellor would
 " always write with his own Hand in *English*, directed
 " in such a Manner as He should propose; which
 " would always bring the Letters safe to the Hands
 " of him, *La Bastide*, who was appointed by the
 " King to keep that Cipher, and to maintain that
 " Correspondence."

An Instance of
 the Chancel-
 lor's incor-
 rupt Integrity.

There was another Circumstance that attended this private Negotiation, that may not be unfitly inserted here, and is a sufficient Manifestation of the Integrity of the Chancellor, and how far He was from being that corrupt Person, which his most corrupt Enemies would have him thought to be. The next Morning after He had seen the King, *La Bastide* came again, and desired an Audience with the Chancellor. He said "He had somewhat else in his Instructions to
 " say, which He had not yet thought fit to offer."
 And from thence He entered in a confused Manner to enlarge "upon the great Power, Credit and Gene-

“rosity of *M. Fouquet*, the Extent of his Power and
 “Office, that He could disburse and issue great Sums
 “of Money without any Account so much as to the
 “King himself; without which Liberty, the King
 “knew many secret Services of the highest Import-
 “ance could not be performed.” He said, “He
 “knew the Straits and Necessities, in which the
 “Chancellor and others about the King had lived for
 “many Years: And though He was now returned
 “with much Honor, and in great Trust with his
 “Master; yet He did suppose He might be some
 “Time without those Furnitures of Household-stuff
 “and Plate, which the Grandeur of his Office and
 “Place required. And therefore that He had sent
 “him a Present, which in itself was but small, and
 “was only the Earnest of as much every Year, which
 “should be constantly paid, and more, if He had
 “Occasion to use it; for *M. Fouquet* did not look
 “upon it as of Moment to himself. But He knew well
 “the Faction in all Courts, and that He must have
 “many Enemies; and if He did not make himself
 “Friends by Acts of Generosity and Bounty, He
 “must be oppressed; and that He had designed this
 “Supply only to that Purpose.” He showed him
 then Bills of Exchange and Credit for the Sum of
 ten thousand Pounds *Sterling*, to be paid at Sight:
 And said, “that He had been with the Merchant,
 “who would be ready to pay it that Afternoon;
 “so that whoever He would please to appoint should
 “receive it.” The Chancellor had heard him with
 much Indignation; and answered him warmly, “that

“ if this Correspondence must expose him to such a
 “ Reproach, He should unwillingly enter into it;
 “ and wished him to tell *M. Fouquet*, that He would
 “ only receive Wages from his own Master.” The
 Gentleman so little looked for a Refusal, that He
 would not understand it; but persisted to know “ who
 “ should receive the Money, which” He said “ should
 “ be paid in such a Manner, that the Person who
 “ paid it should never know to whom it was paid;
 “ and that it should always remain a Secret;” still
 pressing it with Importunity, till the other went with
 manifest Anger out of the Room.

That Afternoon the King and Duke (who was
 likewise informed of the Correspondence) came to
 the Chancellor, and found him out of Humor. He
 told them, “ that *Fouquet* could not be an honest Man,
 “ and that He had no Mind to hold that Corres-
 “ pondence with him;” and thereupon repeated what
 had passed in the Morning, with much Choler:
 Which made them Both laugh at him, saying, “ the
 “ *French* did all their Business that Way:” and the
 King told him “ He was a Fool,” implying “ that
 “ He should take his Money.” Whereupon the Chan-
 cellor besought him “ not to appear to his Servants
 “ so unconcerned in Matters of that Nature, which
 “ might produce ill Effects;” and desired him to con-
 “ sider, what the Consequence of his receiving that
 “ Money, with what Secrecy soever, must be. That
 “ the *French* King must either believe that He had
 “ received it without his Majesty’s Privity, and so
 “ look upon him as a Knave fit to be depended
 “ upon in any Treachery against his Master; or

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

After the King had himself conferred at large with
 the *Portugal* Ambassador, He referred him again to
 give the Lords, with whom he had formerly treated
 an Account how all Particulars were adjusted in *Por-*
tugal; which were He said “ in this Manner. For
 “ the Portion, the Queen-Regent, having resolved
 “ not to dispose of any of the Money that was

The Measures
 in Portugal
 relative to the
 Treaty of
 Marriage.

“ provided for the War, had sold her own Jewels, and
“ much of her own Plate, and had borrowed both
“ Plate and Jewels from the Churches and Monaste-
“ ries. By which Means She had the whole Portion
“ ready, which was all sealed up in Bags, and depo-
“ sited where Nobody could take it to apply to any
“ other Use. For the Delivery of *Tangier*, that the
“ old Governor (who had lived there long, and
“ was humorous) on whom the Queen could not
“ confidently depend, was removed; and another
“ sent, before He left *Lisbon*, to take that Charge,
“ who was a Creature of the Queen’s, who could
“ not deceive her, and was so far trusted, that He
“ knew for what End he was sent thither, and cheer-
“ fully undertook to perform it: And that the Fleet
“ which should be sent for the Queen should first go
“ to *Tangier*, and take Possession thereof; and till
“ that should be delivered into his Majesty’s Hands,
“ the Queen should not embark upon the Fleet, nor
“ till all the Money should be put on Board. That
“ for the Delivery of *Bombayne*, it was resolved
“ likewise, that the Vice-King and Governor of *Goa*,
“ under whom that Island likewise is, should be
“ forthwith recalled; and that another” (whom He
named,) “ of whom the Queen had all Assurance,
“ should be sent to that high Charge, and should
“ be transported thither in the Fleet which the King
“ would send to receive the Island, and would deli-
“ ver the same to the Person designed to receive it.”
“ He added, that there would be another Security
“ given, greater than any of the rest, and such a
“ one as had never been given before in such a Case.

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

The Cause of this extraordinary Circumstance was truly this. The Power of *Spain* was so great in the Court of *Rome*, notwithstanding the Interposition and threatening Mediation of *France*, (whose Ambassador declared that *Portugal* should chuse a Patriarch, and have no longer Dependance upon the Pope); that neither *Urban*, in whose Reign that Kingdom severed itself from *Spain*, nor *Innocent* nor *Alexander*, would acknowledge the Duke of *Braganza* for King, nor receive an Ambassador or other Minister from him: So that They now foresaw, that if They should in what Manner soever demand a Dispensation at *Rome* (without which the Marriage could not be celebrated in *Portugal*), the Interest of *Spain* would cause it to be denied, or granted in such a Manner as should be worse for them; for the Queen would have been mentioned only as the Daughter and Sister of the Duke of *Braganza*. And before They would receive that Affront, the most jealous and most apprehensive Nation in the World chose rather to send the Daughter of the Kingdom to be married in *England*, and not to be married till She came thither.

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

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

cate the Matter to them; for it did remain a Secret yet, no Man knowing or speaking of it. The Council was so full, that there was only one Counsellor that was absent. The King informed them of all that had passed in that Affair, "how it was first proposed to him, and the Objections which occurred to him against it; for the better clearing whereof the Ambassador had made a Voyage into *Portugal*, and was returned with such Satisfaction to all Particulars, that He thought it now Time to communicate the Whole to them, that He might receive their Advice." He commanded then the particular Propositions, which were offered by the Ambassador, to be reported. And thereupon He commanded and conjured all the Lords severally to give him their Advice; for He said "He had not yet so firmly resolved, but that He might change his Mind, if He heard Reasons to move him: And therefore They would not deal faithfully with him, if They did not with all Freedom declare their Judgment to him." In short, every Man delivered his Opinion, and every One agreed in the Opinion, "that it was very fit for his Majesty to embrace the Propositions, which were of great Advantage to himself and the Kingdom;" and that their Advice was, "that He should speedily and without more Delay conclude the Treaty." And thereupon his Majesty said, "that He looked upon so unanimous a Concurrence as a good Omen, and that He would follow their Advice."

Which unanimously advises him to conclude the Treaty.

The new Parliament meets.

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

in *May* following. And upon the first Day of its coming together, which was upon the eighth of *May*, the very Day that his Majesty had been proclaimed the Year before, He told them “that he had deferred it a Week, That They might meet upon that Day, for the Memory of the former Day.” The King, after some gracious Expressions of his Confidence in them, told them, “that They would find what Method He thought best for their Proceeding, by two Bills which he had caused to be provided for them, which were for Confirmation of all that had been enacted in the last Meeting;” and repeated what He had said to them when He was last there: “*That next to the miraculous Blessing of God Almighty, and indeed as an immediate Effect of that Blessing, He did impute the good Disposition and Security They were all in, to the happy Act of Indemnity and Oblivion: That,*” his Majesty said, “*was the principal Corner-Stone that supported that excellent Building, that created Kindness in them to each other; and Confidence was their joint and common Security.*” He told them, “He was still of the same Opinion, and more if it were possible of that Opinion than He had been, by the Experience He had of the Benefit of it, and from the Unreasonableness of what some Men said against it.” He desired them “to provide full Remedies for future Mischiefs; to be as severe as They would against new Offenders, especially if They were so upon old Principles; and that They would pull up those Principles by the Roots. But,” his Majesty said, “He should never think him a wise Man, that would

The King's
Speech.

He presses
them to con-
firm the Act
of Indemnity.

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

And this Warmth of his Majesty upon this Subject was not then more than needed: For the Armies being now disbanded, there were great Combinations entered into, not to confirm the *Act of Oblivion*; which They knew without Confirmation would signify Nothing. Men were well enough contented, that the King should grant Indemnity to all Men that had rebelled against him; that He should grant their Lives and Fortunes to them, who had forfeited them to him: But They thought it very unreasonable and unjust, that the King should release those Debts which were immediately due to them, and forgive those Trespases which had been committed to their particular Damage. They could not endure to meet the same Men in the King's Highway, now it was the King's Highway again, who had heretofore affronted them in those Ways, because they were not the King's, and only because They knew They could obtain no Justice against them. They could not with any Patience see those Men, who not only during the War had oppressed them, plundered their Houses, and had their own adorned with

the Furniture They had robbed them of, ride upon the same Horses which They had then taken from them upon no other Pretence, but because they were better than their own; but after the War was ended, had committed many insolent Trespases upon them wantonly, and to show their Power of Justice of Peace or Committee-Men, and had from the lowest Beggary raised great Estates, out of which They were well able to satisfy, at least in some Degree, the Damages the other had sustained. And those and other Passions of this Kind, which must have invalidated the whole *Act of Indemnity*, could not have been extinguished without the King's Influence, and indeed his immediate Interposition and Industry.

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

He acquaints them with his intended Marriage.

“ only that He was resolved to marry, but whom
 “ He resolved to marry, if it pleased God. That
 “ towards his Resolution, He had used that Deliberation, and taken that Advice, that He ought to
 “ do in a Case of that Importance, and with a full
 “ Consideration of the Good of his Subjects in general, as of himself. It was with the Daughter of
 “ *Portugal*. That when He had, as well as He could,
 “ weighed all that occurred to himself, the first Resolution He took, was to state the whole Over-
 “ tures which had been made to him, and in Truth
 “ all that had been said against it, to his Privy-
 “ Council; without hearing whose Advice, He
 “ never did nor ever would resolve any Thing of
 “ public Importance. And,” He said, “ He told them
 “ with great Satisfaction and Comfort to himself,
 “ that after many Hours Debate in full Council (for
 “ He thought there was not above One absent), and
 “ He believed upon weighing all that could be said
 “ upon that Subject, for or against it; the Lords,
 “ without one dissenting Voice, advised him with
 “ all imaginable Cheerfulness to this Marriage:
 “ Which He looked upon as very wonderful, and
 “ even as some Instance of the Approbation of God
 “ himself. That He had thereupon taken his own
 “ Resolution, and concluded with the Ambassador
 “ of *Portugal*, who was departing with the whole
 “ Treaty signed, which They would find to contain
 “ many great Advantages to the Kingdom; and that
 “ He would make all the Haste He could, to fetch
 “ them a Queen hither, who He doubted not would
 “ bring great Blessings with her, to him and them.”

The

The next Day the two Houses of Parliament, after They had expressed all the Joy imaginable amongst them, sent to the King, "that He would appoint a Time when He would admit them to his Presence:" Which when He had done, Both Houses of Parliament, in a Body, presented by the Speaker of the House of Peers their humble Thanks to his Majesty, "for that He had vouchsafed to acquaint them with his Resolution to marry, which had exceedingly rejoiced their Hearts, and would, They doubted not, draw down God's Blessing upon his Majesty and the Kingdom." Shortly after, the Fleet was made ready, and the Earl of *Sandwich* Admiral thereof was likewise made Ambassador to *Portugal*, and appointed to receive the Queen, and to conduct her into *England*.

The two Houses express their Approbation of it.

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

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

New Bishops appointed.

Men, who were consecrated to some of the Sees of Bishops which were void; that the Preservation of the Succession might not depend upon the Lives of the few Bishops who remained, and who were all very aged: Which could not have been done sooner, nor till the other Parliament, to whom the Settlement of the Church had been referred, was dissolved. Nor could He yet give any Remedy to the Licence in the Practice of Religion, which in all Places was full of Scandal and Disorder, because *the Liturgy* was not yet finished; till when, the Indulgence by his Declaration was not to be restrained. But at the same Time that He issued out his Writs for convening the Parliament, He had likewise sent Summons to the Bishops, for the Meeting of the Clergy in Convocation, which is the legal Synod in *England*; against the Coming together whereof *the Liturgy* would be finished, which his Majesty intended to send thither to be examined, debated and confirmed. And then He hoped to provide, with the Assistance of the Parliament, such a Settlement in Religion, as would prevent any Disorder in the State upon those Pretences. And it was very necessary to lose no Time in the Prosecution of that Cure; for the Malignity against the Church appeared to increase, and to be greater than it was upon the Coming in of the King.

A Convocation
summond.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The King's
Coronation.

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

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

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

Two unlucky
Accidents
which at-
tended it.

I Should not have enlarged thus much upon the Ceremony of the Coronation, it may be not mentioned it (a perfect Narration having been then made and published of it, with all the Grandeur and Magnificence of the City of *London*) but that there were two Accidents in it, the one absolutely new, the other that produced some Inconveniencies which were not then discerned. The first was, that it being the Custom in those great Ceremonies or Triumphs of State, that the Master of the King's Horse, (who was always a great Man, and was now the Duke of *Albermarle*, the General) rides next after the King with a led Horse in his Hand: In this Occasion the Duke of *York* privately prevailed with the King, who had not enough Reverence for old Customs, without any Consultation, that his Master of his Horse (so He was called), Mr. *Jermyn*, a younger Brother of a very private Gentleman's Family, should ride as near his Person, as the General did to his Majesty, and lead a Horse likewise in his Hand; a Thing never heard of before. Neither in Truth hath the younger Brother of the King such an Officer as Master of his Horse, which is a Term restrained within the Family of the King, Queen, and Prince of *Wales*; and the two Masters of the Horse to the Queen and Prince are subordinate to the King's Master of his Horse, who hath the Jurisdiction over the other. The Lords were exceedingly surpris'd and troubled at this, of which They heard Nothing till They saw it; and They liked it the worse, because They discerned that it issued from a Fountain, from whence many bitter Waters were like to flow, the Customs of the Court of *France*, whereof the

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

The other was: In the Morning of the Coronation, whilſt They fat at the Table in *Westminster-Hall*, to ſee the many Enſigns of the Coronation delivered to thoſe Lords who were appointed to carry them, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was that Day High-Conſtable, came to the King and told him, “ that amongſt the young Noblemen who were appointed to carry the ſeveral Parts of the King’s Mantle, the Lord *Offory*, who was the eldeſt Son to the Duke of *Ormond*, challenged the Place before the Lord *Piercy*, who was his eldeſt Son; whereas” He ſaid, “ the Duke of *Ormond* had no Place in the Ceremony of that Day, as Duke, but only as Earl of *Brecknock*, and ſo the eldeſt Sons of all ancient-er Earls ought to take Place of his eldeſt Son;” which was ſo known a Rule, and of ſo general a Concernment, that the King could not chuſe but declare it, and ſend a Meſſage to the Lord *Offory* by the Lord Chamberlain, “ that He ſhould deſiſt from his Preſence.” This, and the public Manner of aſking and determining it, produced two ill Effects. The firſt, a Jealouſy and ill Underſtanding between the two great Families: The one naturally undervaluing and contemning his Equals, without paying much Regard to his Superiors; and the other not being uſed to be contemned by any, and well knowing that all the Advantages the Earl had in *England*, either in Antiquity or Fortune, He had the ſame in

Ireland, and that He had merited and received an Increase of Title, when the other had deserved to lose that which He was born to. The other, was a Jealousy and Prejudice that it raised in the Nobility of *England*, as if the Duke of *Ormond* (who in Truth knew Nothing of it) had entered upon that Contest, in Hope that by his Interest in the King, He should be able to put this eternal Affront upon the Peers of *England*, to bring them upon the same Level with those of *Ireland*, who had no such Esteem. And it did not a little add to their Envy, that He had behaved himself so worthily throughout the ill Times, that He was the Object of an universal Reverence at home and abroad; which was a Reproach to most of them, whose Actions would not bear the Light. But as the Duke was not in the least Degree privy to the particular Contest, nor raised the Value of himself from any Merit in his Services, nor undervalued others upon the Advantage of their having done amiss; so He was abundantly satisfied in the Testimony of his own Conscience, and in his unquestionable Innocence, and from thence too much despised the Prejudice and the Envy the others had towards him, the Marks whereof He was compelled afterwards to bear, which He did with the same Magnanimity.

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

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

A solemn Interment of the late King intended.

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

But upon
Search the
Body could
not be found.

These were the Reasons alledged and spread abroad; nor was either of them in itself without Weight to thinking Men. But the true Reason was: At the Time of that horrid Murder, *Windsor* was a Garrison under the Command of a Citizen, who was an *Anabaptist*, with all his Officers and Soldiers. The Men had broken down all the Wainscot, Rails and Partitions, which divided the Church, defaced all the Monuments and other Marks, and reduced the Whole into the Form of a Stable or Barn, and scarce fit for any other Use; when *Cromwell* had declared that the Royal Body should be privately interred in the Church of the Castle at *Windsor*, and the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Duke of *Richmond*, the Earls of *Southampton* and *Lindsey*, had obtained Leave to be present (only to be present, for they had no Power to prepare or do any Thing in it) at their Master's Burial. (Those great Men were not suffered to have above three Servants each, to enter into the Castle with them; and it may easily be concluded, that their own noble Hearts were too full of Sorrow, to send their Eyes abroad to take Notice of the Places by which They passed. They found the Church so wild a Place, that They knew not where They were; and as soon as the Royal Body was put into the Ground, They were conducted out of the Castle to their Lodging in the Town, and the next Morning returned to their several Houses. Shortly after the King returned from beyond the

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

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

The Affairs of
Ireland re-
sumed.

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

Character of
Lord Roberts
the Deputy.

That noble Lord, though of a good Understanding, was of so morose a Nature, that it was no easy Matter to treat with him. He had some pedantic Parts of Learning, which made his other Parts of Judgment the worse, for He had some Parts of good Knowledge in the Law, and in Antiquity, in the Precedents of former Times; all which were rendered the less useful, by the other Pedantry contracted out of some Books, and out of the ill Conversation He had with some Clergymen and People in Quality much below him, by whose weak Faculties He raised

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

This gave the King very great Trouble, and them as much Pleasure who had never liked the Designation. He knew not what to do with his Deputy, nor what to do for *Ireland*. The Lord *Roberts* was not a Man that was to be disgracéd and thrown off, without much Inconvenience and Hazard. He had Parts which in Council and Parliament (which were the two Scenes where all the King's Business lay) were very troublesome; for of all Men alive who had few Friends, He had the most Followers. They who conversed most with him, knew him to have many Humors which were very intolerable; They who were but a little acquainted with him, took him to be a Man of much Knowledge, and called his Morosity Gravity, and thought the Severity of his Manners made him less grateful to the Courtiers. He had no such advantageous Faculties in his Delivery, as could impose upon his Auditors; but He was never tedious, and his Words made Impression. In a Word, He was such a Man, as the King thought worthy to be compounded with. And therefore his Majesty appointed the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treasurer to confer with him, and to dispose him to accept the Office of Privy-Seal, which gave him a great Precedence that would gratify that Passion which was strongest in him; for in his Nature He preferred Place before Money, which his Fortune stood more in Need of. And the King thought, it would be no ill Argument to incline him to give over the Thought of *Ireland*, that it was impossible for the King, to supply him for the present with near any such Sum of Money as He had very reasonably demanded,

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

demanded, for the Satisfaction of the Army there (which was upon the Matter to be new modelled, and some Part of it disbanded) with the Reduction of many Officers, and for his own Equipage.

They began their Approach to him, by asking him “ when He would be ready for his Journey to “ *Ireland;*” to which He answered with some Quickness, “ that He was confident there was no Purpose “ to send him thither, for that He saw there was no “ Preparation of those Things, without which the “ King knew well that it was not possible for him to “ go; nor had his Majesty lately spoken to him of “ it. Besides He had observed, that the Chancellor “ had for many Days past called him at the Council, “ and in all other Places where They met, by the “ Name of Lord *Roberts*; whereas, for some Months “ before, He had upon all Occasions and in all Places “ treated him with the Style of Lord Deputy: Which “ gave him first Cause to believe, that there was “ some Alteration in the Purpose of sending him “ thither.” They Both assured him, “ that the King “ had no other Person in his View but himself for “ that Service, if He were disposed to undertake it “ vigorously; but that the King had forbore lately “ to speak with him of it, because He found it im- “ possible for him to provide the Money He pro- “ posed; and it could not be denied, that He had “ proposed it very reasonably in all Respects. How- “ ever, it being impossible to procure it, and that “ He could not go without it, for which He could “ not be blamed, his Majesty must find some other “ Expedient to send his Authority thither, the Go-

“vernment there being yet so loose, that He could
 “not but every Day expect to receive News of
 “some great Disorder there, the ill Consequence
 “whereof would be imputed to his Majesty’s Want
 “of Care and Providence. That his Majesty had
 “yet forborne to think of that Expedient, till He
 “might do it with his Consent and Advice, and
 “until He could resolve upon another Post, where
 “He might serve his Majesty with equal Honor,
 “and by which the World might see the Esteem
 “He had of him. And therefore since it would be
 “both unreasonable and unjust, to press him to go
 “for *Ireland* without those Supplies, and it was
 “equally impossible to prepare and send those Sup-
 “plies;” They said, “the King had commanded
 “them to propose to him, that He would make him
 “Lord Privy-Seal, an Office He well understood.
 “And if He accepted that and were possessed of it
 “(as He should immediately be), his Majesty would
 “enter upon new Considerations how to settle the
 “tottering Condition of *Ireland*.” The Lord’s dark
 Countenance presently cleared up, having no Doubt
 expected to be deprived of his Title to *Ireland*, with-
 out being assigned any other any where else: And
 now being offered the third Place of Precedence in
 the Nobility, the Privy-Seal going next to the Treas-
 urer, upon a very short Recollection, He declared,
 “that He received it as a great Honor, that the
 “King would make Use of his Service in any Place,
 “and that He submitted wholly to his good Plea-
 “sure, and would serve him with great Fidelity.”
 The next Day the King gave him the Privy-Seal at

Lords Roberts
 accepts the
 Privy-Seal,

the Council-Board, where He was sworn and took his Place; and to show his extraordinary Talent, found a Way more to obstruct and puzzle Business, at least the Despatch of it, than any Man in that Office had ever done before: Infomuch as the King found himself compelled in a short Time after, to give Order that most Grants and Patents, which required Haste, should pass by immediate Warrant to the Great-Seal, without visiting the Privy-Seal; which Preterition was not usual, and brought some Inconvenience and Prejudice to the Chancellor.

and quits the
Place of De-
puty.

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

The King
hears all Par-
ties.

It was looked upon as very scandalous, that the Marquis of *Ormond* should remain so long without the Possession of any Part of his Estate; which had

The King's
Friends re-
stored by Act
of Parliament

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

Church-Lands
restored, and
new Bishops
appointed.

There could be as little Doubt, and there was as little Opposition visible, in the Claim of the Church: So that the King made Choice of many grave

Divines, to whom He assigned Bishoprics in *Ireland*, and sent them thither, to be consecrated by the Bishops who remained alive there according to the Laws of that Kingdom; and conferred the other Dignities and Church-Preferments upon worthy Men, who were all authorized to enter upon those Lands, which belonged to their several Churches. And in this general Zeal for the Church. some new Grants were made of Lands and Improvements, which were not enough deliberated, and gave afterwards great Interruption to the Settlement of the Kingdom, and brought Envy upon the Church and Churchmen, when the Restoration to what was their own was generally well approved.

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

land might find too many of their old Friends and Associates, ready to concord with them in any desperate Measures, and for controlling of which He was not enough provided even in this Kingdom. But for their private and particular Interest, the King cared not much how it was compounded, nor considered the Danger if it were not compounded. For besides the Factions, Divisions and Animosities, which were between themselves, and very great; They could have no Cause of Complaint against the King, who would take Nothing from them to which They had the least Pretence of Law or Right. And for their other Demands, He would leave them to litigate between themselves; it being evident to all Men, that there must be some Judicatory erected by Act of Parliament, that only could examine and put an End to all those Pretences: The Perusal and Examination of which Act of Parliament, when the same should be prepared, his Majesty resolved that all Parties should have, and that He would hear their particular Exceptions to it, before He would transmit it into *Ireland* to be passed.

That which gave the King the only Trouble and Solitude, was the miserable Condition of the *Irish* Nation, that was so near an Extirpation; the Thought whereof his Majesty's Heart abhorred. Nor can it be denied, that either from the Indignation He had against those, in whose Favor the other poor People were miserably destroyed, or from his own natural Compassion and Tenderness, and the just Regard of the Merit of many of them who had served him with Fidelity, He had a very strong and

The King inclines to fa-

princely Inclination to do the best He could, without doing apparent Injustice, to preserve them in a tolerable Condition of Subjects. This made him give them, who were most concerned and solicitous on their Behalf, Liberty to resort to his Presence; and hear all They could alledge for themselves, in private or in public. And this Indulgence proved to their Disadvantage, and exalted them so much, that when They were heard in public at the Board, They behaved themselves with less Modesty towards their Adversaries, who stood upon the Advantage-Ground, and with less Reverence in the Presence of the King, than the Truth of their Condition and any ordinary Discretion would have required. And their Disadvantage was the greater, because They who spake publicly on their Behalf, and were very well qualified to speak, and left Nothing for the Matter unsaid that was for their Purpose, were Men, who from the Beginning to the End of the Rebellion, had behaved themselves eminently ill towards the King. And They of their Adversaries who spake against them, had great Knowledge and Experience of all that had passed on either Side, and knew how to press it home when it was seasonable.

They of the *Irish*, who were all united under the Name of *The confederate Catholics of Ireland*, made their first Approach wisely for Compassion; and urged “ their great and long Sufferings; the Loss of
 “ their Estates for five or six-and-twenty Years; the
 “ wasting and spending of the whole Nation in Battles, and Transportation of vast Multitudes of
 “ Men into the Parts beyond the Seas, whereof

vor the Pre-
 tensions of the
 Irish Catho-
 lics.

The Plea of
 the Irish Ca-
 tholics.

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

(2.) They demanded “ the Benefit of two Trea-
 “ ties of Peace, the one in the late King’s Time and
 “ confirmed by him, the other confirmed by his
 “ Majesty who was present; by Both which,” They
 “ said, “ They stood indemnified for all Acts done by
 “ them in the Rebellion; and insisted upon their In-
 “ nocence since that Time, and that they had paid
 “ so entire an Obedience to his Majesty’s Commands
 “ whilst He was beyond the Seas, that They betook
 “ themselves to, and withdrew themselves from,
 “ the Service of *France* or *Spain*, in such Manner as
 “ his Majesty signified his Pleasure was they should
 “ do.” And if They had ended here, They would
 have done wisely. But whether it was the Observa-
 tion They made, that what They had said made

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

(3.) “ That their Rebellion had been more infamous and of a greater Magnitude than that of
 “ the *Irish*, who had risen in Arms to free themselves from the Rigor and Severity that was exercised upon them by some of the King’s Ministers,
 “ and for the Liberty of their Conscience and Practice of their Religion, without having the least
 “ Intention or Thought of withdrawing themselves from his Majesty’s Obedience, or declining his
 “ Government: Whereas the others had carried on
 “ an odious Rebellion against the King’s sacred Person, whom They had horridly murdered in the
 “ Sight of the Sun, with all imaginable Circumstances
 “ of Contempt and Defiance, and as much as in them
 “ lay had rooted out Monarchy itself, and overturned and destroyed the whole Government of
 “ Church and State: And therefore that whatever
 “ Punishment the poor *Irish* had deserved for their
 “ former Transgressions, which They had so long
 “ repented of, and departed from the Rebellion
 “ when They had Armies and strong Towns in their
 “ Hands, which They, together with themselves,
 “ had put again under his Majesty’s Protection;

“ this Part of the *English*, who were possessed of
“ their Estates, had broken all their Obligations to
“ God and the King, and so could not merit to be
“ gratified with their Ruin and total Destruction.
“ That it was too evident and notorious to the
“ World, that his Majesty’s three Kingdoms had
“ been very faulty to him, and withdrawn them-
“ selves from his Government; by which He had
“ been compelled to live in Exile so many Years:
“ And yet, that upon their Return to their Duty
“ and Obedience, He had been graciously pleased
“ to grant a free and general Pardon and Act of In-
“ demnity in which many were comprehended, who
“ in Truth had been the Contrivers and Fomenters
“ of all the Misery and Desolation, which had in-
“ volved the three Nations for so many Years. And
“ therefore that They hoped, that when all his
“ Majesty’s other Subjects (as criminal at least as
“ They were) were, by his Majesty’s Clemency,
“ restored to their own Estates which They had
“ forfeited, and were in full Peace, Mirth, and Joy;
“ the poor *Irish* alone should not be totally exempt
“ from all his Majesty’s Grace, and left in Tears
“ and Mourning and Lamentation, and be sacrificed
“ without Redemption to the Avarice and Cruelty
“ of those, who had not only spoiled and oppressed
“ them, but had done all that was in their Power,
“ and with all the Insolence imaginable, to destroy
“ the King himself and his Posterity, and who now
“ returned to their Obedience, and submitted to his
“ Government, when They were no longer able to
“ oppose it. Nor did They yet return to it with

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

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

The Answer
 of the Adventur-
 ers

“ they had extolled their own Innocence from the
“ Time that those two Acts of Pacification had
“ passed, and their great Affection for his Majesty’s
“ Service. ” And thereupon They declared, “ that
“ whatsoever legal Title the *Adventurers* had to the
“ Lands of which They were possessed, many of
“ whom had constantly served the King; yet They
“ would be contented, that all those, who in Truth
“ had preserved their Integrity towards his Ma-
“ jesty from the Time of either if not of Both the
“ Pacifications, and not swerved afterwards from
“ their Allegiance, should partake of his Royal
“ Bounty, in such a Manner and to such a Degree,
“ as his Majesty thought fit to exercise towards
“ them. But ” They said, They would make it
“ appear, that their Pretences to that Grace and
“ Favor were not founded upon any reasonable
“ Title; that They had never consented to any one
“ Act of Pacification, to which the Promise of In-
“ demnity had been annexed, which They had
“ not violated and broken within ten Days after,
“ and then returned to all the Acts of Disloyalty
“ and Rebellion. ”

“ That after the first Act of Pacification ratified
“ by the last King, in very few Days, They treat-
“ ed the Herald, his Majesty’s Officer, who came
“ to proclaim that Peace, with all Manner of In-
“ dignity, tearing his Coat of Arms (the King’s
“ Arms) from his Back; and beat and wounded
“ him so, that He was hardly rescued from the
“ Loss of his Life. That about the same Time They
“ endeavoured to surprize and murder the Lord

“ Lieutenant, and pursued him to *Dublin*, which
 “ They forthwith besieged with their Army, under
 “ the Command of that General who had signed
 “ the Peace. They imprisoned their Commissioners
 “ who were authorized by them, for consenting to
 “ those Articles which themselves had confirmed,
 “ and so prosecuted the War with as much Aspe-
 “ rity as ever; and refused to give that Aid and
 “ Assistance They were obliged to, for the Reco-
 “ very and Restoration of his late Majesty; the
 “ Promise and Expectation of which Supply and
 “ Assistance, was the sole Ground and Considera-
 “ tion of that Treaty, and of the Concessions there
 “ in made to them. That They thereupon more
 “ formally renounced their Obedience to the King,
 “ and put themselves under the Protection and Dis-
 “ posal of *Rinuccini* the Pope’s *Nuncio*, whom They
 “ made their Generalissimo of all their Armies, their
 “ Admiral at Sea, and to preside in all their Coun-
 “ cils. After their Divisions amongst themselves,
 “ and the Burden of the Tyranny They suffered un-
 “ der, had disposed them to petition his Majesty that
 “ now is, who was then in *France*, to receive them
 “ into his Protection, and to send the Marquis of
 “ *Ormond* over again into *Ireland* to command them.
 “ his Majesty was so far prevailed with, that he sent
 “ the Marquis of *Ormond* into *Munster*, with such a
 “ Supply of Arms and Ammunition as He could
 “ get; where the Lord *Inchiquin*, Lord President of
 “ that Province, received him with the Protestant
 “ Army and joined with him: And shortly after,
 “ the *Confederate Irish* made that second Treaty of

“ Pacification, of which They now demanded the
 “ Benefit. But it was notoriously known, that They
 “ no sooner made that Treaty than They brake it,
 “ in not bringing in those Supplies of Men and
 “ Money, which They ought and were obliged to
 “ do; the Want whereof exposed the Lord Lieu-
 “ tenant to many Difficulties, and was in Truth
 “ the Cause of the Misfortune before *Dublin*; Which
 “ He had no sooner undergone, than they withdrew
 “ from taking any further Care of the Kingdom,
 “ and raised Scandals upon and Jealousies of the
 “ whole Body of the *English*, who, being so provo-
 “ ked, could no longer venture themselves in any
 “ Action or Conjunction with the *Irish*, without
 “ more Apprehension of them than of the common
 “ Enemy. ”

“ Instead of endeavouring to compose these Jea-
 “ lousies and ill Humors, They caused an Assembly
 “ or Convention of their Clergy to meet without
 “ the Lieutenant’s Authority, and put the Govern-
 “ ment of all Things into their Hands: Who, in a
 “ short Time, improved the Jealousies in the Mind
 “ of the People towards the few *Protestants* who
 “ yet remained in the Army, and who had served
 “ the King with all imaginable Courage and Fidelity
 “ from the very first Hour of the Rebellion, to that
 “ Degree, that the Marquis was even compelled to
 “ discharge his own Troop of Guards of Horse, con-
 “ sisting of such Officers and Gentlemen as are men-
 “ tioned before, and to trust himself and all the
 “ remaining Towns and Garrisons to the Fidelity of
 “ the *Irish*; They protesting with much Solemnity,

“ that upon such a Confidence, the whole Nation
 “ would be united as one Man to his Majesty’s
 “ Service, under his Command. But they had no soon-
 “ er received Satisfaction in that Particular (which
 “ was not in the Marquis his Power to refuse to
 “ give them), but They raised several Calumnies
 “ against his Person, declaimed against his Religion,
 “ and inhibited the People, upon Pain of Excom-
 “ munication, to submit to this and that Order that
 “ was issued out by the Marquis, without obeying
 “ whereof the Army could not stay together; and
 “ upon the Matter forbad the People to pay any
 “ Obedience to him. Instead of raising new Forces
 “ according to their last Promise and Engagement,
 “ those that were raised ran from their Colors and
 “ dispersed themselves; They who were trusted
 “ with the keeping of Towns and Forts, either gave
 “ them up by Treachery to *Cromwell*, or lost them
 “ through Cowardice to him upon very feeble At-
 “ tacks: And their General, *Owen O Neile*, made a
 “ formal Contract and Stipulation with the Parlia-
 “ ment. And in the End, when They had divested
 “ the Lord Lieutenant of all Power to oppose the
 “ Enemy, and given him great Cause to believe that
 “ his Person was in Danger to be betrayed, and de-
 “ livered up to the Enemy, They vouchsafed to pe-
 “ tition him that He would depart out of the King-
 “ dom (to the Necessity whereof They had already
 “ compelled him); and that He would leave his
 “ Majesty’s Authority in the Hands of one of his
 “ Catholic Subjects, to whom They promised to
 “ submit with the most punctual Obedience.”

“ Hereupon the Marquis, when He found that He
 “ could not unite them in any one Action worthy
 “ the Duty of good Subjects, or of prudent Men,
 “ towards their own Preservation; and so, that his
 “ Residence amongst them longer could in no De-
 “ gree contribute to his Majesty's Service or Ho-
 “ nor; and That They would make it to be belie-
 “ ved, that if He would have committed the Com-
 “ mand into the Hands of a *Roman Catholic*, They
 “ would have been able to preserve those Towns
 “ which still remained in their Possession, which
 “ were *Limerick* and *Galway*, and some other Places
 “ of Importance enough, though of less than those
 “ Cities; and that They would likewise by Degrees
 “ recover from the Enemy what had been lost,
 “ which indeed was very possible for them to have
 “ done, since they had great Bodies of Men to
 “ perform any Enterprize, and some good Officers
 “ to lead them, if They would have been obedient
 “ to any Command: Hereupon the Marquis resol-
 “ ved to gratify them, and to place the Command in
 “ the Hands of such a Person, whose Zeal for the
 “ Catholic Religion was unquestionable, and whose
 “ Fidelity to the King was unblemished And so
 “ He made Choice of the Marquis of *Clanricard*, a
 “ Gentleman, though originally of *English* Extrac-
 “ tion, whose Family had for so many hundred
 “ Years resided in that Kingdom, that He was look-
 “ ed upon as being of the best Family of the *Irish*;
 “ and whose Family had, in all former Rebellions,
 “ as well as in this last, preserved its Loyalty to the
 “ Crown not only unspotted, but eminently conspi-
 “ cuous. “ The

“ The *Roman Catholics* of all Kinds pretended at
 “ least a wonderful Satisfaction and Joy in this Elec-
 “ tion; acknowledged it as a great Obligation upon
 “ them and their Posterity to the Lord Lieutenant,
 “ for making so worthy a Choice; and applied them-
 “ selves to the Marquis of *Clanricard* with all the
 “ Protestations of Duty and Submission, to induce
 “ him to accept the Charge and Command over them;
 “ who indeed knew them too well to be willing to
 “ trust them, or to have any Thing to do with them.
 “ Yet upon the Marquis of *Ormond*'s earnest and so-
 “ lemn Intreaty, as the last and only Remedy to keep
 “ and retain some Remainder of Hope, from whence
 “ future Hopes might grow; whereas all other
 “ Thoughts were desperate, and the Kingdom would
 “ presently fall into the Hands and Possession of the
 “ *English*, who would extirpate the whole Nation:
 “ This Importunity, and his great Zeal for the Service
 “ of the Crown, and to support the Government
 “ there until his Majesty could procure other Sup-
 “ plies, which the Marquis of *Ormond* promised to
 “ solicit in *France*, or till his Majesty should send
 “ better Orders to preserve his Authority in that King-
 “ dom (the Hope of which seemed the less desperate,
 “ because They had Notice at the same Time of his
 “ Majesty's March into *England*, with an Army from
 “ *Scotland*), prevailed with him so, that He was con-
 “ tented to receive such Commissions from the Lord
 “ Lieutenant, as were necessary for the Execution of
 “ the present Command. Upon which the Lord
 “ Lieutenant embarked himself, with some few
 “ Friends and Servants, upon a little rotten Pink

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

“ The Marquis of *Ormond* was no sooner gone
“ out of *Ireland*, but the Lord Marquis of *Clanricard*,
“ then Lord Deputy, found himself no better treat-
“ ed than the Lord of *Ormond* had been. That Part
“ of the Clergy, which had continually opposed the
“ Lord Lieutenant for being a *Protestant*, were now
“ as little satisfied with the Deputy's Religion, and as
“ violently contradicted all his Commands and De-
“ sires, and violated all their own Promises, and
“ quickly made it evident, that his Affection and
“ Loyalty to the King was that which They disliked,
“ and a Crime that could not be balanced by the un-
“ doubted Sincerity of his Religion. They entered
“ into secret Correspondence with the Enemy, and
“ Conspiracies between themselves: And though
“ there were some Persons of Honor and Quality
“ with the Deputy, who were very faithful to him
“ and to the King; yet there were so many of ano-
“ ther Alay, that all his Counsels, Resolutions and
“ Designs, were discovered to the Enemy soon
“ enough to be prevented. And though some of
“ the Letters were intercepted, and the Persons dis-
“ covered who gave the Intelligence, He had not

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

“ Nor could this fatal Sottishness be reformed,
 “ even by the Severity and rigor which the *English*
 “ exercised upon them, who, by the wonderful Judge-
 “ ment of God Almighty, always put those Men to
 “ Death, who put themselves and those Towns into
 “ their Hands ; finding still that They had some bar-
 “ barous Part in the foul Murders, which had been
 “ committed in the Beginning of the Rebellion, and
 “ who had been, by all the Acts of Grace granted
 “ by the several Powers, still reserved for Justice.
 “ And of this Kind there would be so many Instances
 “ in and about *Limerick* and *Galway*, that they de-
 “ serve to be collected and mentioned in a Discourse
 “ by itself, to observe and magnify the wonderful
 “ Providence of God Almighty in bringing heinous
 “ Crimes to Light and Punishment in this World,
 “ by Means unapprehended by the guilty : Inso-
 “ much as it can hardly be believed, how many of
 “ the Clergy and the Laity, who had a signal Hand
 “ in the contriving and fomenting the first Rebellion,

“ and in the Perpetration of those horrible Murders;
 “ and who had obstructed all Overtures toward
 “ Peace, and principally caused any Peace that was
 “ made, to be presently broken; who had with most
 “ Passion adhered to the *Nuncio*, and endeavoured
 “ most maliciously to exclude the King and his Pos-
 “ terity from the Dominion of *Ireland*: I say, it can
 “ hardly be believed, how many of these most no-
 “ torious Transgressors did by some Act of Trea-
 “ chery endeavour to merit from the *English* Rebels,
 “ and so put themselves into their Hands, and were
 “ by them publicly and reproachfully executed and
 “ put to Death. ”

“ This being the sad Condition the Deputy was
 “ in; and the *Irish* having, without his Leave and
 “ against his express Command, taken upon them to
 “ send Messengers into *Flanders*, to desire the Duke
 “ of *Lorraine* to take them into his Protection, and
 “ offered to deliver several important Places and
 “ Sea-Towns into his Possession, and to become his
 “ Subjects, (upon which the Duke sent over an Am-
 “ bassador, and a good Sum of Money for their
 “ present Relief) the Deputy was in a short Time
 “ reduced to those Straits, that He durst not re-
 “ main in any Town nor even in his own House
 “ three Days together, but was forced for his Safety
 “ to shift from Place to Place, and sometimes to
 “ lodge in the Woods and Fields in cold and wet
 “ Nights; by which He contracted those Infirmities
 “ and Diseases, which shortly after brought him to
 “ his Grave. And in the End, He was compelled
 “ to accept a Pass from the *English*, who had Reve-

“ rence for his Person and his unspotted Reputation,
 “ to transport himself into *England*, where his Wife
 “ and Family were; and where He died before He
 “ could procure Means to carry himself to the King,
 “ which He always intended to do. ”

When the Commissioners had enlarged with
 some Commotion in this Narration and Discourse,
 They again provoked the *Irish* Commissioners to
 nominate “ one Person amongst themselves, or of
 “ those for whom They appeared, who They be-
 “ lieved could in Justice demand his Majesty’s Fa-
 “ vor; and if They did not make it evidently ap-
 “ pear, that He had forfeited all his Title to Par-
 “ don after the Treaties, and that He had been
 “ again as faulty to the King as before, They were
 “ very willing He should be restored to his Estate. ”

And then applying themselves to his Majesty with
 great Duty and Submission, they concluded; “ that
 “ if any Persons had, by their subsequent Loyalty
 “ or Service, or by their Attendance upon his Ma-
 “ jesty beyond the Seas, rendered themselves grate-
 “ ful to him, and worthy of his Royal Favor,
 “ They were very willing that his Majesty should
 “ restore all or any of them to their Honors or
 “ Estates, in such Manner as his Majesty thought
 “ fit, and against all Impediments whatsoever. ”

And upon this frank Offer of theirs, which his
 Majesty took very well, several Acts of Parliament
 were presently passed, for the Indemnity and the
 restoring many Persons of Honor and Interest to
 their Estates; who could either in Justice require it,
 as having been faithful always to the King, and

Many Catho-
 lics who had
 served the
 King immedi-
 ately restored.

suffered with him or for him; or who had so far manifested their Affection and Duty for his Majesty, that He thought fit, in that Consideration, to wipe out the Memory of whatsoever had been formerly done amiss. And by this Means, many were put into a full Possession of their Estates, to which They could make any good Pretence at the Time when the Rebellion began.

This Consideration and Debate upon the Settlement of this unhappy Kingdom took up many Days, the King being always present, in which there arose every Day new Difficulties. And it appeared plainly enough, that the Guilt was so general, that if the Letter of the Act of Parliament of the seventeenth Year of the late King were strictly pursued, as possibly it might have been, if the Reduction had fallen out likewise during the whole Reign of that King, even an utter Extirpation of the Nation would have followed.

Three Particulars in this Affair which distress the King.

I The Transplantation of the Irish into Conaught.

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

To this it was answered, " that though it was
 " acted in an irregular Manner, and without lawful
 " Authority, it being in a Time of Usurpation; yet
 " that the Act itself was very prudent and necessary,
 " and an Act of Mercy, without which an utter Ex-
 " tirpation of the Nation must have followed, if the
 " Kingdom were to be preserved in Peace. That it
 " cannot be denied to be an Act of Mercy, since
 " there was not one Man transplanted, who had not
 " by the Law forfeited all the Estate He had; and
 " his Life might have been as legally taken from
 " him: So that both his Life, and whatever Estate
 " He had granted to him in *Conaught*, was from the
 " pure Bounty of the State, which might and did by
 " the Act of Parliament seize upon the same. That,
 " beside the unsteady Humor of that People, and
 " their natural Inclination to rebel, it was notorious,
 " that whilst They were dispersed over the King-
 " dom, though all their Forces had been so totally
 " subdued, that there was not throughout the whole
 " Kingdom a visible Number of twenty Men toge-
 " ther, who pretended to be in Arms; yet there
 " were daily such Disorders committed by Thefts
 " and Robberies and Murders, that They could not
 " be said to be in Peace. Nor could the *English*, Man,
 " Woman or Child, go one Mile from their Habi-
 " tations upon their necessary Employment, but
 " They were found murdered and stripped by the
 " *Irish*, who lay in Wait for those Purposes; so that
 " the People were very hardly restrained from com-
 " mitting a Massacre upon them wherever They
 " were met: So that there appeared no other Way

The Advent-
 turers De-
 fence of this
 Measure.

“ to prevent an utter Extirpation of them, but to
“ confine and restrain them within such Limits and
“ Bounds, that might keep them from doing Mis-
“ chief, and thereby make them safe. That there-
“ upon this Expedient was laid Hold of. And
“ whereas They had Nothing to enable them to live
“ upon in the Places where They were dispersed,
“ They had now by this Transplantation into Co-
“ *naught* Lands given them, sufficient with their
“ Industry to live well upon; of which there was
“ good Evidence, by their having lived well there
“ since that Time, and many of them much better
“ than They had ever done before. And the State,
“ which had done this Grace for them, had great
“ Reason, when it gave them good Titles to the
“ Land assigned to them, which They might plead
“ in any Court of Justice, to require from them
“ Releases of what They had forfeited; which,
“ though to the Public of no Use or Validity, were
“ of Benefit and behooveful to many particular
“ Persons, for the quieting their Possessions against
“ frivolous Suits and Claims which might start up.
“ That this Transplantation had been acted, fini-
“ shed, and submitted to by all Parties, who had
“ enjoyed the Benefit thereof, quietly and without
“ Disturbance, many Years before the King’s Re-
“ turn: And the Soldiers and *Adventurers* had been
“ likewise so many Years in the Possession of their
“ Lots, in Pursuance of the Act of Parliament, and
“ had laid out so much Money in building and plan-
“ ting; that the Consequence of such an Alteration,
“ as was now proposed would be the highest Con-
“ fusion imaginable.”

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

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

2. The Case of
Entails and
Settlements at
Law.

“ Usurpation, any Consideration taken of Mort-
 “ gages or Debts due by Statute or Recognifance,
 “ or upon any other Security; fo that all fuch Debts
 “ must be either loft to the Proprietors, or remain
 “ ftill with the Intereft upon the Land, whoever
 “ had enjoyed the Benefit or Profits thereof.” All
 which feemed to his Majesty very unreafonable and
 unjuft; and that fuch Eftates fhould remain forfeited
 by the Treafon of the Father, who had been only
 Tenant for Life, againft all Defcents and legal Titles
 of innocent Children; and of which, in all legal
 Attainders, the Crown never had or could receive
 any Benefit.

The Adven-
 turers Answer.

Yet, how unreafonable foever thefe Pretences
 feemed to be, it was no eafy Matter to give Rules
 and Directions for the Remedy of the Mifchief, with-
 out introducing another Mifchief equally unjuft and
 unreafonable. For the Commiffioners declared,
 “ that if fuch Titles, as are mentioned, were pre-
 “ ferved and allowed to be good, there would not
 “ in that univerfal Guilt, which upon the Matter
 “ comprehended and covered the whole *Irish* Na-
 “ tion, be one Eftate forfeited by Treafon, but fuch
 “ Conveyances and Settlements would be produced
 “ to fe cure and defend the fame: And though they
 “ would be forged, there would not be Witneffes
 “ wanting to prove and juftify whatfoever the Evi-
 “ dence could be applied to. And if thofe Trials
 “ were to be by the known Rules and Customs of
 “ the Law in Cafes of the like Nature, there was
 “ too much Reafon to fufpect and fear that there
 “ would be little Juftice done: Since a Jury of *Irish*

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

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

3. The ex-
 treme Misery
 of the Irish.

To which there can be no other Answer made,
 which is very sufficient in Point of Justice, but that,
 “ as their Rebellion and other Crimes had been long

Answer to
 this Plea.

“ before his Majesty’s Time, so full Vengeance had
“ been executed upon them; and They had paid the
“ Penalties of their Crimes and Transgressions be-
“ fore his Majesty’s Return: So that He could not
“ restore that which They called their own, with-
“ out taking it from them, who were become the just
“ Owners by an Act of Parliament; which his Ma-
“ jesty could not violate without Injustice, and
“ Breach of the Faith He had given.”

And that which was their greatest Misery and Reproach, and which distinguished them from the Subjects of the other two Kingdoms, who were otherwise bad enough, was, that Both the other Nations had made many noble Attempts for redeeming their Liberty, and for the Restoration of his Majesty (for *Scotland* itself had done much towards it); and his present Restoration was, with God’s Blessing and only with his Blessing, by the sole Effects of the Courage and Affection of his own Subjects: So that *England* and *Scotland* had in a great Degree redeemed, and even undone what had been before done amiss by them; and his Majesty had improved and secured those Affections to him by those Promises and Concessions, which He was in Justice obliged to perform. But the miserable *Irish* alone had no Part in contributing to his Majesty’s Happiness; nor had God suffered them to be the least Instruments in bringing his good Pleasure to pass, or to give any Testimony of their Repentance for the Wickedness They had wrought, or of their Resolution to be better Subjects for the future: So that They seemed as a People left out by Providence,

and exempted from any Benefit from that blessed Conjunction in his Majesty's Restitution.

And this Disadvantage was improved towards them, by their frequent Manifestation of an inveterate Animosity against the *English* Nation, and *English* Government; which again was returned to them in an irreconcilable Jealousy of all the *English* towards them. And to this their present Behaviour and Imprudence contributed very much: For it appeared evidently, that They expected the same Concessions (which the Necessity of that Time had made fit to be granted to them) in Respect of their Religion should be now likewise confirmed. And this Temper made it very necessary for the King to be very wary in dispensing extraordinary Favors (which his natural merciful Inclination prompted him to) to the *Irish*; and to prefer the general Interest of his three Kingdoms, before the particular Interest of a Company of unhappy Men, who had foolishly forfeited their own; though He pitied them, and hoped in the Conclusion to be able, without exposing the public Peace to manifest Hazard, in some Degree to improve their Condition.

Upon the whole Matter, the King found, that if He deferred to settle the Government of *Ireland* till a perfect Settlement of all particular Interests could be made, it would be very long. He saw it could not be done at once; and that there must be some Examinations taken there, and some Matters more clearly stated and adjusted, before his Majesty could make his Determination upon those Particulars, which purely depended upon his own Judgment;

The first Act of
Settlement
passed.

and that some Difficulties would be removed or lessened by Time: And so He passed that which is called *The first Act of Settlement*; and was persuaded to commit the Execution thereof, to a great Number of Commissioners, recommended to his Majesty by those who were most conversant in the Affairs of *Ireland*; none or very few of which were known to his Majesty, or to any of those who had been so many Years from their Country, in their constant Attendance upon his Majesty's Person beyond the Seas.

Three Lords
Justices ap-
pointed.

And for the better Countenance of this Commission, and likewise to restrain the Commissioners from any Excess, if their very large Jurisdiction should prove a Temptation to them, the King thought fit to commit the Sword to three Justices, which He had resolved, when the sending the Lord *Roberts* was declined. Those three were, Sir *Morrice Eustace*, whom He newly made Lord Chancellor of *Ireland*, the Lord *Broghill*, whom He now made Earl of *Orrery*, and Sir *Charles Coote*, whom He likewise made Earl of *Montrath*. The first had been his Sergeant at Law long in that Kingdom, and had been eminent in the Profession of the Law, and the more esteemed for being always a *Protestant* though an *Irishman*, and of approved Fidelity to the King during this whole Rebellion. But He was now old, and made so little Show of any Parts extraordinary, that, but for the Testimony that was given of him, it might have been doubted whether He ever had any. The other two had been Both eminently against the King, but upon this Turn, when all other Powers were down, eminently for him; the one, very able and

generous; the other, proud, dull and very avaricious. But the King had not then Power to chuse any, against whom some as material Objections might not be made, and who had been able to do as much Good. With them, there were too many others upon whom Honors were conferred; upon some, that They might do no Harm, who were thereby enabled to do the more: and upon others, that They might not murmur, who murmured the more for having Nothing given them but Honor: And so They were all despatched for *Ireland*; by which the King had some Ease, his Service little Advancement.

After a Year was spent in the Execution of this Commission (for I shall, without discontinuing the Relation, say all that I intend upon this Subject of *Ireland*), there was very little done towards the settling the Kingdom, or towards preparing any Thing that might settle it; but on the contrary, the Breaches were made wider, and so much Passion and Injustice showed, that Complaints were brought to his Majesty from all Parts of the Kingdom, and from all Persons in Authority there. The Number of the Commissioners was so great, and their Interests so different, that They made no Despatch. Very many of them were in Possession of those Lands, which others sued for before them; and They themselves bought broken Titles and Pretences of other Men, for inconsiderable Sums of Money, which They supported and made good by their own Authority. Such of the Commissioners, who had their own particular Interest and Concernment depending, attended the Service very diligently: The few who were

Partiality of
the Commissio-
ners appointed
by the First
Act.

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

Second Act of Settlement transmitted to the King.

New Commissioners appointed to execute it.

All Interests were equally offended and incensed; and the Soldiers and *Adventurers* complained no less of the Corruption and Injustice than the *Irish* did: So that the Lords Justices and Council thought it necessary to transmit another Bill to his Majesty, which, as I remember, They called an explanatory Bill of the former; and in that They provided, “that
 “ no Person who lived in *Ireland*, or had any Pre-
 “ tence to an Estate there, should be employed as a
 “ Commissioner; but that his Majesty should be
 “ desired to send over a competent Number of well
 “ qualified Persons out of *England* to attend that Ser-
 “ vice, upon whom a fit Salary should be settled by
 “ the Bill; and such Rules set down as might direct
 “ and govern the Manner of their Proceeding; and
 “ that an Oath might be prescribed by the Bill, which
 “ the Commissioners should take, for the impartial
 “ Administration of Justice, and for the Prosecution
 “ and Execution of this Bill,” which was transmitted as an Act by the King. His Majesty made Choice of seven Gentlemen of very clear Reputations; one of them being an eminent Sergeant at Law, whom He made a Judge upon his Return from thence; two others, Lawyers of very much Esteem; and the other four, Gentlemen of very good Extraction, excellent
 Under-

Understandings, and above all Suspicion for their Integrity, and generally reputed to be superior to any base Temptation.

But this second Bill, before it could be transmitted, took up as much Time as the former. The same numerous Retinue of all Interests from *Ireland* attended the King; and all that had been said in the former Debates was again repeated, and almost with the same Passion and Impertinence. The *Irish* made large Observations upon the Proceedings of the late Commissioners, to justify those Fears and Apprehensions which They had formerly urged: And there appeared too much Reason to believe, that their greatest Design now was, rather to keep off any Settlement, than that They hoped to procure such a one as They desired; relying more to find their Account from a general Dissatisfaction, and the Distraction and Confusion that was like to attend it, than from any Determination that was like to be in their Favor. Yet They had Friends in the Court, who made them great Promises; which They could not be without, since They made as great Promises to those who were to protect them. There were indeed many particular Men both of the Soldiers and *Adventurers*, who in Respect of their many notorious and opprobrious Actions against the Crown throughout their whole Employment (and who even since his Majesty's Return had enough expressed how little They were satisfied with the Revolution) were so universally odious both in *England* and *Ireland*, that if their particular Cases could have been severed from the rest, without Violation of the Rule of Justice that

The different Parties again heard by the King.

secured all the rest, any Thing that could have been done to their Detriment would have been grateful enough to every Body.

After many very tedious Debates, in which his Majesty endeavoured by all the Ways He could think of to find some Expedient, that would enable him to preserve the miserable *Irish* from the Extremity of Misery; He found it necessary at last, to acquiesce with a very positive Assurance from the Earl of *Orrery* and others, who were believed to understand *Ireland* very exactly, and who, upon the Surveys that had been taken with great Punctuality, undertook, "that there was Land enough to satisfy
 " all the Soldiers and *Adventurers*, and that there
 " would be a very great Proportion left for the Accommodation of the *Irish* very liberally." And for the better Improvement of that Proportion, the King prescribed some Rules and Limitations to the immoderate Pretences and Demands of the Soldiers and *Adventurers* upon the *doubling Ordinance* and imperfect Admeasurement, and some other Irregularities, in which his Majesty was not in Honor or Justice obliged to comply with them: And so He transmitted this second Bill.

Second Act
of Settlement
passed.

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

it: So that the Death of the Earl of *Montrath*, which happened at this Time, fell out conveniently enough to the King; for by it the Government was again loose. For the Earl of *Orrery* was in *England*; and the Power resided not in less than two: So that the Chancellor, who remained single there, was without any Authority to act. And They who took the most dispassioned Survey of all that had been done, and of what remained to be done, did conclude that Nothing could reasonably produce a Settlement there, but the deputing one single Person to exercise that Government. And the Duke of *Albemarle* himself, who had a great Estate in that Kingdom, which made him the more long for a Settlement, and who had before the King's Return and ever since dissuaded the King from thinking of employing the Duke of *Ormond* there, who had himself Aversion enough from that Command, of which He had sufficient Experience: I say, the General had now so totally changed his Mind, that He plainly told the King, " that there was no Way to explicate that Kingdom " out of those Intricacies in which it was involved, " but by sending over a Lord Lieutenant thither. " That He thought it not fit for his Majesty's Service, " that himself, who had that Commission of Lord " Lieutenant, should be absent from his Person; and " therefore that He was very ready and desirous to " give up his Commission: And that in his Judge- " ment Nobody would be able to settle and compose " the several Factions in that Kingdom, but the Duke " of *Ormond*, who He believed would be grateful " to all Sorts of People." And therefore He advised

The Duke of
Albemarle
resigns the Of-
fice of Lord
Lieutenant.

his Majesty very positively, "that He would immediately give him the Commission, and as soon as should be possible send him away into *Ireland*."

And the Duke of Ormond accepts it.

And Both the King and the General spake with the Duke of *Ormond*, and prevailed with him to accept it before either of them communicated it to the Chancellor, who the King well knew would for many Reasons, and out of his great Friendship to the Duke, dissuade him from undertaking it; which was very true.

And the King and the Duke of *Ormond* came one Day to the Chancellor, to advise what was to be done for *Ireland*; and (concealing the Resolution) the King told him what the General's Advice was, and asked him "what He thought of sending the Duke of *Ormond* his Lieutenant into *Ireland*." To which the Chancellor answered presently, that the King would do very well in sending him, and that the Duke would do much worse if he desired to go." Upon which they Both smiled, and told him, that the General had prevailed with the King, and the King with the Duke; so that the Matter was resolved, and there remained Nothing to be done but preparing the Instructions, which He must think upon."

The Chancellor expresses his Concern at this.

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

said, "if this Counsel had been taken when the
 " King came first over, it might have had good Suc-
 " cefs, when the Duke was full of Reputation, and
 " of unquestionable Interest in his Majesty, and the
 " King himself was more feared and revered than
 " presumed upon: So that the Duke would have
 " had full Authority to have restrained the exorbi-
 " tant Desires and Expectations of all the several
 " Parties, who had all Guilt enough upon their
 " Hearts to fear some Rigor from the King, or to
 " receive moderate Grace with infinite Submission
 " and Acknowledgment. But now the Duke, be-
 " sides his withdrawing himself from all Business as
 " much as He could, had let himself fall to Familiari-
 " ties with all Degrees of Men; and upon their
 " Averments had undertaken to protect or at least to
 " solicit Men's Interests, which it may be might not
 " appear upon Examination to be founded upon
 " Justice. And the King himself had been exposed to
 " all Manner of Importunities, received all Men's Ad-
 " dresses, and heard all They would say, made many
 " Promises without Deliberation, and appeared so
 " desirous to satisfy all Men, that He was irresolute
 " in all Things. And therefore till He had taken
 " some firm and fixed Resolutions himself, from
 " which neither Prejudice towards one Man, nor
 " Pity and Compassion on the Behalf of another,
 " should remove him; the Lieutenant of *Ireland*
 " would be able to do him little Service, and would
 " be himself continually exposed to Scorn and
 " Affronts."

And afterwards the Chancellor expostulated warm-

ly with the Duke of *Ormond* (who well knew, that all his Commotion proceeded from the Integrity of his unquestionable Friendship), and told him “that
 “ He would repent this rash Resolution; and that
 “ He would have been able to have contributed
 “ more to the Settlement of *Ireland*, by being near
 “ the Person of the King, than by being at *Dublin*,
 “ from whence in a short Time there would be as
 “ many Aspersions and Reproaches sent hither, as
 “ had been against other Men; and that He had no
 “ Reason to be confident, that they would not make
 “ as deep Impression by the Arts and Industry of his
 “ Enemies, of which He had Store, and would have
 “ more by being absent, for the Court naturally had
 “ little Regard for any Man who was absent. And
 “ that He carried with him the same Infirmary into
 “ *Ireland* with that of the King, which kept it from
 “ being settled here; which was an Unwillingness
 “ to deny any Man what He could not but see was
 “ impossible to grant, and a Desire to please every
 “ Body, which whosoever affected should please
 “ Nobody.”

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

The Duke, who never took any Thing ill He said to him, told him “that Nobody knew better than He the
 “ Aversion He had to that Command, when it may
 “ be He might have undertaken it with more Advantage.” He confessed, “ He saw many Dangers with Reference to himself, which He knew
 “ not how to avoid, and many Difficulties with Reference to the Public, which He had little Hope
 “ to overcome; yet *Ireland* must not be given over:
 “ And since there seemed to be a general Opinion,
 “ with which the King concurred, that He could

“ be able to contribute to the composing the Distem-
 “ pers, and the settling the Government; He would
 “ not suspect himself, but believe that He might be
 “ able to do somewhat towards it.” And he gave
 his Word to him, “ that Nothing should be defective
 “ on his Part in Point of Industry; for He was
 “ resolved to take indefatigable Pains for a Year or
 “ two, in which He hoped the Settlement would
 “ be completed, that He might have Ease and Re-
 “ creation for the other Part of his Life.” And He
 confessed, “ that He did the more willingly enter
 “ upon that Province, that He might have the Op-
 “ portunity to settle his own Fortune, which how
 “ great soever in Extent of Lands did not yet, by
 “ Reason of the general Unsettlement, yield him a
 “ Quarter of the Revenue it ought to do. That
 “ for what concerned himself, and the Disadvanta-
 “ ges He might undergo by his Absence, He referred
 “ it to Providence and the King’s good Nature;
 “ who,” He said, “ knew him better than any of his
 “ Enemies did; and therefore, He hoped, He would
 “ believe himself before them.” However, the Truth
 is, He was the more disposed to that Journey, by
 the Dislike He had of the Court, and the necessary
 Exercises which Men there were to excel in, for
 which He was superannuated: And if He did not
 already discern any Lessening of the King’s Grace
 towards him, He saw enough to make him believe,
 that the contrary ought not to be depended upon.
 And within few Years after, He had Cause to remem-
 ber what the Chancellor had foretold him of Both The Duke and
 the Commis.
 their Fortunes. The Duke (with the seven Commis.

Commissioners set out
for Ireland

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

It was some Months after the Commissioners Arrival in *Ireland*, before They could settle those Orders and Rules for their Proceedings, which were necessary to be done, before the People should be appointed to attend. And it was necessary, that They should in the Order of their Judicatory first proceed upon the Demands and Pretences of the *Irish*; both because there could be no Settlement of Soldiers or *Adventurers* in Possession of any Lands, before the Titles of the *Irish* to those Lands were determined; and because there was a Clause in the last Act of Parliament, that all the *Irish* should put in their Claims by a Day appointed, and that they should be determined before another Day, which was likewise assigned; which Days might be prolonged for once by the Lord Lieutenant, upon such Reasons as satisfied him: So that the Delay for so many Months before the Commissioners sat, gave great Argument of Complaint to the *Irish*, though it could not be avoided, in Regard that the Commissioners themselves had not been nominated by the King above twenty Days before They began their Journey into *Ireland*; so that They could never so much as read over the Acts of Parliament together, before They came to *Dublin*. And then They found so many difficult Clauses in Both Acts of Parliament, and so

contrary to each other, that it was no easy Matter to determine how to govern themselves in Point of Right, and to reduce themselves to any Method in their Proceedings.

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

The Commis-
sioners publish
their intended
Method of
proceeding.

The Parliament in *Ireland* was then sitting: And the House of Commons, consisting of many Members who were either Soldiers or *Adventurers*, or had the like Interest, was very much offended at the Proceedings of the Commissioners, made many Votes against them, and threatened them with their Authority and Jurisdiction. But the Commissioners, who knew their own Power, and that there was no Appeal against their Judgments, proceeded still in their own Method, and continued to receive the Claims of the *Irish*, beyond the Time that the Act of Parliament or the Act of State limited to them, as was generally understood. And during the last eight or ten Days Sitting upon those Claims, They passed more Judgments and Determinations than in near a Year before, indeed with very wonderful Expedition; when the *English* who were dispossessed by those Judgments had not their Witnesses ready, upon a Presumption, that in Point of Time it was not possible for those Causes to come to be heard. By these Sentences and Decrees, many hundred Thousands of Acres were adjudged to the *Irish*, which had been looked upon as unquestionably forfeited, and of which the *English* had been long in Possession accordingly.

Their Decrees
much in Fa-
vor of the
Irish.

This raised so great a Clamor, that the *English* refused to yield Possession upon the Decrees of the Commissioners, who, by an Omission in the Act of Parliament, were not qualified with Power enough to provide for the Execution of their own Sentences. The Courts of Law established in that Kingdom would not, nor indeed could, give any Assistance to the Commissioners. And the Lord Lieute-

nant and Council, who had in the Beginning, by their Authority, put many into the Possession of the Lands which had been decreed to them by the Commissioners, were now more tender and reserved in that Multitude of Decrees that had lately passed: So that the *Irish* were using their utmost Endeavours, by Force to recover the Possession of those Lands which the Commissioners had decreed to them; whilst the *English* were likewise resolved by Force to defend what They had been so long possessed of, notwithstanding the Commissioners Determination. And the Commissioners were so far troubled and dissatisfied with these Proceedings, and with some intricate Clauses in the Act of Parliament concerning the future Proceedings; that, though They had not yet made any Entrance upon the Decision of the Claims of the *English* or of the *Irish Protestants*, They declared "that They would proceed no farther in the Execution of their Commission, until They could receive his Majesty's farther Pleasure." And that They might the more effectually receive it, They desired Leave from the King that They might attend his Royal Person; and there being at the same Time several Complaints made against them to his Majesty, and Appeals to him from their Decrees, He gave the Commissioners Leave to return. And at the same Time all the other Interests sent their Deputies to solicit their Rights; in the Prosecution whereof, after much Time spent, the King thought fit likewise to receive the Advice and Assistance of his Lieutenant: And so the Duke of *Ormond* returned again to the Court. And the

The different
Parties heard
a Third Time
by the King.

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

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

The Author's
Reflections on
the proceed-
ings of the
Commissioners

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

resolved to keep, the Judges themselves being both Parties and Witnesses in all the Causes brought before them; together with the very ill Reputation very many of the Soldiers and *Adventurers* had for extraordinary Malice to the Crown, and to the Royal Family; and the notable Barbarity They had exercised towards the *Irish*, who without Doubt for many Years had undergone the most cruel Oppressions of all Kind that can be imagined, many Thousands of them having been forced, without being covered under any House, to perish in the open Fields for Hunger; the infamous Purchases which had been made by many Persons, who had compelled the *Irish* to sell their Remainders and lawful Pretences for very inconsiderable Sums of Money: I say, these and many other Particulars of this Kind, together with some Attempt that had been made upon their first Arrival, to corrupt them against all Pretences which should be made by the *Irish*, might probably dispose the Commissioners themselves to such a Prejudice against many of the *English*, and to such a Compassion towards the *Irish*, that They might be much inclined to favor their Pretences and Claims; and to believe that the Peace of the Kingdom and his Majesty's Government might be better provided for, by their being settled in the Lands of which They had been formerly possessed, than by supporting the ill gotten Titles of those, who had manifested all imaginable Infidelity and Malice against his Majesty whilst They had any Power to oppose him, and had not given any Testimony of their Conversion, or of their Resolu-

tion to yield him for the future a perfect and entire Obedience after They could oppose him no longer; as if They desired only to retain those Lands which They had gotten by Rebellion, together with the Principles by which They had gotten them, until They should have an Opportunity to justify Both by some new Power, or a Concurrence amongst themselves. Whencesoever it proceeded, it was plain enough the *Irish* had received more Favor than was expected or imagined.

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

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

That which raised the greatest Umbrage against the Commissioners was, that a great Number of the most infamous Persons of the *Irish* Nation, who were looked upon by those of their own Country with the greatest Detestation, as Men who had been the most violent Fomentors and Prosecutors of the Rebellion, and the greatest Opposers of all moderate Counsels, and of all Expedients which might have contributed towards a Peace in the late King's Time (whereby the Nation might have been redeemed), and who had not had the Confidence so much as to offer any Claim before the late Commissioners, were now adjudged and declared innocent, and so restored to their Estates: And that many others, who in Truth had never been in Rebellion, but notoriously served the King against the Rebels both in *England* and *Ireland*, and had never been put out of their Estates, now upon some slight Evidence, by the Interception of Letters, or Confession of Messengers that They had had Correspondence with the Rebels (though it was evident that even that Correspondence had been perfunctory, and only to secure them that They might pursue his Majesty's Service), were condemned, and had their Estates taken from them, by the Judgment of the Commissioners.

Too many of the Irish Rebels restored to their Estates.

Many who had served the King very hardly treated

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

An Instance of this in the

Cafe of the
Earl of Tyr-
connel.

sonal Prejudice, upon what Account soever, weighs and prevails against Justice itself, even with Men who are not in their Natures Friends to Injustice. It was the Case of the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, and it was this. He was the younger Son of the Lord *Fitzwilliams* a Catholic Lord in *Ireland*, but of ancient *English* Extraction, of a fair Estate, and never suspected to be inclined to the Rebels; as very few of the *English* were. *Oliver Fitzwilliams* (who was the Person We are now speaking of, and the younger Son of that Lord *Fitzwilliams*) had been sent by his Father into *France*, to be there educated, many Years before the Rebellion. He was a proper and a handsome Man, and by his Courage had gotten a very good Reputation in the *French* Army; where, after He had spent some Years in the *Campagna*, He obtained the Command of a Regiment in which He had been first a Captain, and was looked upon generally as an excellent Officer.

When the Army was sent into Winter-Quarters, He went to *Paris* to kiss the Hands of the Queen of *England*, who was come thither the Summer before, it being in the Year 1644. Having often waited upon her Majesty, He made many Professions of Duty and Obedience to the King, and much condemned the Rebellion of the *Irish*, and said, “ He
“ knew many of them were cozened and deceived
“ by Tales and Lies, and had no Purpose to with-
“ draw themselves from his Majesty’s Obedience.” He made offer of his Service to the Queen, “ and
“ that, if She thought He might be able to do the
“ King any Service, He would immediately go into
England,

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

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

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

when the *Irish* so infamously broke the first Peace, and besieged the Lieutenant in *Dublin* (upon which He was compelled to deliver it into the Hands of the Parliament with the King's Consent), the Lord *Fitzwilliams* returned with him or about the same Time into *England*, and from thence again into *France*; where He married the Daughter of the Widow Countess of *Clare*, and Sister to that Earl, a Lady of a Religion the most opposite to the Roman Catholic, which He suffered her to enjoy without any Contradiction. When the War was at an End in *England*, and the King a Prisoner, He with his Wife and Family transported himself into *England*, and after some Time into *Ireland*; where *Cromwell* had a jealous Eye upon him, but not being able to discover any Thing against him, could not hinder him from possessing the Estate that had descended to him from his Father and his elder Brother. And the War being there ended, and the Settlement made by the Act of Parliament upon the Statute, as hath been mentioned before, there was not the least Trouble given to him; but He quietly enjoyed the Possession of his whole Estate till the King's Return, when He came into *England* to kiss his Majesty's Hand, and was by him made Earl of *Tyrconnel*.

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

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

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

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

Many Decrees made upon Settlements notoriously forged.

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

The Commissioners Defence.

The Commissioners answered, " that They had made no Decrees but according to their Consciences, and such as They were obliged to make by the Course and Rule of Justice. That They did doubt and in Truth believe, that there had been evil Practices used both in the forging of

“ Deeds and corrupting of Witnesses, and that the
 “ same was equally practised by the *English* as the
 “ *Irish* : And therefore that They had been obliged
 “ to make that Order, which had been so much ex-
 “ cepted against, *not to admit the Testimony of any*
 “ *English Adventurer or Soldier in the Case of another*
 “ *Adventurer or Soldier* ; for that it was very noto-
 “ rious, They looked upon the Whole as one joint
 “ Interest, and so gratified each other in their Testi-
 “ monies.” And of this They gave many sad Instan-
 ces, by which it was too evident that the Perjuries
 were mutual, and too much practised by the one and
 the other Side.

“ That They had used all the Providence and Vi-
 “ gillance They could by the careful Examination of
 “ Witnesses (which were produced apart, and never
 “ in the Presence of each other), and by asking them
 “ all such material Questions as occurred to their
 “ Understandings, and which They could not ex-
 “ pect to be asked, to discover the Truth, and to
 “ prevent and manifest all Perjuries. That They had
 “ likewise used their utmost Diligence and Care, to
 “ prevent their being imposed upon with false and
 “ forged Deeds and Conveyances, by taking a precise
 “ and strict View themselves of all Deeds produced ;
 “ and interrogated the Witnesses with all the Cun-
 “ ning They could, upon the Matter and Considera-
 “ tion upon which such Deeds had been entered into,
 “ and upon the Manner and Circumstances in the
 “ Execution thereof : Which was all the Providence
 “ They could use. And though They met with many
 “ Reasons oftentimes to doubt the Integrity of the

“ Proceedings, and in their own private Consciences
“ to apprehend there might be great Corruption;
“ yet that They were obliged judicially to determine
“ according to the Testimony of the Witnesses, and
“ the Evidence of those Deeds in Law against which
“ no Proofs were made. That They had constantly
“ heard all that the adverse Party had thought fit to
“ object, both against the Credit of any Witnesses,
“ and the Truth and Validity of any Conveyances
“ which were produced; upon which They had re-
“ jected many Witnesses, and disallowed some Con-
“ veyances: But when the Objections were only
“ founded upon Presumptions and Probabilities, as
“ most usually they were, they could not weigh
“ down the full and categorical Evidence that was
“ given.”

“ That if They had yielded to the Importunities
“ of the Persons concerned, who often pressed to
“ have farther Time given to them to prove such a
“ Perjury, or to disprove such a Conveyance, it
“ must have made their Work endless, and stopped
“ all Manner of Proceedings, for which it appeared
“ They were straitened too much in Time: And
“ that indeed would have but opened the Door
“ wider for Perjuries and other Corruptions; since
“ it was very plain to them, that either Side could
“ bring as many Witnesses as They pleased, to prove
“ what They pleased, and that They would bring
“ as many as They believed necessary for the Work
“ in Hand. And therefore the Commissioners having
“ before prescribed a Method and Rule to them-
“ selves for their Proceedings, and that no Man could

“ have a Cause, in which He was concerned, brought
 “ to Hearing without his knowing when it was to
 “ be heard, and so it was to be presumed, that He was
 “ well provided to support his own Title; They
 “ had thought fit, upon mature Deliberation amongſt
 “ themſelves, to adhere to the Order They had pre-
 “ ſcribed to themſelves and others, and to conclude,
 “ that They would not be able to prove that another
 “ Day, which They were not able to prove at the
 “ Time when They ought to have been ready.”

“ For the Diſcovery of any Forgery after the De-
 “ crees had been paſſed, and upon which They had
 “ given no Reparation,” They confeſſed, “ that
 “ ſome few ſuch Diſcoveries had been made to them,
 “ by which the Forgery appeared very clearly : But
 “ as They had no Power by the Act of Parliament to
 “ puniſh either Forgery or Perjury, but muſt leave
 “ the Examination and Punishment thereof to the
 “ Law and to the Judges of the Law; ſo, that They
 “ had only Authority to make Decrees upon ſuch
 “ Grounds as ſatiſfied their Conſciences, but had not
 “ any Authority to reverſe thoſe Decrees, after they
 “ were once made and publiſhed, upon any Evidence
 “ whatſoever.” They concluded with their hum-
 “ ble Deſire to the King, “ that the moſt ſtrict Exa-
 “ minations might be made of their Corruptions, in
 “ which,” They ſaid, “ They were ſure to be found
 “ very innocent, againſt all the Malice that was diſ-
 “ covered againſt them : That They had proceeded
 “ in all Things according to the Integrity of their
 “ Hearts, and the beſt of their Underſtandings; and
 “ if through the Deſect of that They had erred in

“ any Part of their Determinations and Judgments,
 “ They hoped their Want of Wisdom should not be
 “ imputed to them as a Crime.”

Their Defence
 not perfectly
 satisfactory.

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

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

There was one very notable Case decreed by the Commissioners extremely complain'd of, and cried out against by all Parties, as well *Irish* as *English*; and for wick the Commissioners themselves made no other Excuse or Defence, but the Receipt of a Letter from the King, which was not thought a good Plea for sworn Judges, as the Commissioners were. It was the Case of the Marquis of *Antrim*. Which Case having been so much upon the Stage, and so much enlarged upon to the Reproach of the King, and even to the traducing of the Memory of his blessed Father; and those Men, who artificially contrived the doing of all that was done amiss, having done all They could to wound the Reputation of the Chan-

A Decree in Favor of the Marquis of Antrim universally complain'd of.

cellor, and to get it to be believed, " that He had by
 " some sinister Information-misled the King to oblige
 " the Marquis:" It is a Debt due to Truth, and to
 the Honor of Both their Majesties, to set down a
 very particular Narration of that whole Affair; by
 which it will appear, how far the King was from so
 much as wishing that any Thing should be done for
 the Benefit of the Marquis, which should be contrary
 to the Rules of Justice.

A very parti-
 cular Relation
 of the Marquis
 of Antrim's
 Case.

Whilst his Majesty was in foreign Parts He re-
 ceived frequent Advertisements from *England*, and
 from *Ireland*, "that the Marquis, of *Antrim* behaved
 " himself very undutifully towards him; and that
 " He had made himself very grateful to the Rebels,
 " by calumniating the late King: And that He had
 " given it under his Hand to *Ireton*, or some other
 " principal Person employed under *Cromwell*, that
 " his late Majesty had sent him into *Ireland* to join
 " with the Rebels, and that his Majesty was not offended
 " with the Irish for entering into that Rebellion:"
 Which was a Calumny so false and so odious, and
 reflected so much upon the Honor of his Majesty,
 that the King was resolved, as soon as God should
 put it into his Power, to cause the strictest Examina-
 tion to be made concerning it; the Report having
 gained much Credit with his Majesty, by the Noto-
 riety that the Marquis had procured great Recom-
 mendations from those who governed in *Ireland*, to
 those who governed in *England*; and that upon the
 Presumption of that He had come into *England*, and
 as far as *St. Albans* towards *London*, from whence He
 had been forced suddenly to, return into *Ireland* by

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

The King had been very few Days in *London*, after his Arrival from the Parts beyond the Seas, when He was informed that the Marquis of *Antrim* was upon his Way from *Ireland* towards the Court: And the Commissioners from *Ireland*, who have been mentioned before, were the first who gave his Majesty that Information, and at the same Time told him all that his Majesty had heard before concerning the Marquis, and of the bold Calumnies with which He had traduced his Royal Father, with many other Particulars; "all which," They affirmed, "would be proved by unquestionable Evidence, and by Letters and Certificates under his own Hand." Upon this full Information (of the Truth whereof his Majesty entertained no Doubt), as soon as the Marquis came to the Town, He was by the King's special Order committed to the *Tower*; nor could any Petition from him, or Intreaty of his Friends, of which He had some very powerful, prevail with his Majesty to admit him into his Presence. But by the first Opportunity He was sent Prisoner to *Dublin*, where He was committed to the *Castle*; the King having given his Direction, that He should be

proceeded against with all Strictness according to Law: And to that Purpose, the Lords Justices were required to give all Orders and Directions necessary. The Marquis still professed and avowed his Innocence, and used all the Means He could to procure that He might be speedily brought to his Trial; which the King likewise expected. But after a Year's Detention in Prison, and Nothing brought against him, He was set at Liberty, and had a Pass given him from the Council there to go into *England*. He then applied himself to his Majesty, demanding Nothing of Favor, but said, "He expected Justice; and that after so many Years being deprived of his Estate, He might at last be restored to it, if Nothing could be objected against him wherein He had deserved his Majesty."

He was a Gentleman who had been bred up in the Court of *England*, and having married the Duchess of *Buckingham* (though against the King's Will) He had been afterwards very well received by Both their Majesties, and was frequently in their Presence. He had spent a very vast Estate in the Court, without having ever received the least Benefit from it. He had retired into *Ireland*, and lived upon his own Estate in that Country, some Years before the Rebellion brake out; in the Beginning whereof He had undergone some Suspicion, having held some Correspondence with the Rebels, and possibly made some Undertakings to them: But He went speedily to *Dublin*, was well received by the Justices there, and from thence transported himself with their Licence to *Oxford*, where the King was; to whom He

gave so good an Account of all that had passed, that his Majesty made no Doubt of his Affection to his Service, though He had very little Confidence in his Judgment and Understanding, which were never remarkable. Besides that it was well known, that He had a very unreasonable Envy towards the Marquis of *Ormond*, and would fain have it believed that his Interest in *Ireland* was so great, that He could reclaim that whole Nation to his Majesty's Obedience; but that Vanity and Presumption never gained the least Credit with his Majesty: Yet it may reasonably be believed that He thought so himself, and that it was the Source from which all the bitter Waters of his own Misfortune issued.

Upon the *Scots* second Entering into *England* with their Army upon the Obligation of the *Covenant*, and all his Majesty's Endeavours to prevent it being disappointed, the Marquis of *Mountrose* had proposed to the King, "to make a Journey privately into *Scotland*, and to get into the *Highlands*, where, with his Majesty's Authority, He hoped He should be able to draw together such a Body of Men, as might give his Countrymen Cause to call for their own Army out of *England*, to secure themselves." And with this Overture or upon Debate thereof, He wished "that the Earl of *Antrim*" (for He was then no more) "might be likewise sent into *Ulster*, where his Interest lay, and from whence He would be able to transport a Body of Men into the *Highlands*, where He had likewise the Clan of *Macdonnells*, who acknowledged him to be their Chief, and would be consequently at

“ his Devotion; by which Means, the Marquis of
 “ *Mountrose* would be enabled the more powerfully
 “ to proceed in his Undertaking.” The Earl of
Antrim entered upon this Undertaking with great
 Alacrity, and undertook to the King to perform
 great Matters in *Scotland*; to which his own Interest
 and Animosity enough disposed him, having an old
 and a sharp Controversy and Contestation with the
 Marquis of *Argyle*, who had dispossessed him of a
 large Territory there. All things being adjusted for
 this Undertaking, and his Majesty being well pleased
 with the Earl's Alacrity, He created him at that
 Time a Marquis, gave him Letters to the Marquis
 of *Ormond* his Lieutenant there, as well to satisfy
 him of the good Opinion He had of the Marquis of
Antrim, and of the Trust He had reposed in him, as
 to wish him to give him all the Assistance He could
 with Convenience, for the carrying on the Expedi-
 tion for *Scotland*.

And for the better preventing of any Inconve-
 nience, that might fall out by the Rashness and In-
 advertency of the Marquis of *Antrim* towards the
 Lord Lieutenant, his Majesty sent *Daniel O Neile* of
 his Bedchamber into *Ireland* with him, who had
 great Power over him, and very much Credit with
 the Marquis of *Ormond*; and was a Man of that Dex-
 tery and Address, that no Man could so well pre-
 vent the Inconveniences and Prejudice, which the
 natural Levity and Indiscretion of the other might
 tempt him to, or more dispose and incline the Lord
 Lieutenant to take little Notice of those Vanities and
 Indiscretions. And the King, who had no Desire

that the Marquis should stay long in *Dublin*, upon his Promise that He would use all possible Expedition in transporting himself into *Scotland*, gave him Leave to hold that Correspondence with the *Irish* Rebels (who had the Command of all the Northern Parts, and without whose Connivance at least, He could very hardly be able to make his Levies and transport his Men) as was necessary to his Purposes: Within the Limits of which, it is probable enough that He did not contain himself; for the Education and Conversation He had in the World, had not extirpated that natural Craft in which that Nation excels, and by which They only deceive themselves; and might say many Things, which He had not Authority or Warrant to say.

Upon his Coming to *Dublin*, the Lord Lieutenant gave him all the Countenance He could wish, and assisted him in all the Ways He could propose, to prosecute his Design; but the Men were to be raised in or near the Rebels Quarters. And it cannot be denied, but that the Levies He made, and sent over into *Scotland* under the Command of *Calkito*, were the Foundation of all those wonderful Acts, which were performed afterwards by the Marquis of *Mountrose* (they were fifteen hundred Men, very good, and with very good Officers, all so hardy, that neither the ill Fare nor the ill Lodging in the *Highlands* gave them any Discouragement), and gave the first Opportunity to the Marquis of *Mountrose* of being in the Head of an Army; under which He drew together such of the *Highlanders* and others of his Friends, who were willing to repair to him. But

upon any military Action, and Defeat given to the Enemy, which happened as often as They encountered the *Scots*, the *Highlanders* went always home with their Booty, and the *Irish* only staid together with their General. And from this Beginning the Marquis of *Mountrose* grew to that Power, that after many Battles won by him with notable Slaughter of the Enemy, He marched victoriously with his Army till He made himself Master of *Edinburgh*, and redeemed out of the Prison there the Earl of *Crawford*, Lord *Ogilby*, and many other noble Persons, who had been taken and sent thither, with Resolution that They should all lose their Heads. And the Marquis of *Mountrose* did always acknowledge, that the Rise and Beginning of his good Success was due and to be imputed to that Body of *Irish*, which had in the Beginning been sent over by the Marquis of *Antrim*; to whom the King had acknowledged the Service by several Letters, all of his own Handwriting; in which were very gracious Expressions of the Sense his Majesty had of his great Services, and his Resolution to reward him.

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

their Councils; by which He gave great Advantages against himself, and might in Strictness of Law have been as severely punished by the King, as the worst of the Rebels. At last, in his moving from Place to Place (for He was not in any Expedition with the Rebels) He was taken Prisoner by the Scots, who intended to have put him to Death for having sent Men into *Scotland*; but He made his Escape out of their Hands, and transported himself into *Flanders*, and from thence, having Assurance that the Prince (his Majesty that now is) was then in the *West*, He came with two good Frigates into the Port of *Falmouth*, and offered his Service to his Royal Highness; and having in his Frigates a Quantity of Arms and some Ammunition, which He had procured in *Flanders* for the Service of *Ireland*, most of the Arms and Ammunition were employed, with his Consent, for the Supply of the Troops and Garrisons in *Cornwall*: And the Prince made Use of one of the Frigates to transport his Person into *Scilly*, and from thence to *Jersey*; without which Convenience, his Highness had been exposed to great Difficulties, and could hardly have escaped the Hands of his Enemies. After all which, when *Dublin* was given up to the Parliament, and the King's Authority was withdrawn out of that Kingdom, He again (not having wherewithal to live any where else) transported himself into *Ireland*, made himself gracious with the *Irish*, and was by them sent into *France*, to desire the Queen-Mother and the Prince of *Wales* "to send the Marquis of *Ormond* to re-assume his Majesty's Government in that Kingdom;" which was

done accordingly, in the Manner that is mentioned elsewhere.

The Marquis of *Antrim* alledged all these Particulars, and produced many original Letters from the late King (besides those which are mentioned), the Queen-Mother, and the Prince, in all which his Services had been acknowledged, and many Promises made to him; and concluded with a full Protestation, “ that He desired no Pardon for any Thing that He
“ had ever done against the King; and if there were
“ the least Proof that He had failed in his Fidelity to
“ him, or had not according to the best of his Under-
“ standing advanced his Service, He looked for no
“ Favor. But if his being in the *Irish* Quarters and
“ consulting with them, without which He could
“ not have made his Levies for *Scotland*, nor trans-
“ ported them if He had levied them, and if his living
“ amongst them afterwards, when his Majesty’s Au-
“ thority was drawn from thence, and when He
“ could live no where else, do by the strict Letter of
“ the Law expose him to Ruin without his Majesty’s
“ Grace and Favor, He did hope his Majesty would
“ redeem him from that Misery, and that the For-
“ feiture of his Estate should not be taken, as if He
“ were a Traitor and a Rebel to the King.” And it appeared that if He were restored to all He could pretend to, or of which He had ever been possessed, his Debts were so great, and his Creditors had those legal Incumbrances upon his Estate, that his Condition at best would not be liable to much Envy.

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

was very little known to him; yet this Representation and clear View of what He had done and what He had suffered, raised great Compassion towards him in the Royal Breast of his Majesty. And He thought it would in some Degree reflect upon his own Honor and Justice, and upon the Memory of his blessed Father, if in a Time when He passed by so many Transgressions very heinous, He should leave the Marquis exposed to the Fury of his Enemies (who were only his Enemies because They were possessed of his Estate, and because He desired to have his own from them) for no other Crime upon the Matter, than for not having that Prudence and that Providence in his Endeavours to serve the King, as He ought to have had; that is, He ought to have been wiser. And the Rigor exercised towards him upon his first Arrival, in sending him to the *Tower* and afterwards into *Ireland*, by those who enough wished his Destruction, and that They had not been able to make the least Proof against him, improved his Majesty's good Disposition towards him. Yet He refused positively to write a Letter to the Commissioners on his Behalf; which the Marquis most importunately desired, as the only Thing that could do him Good. But his Majesty directed a Letter to be prepared to the Lord Lieutenant, in which all his Allegations and Suggestions should be set down, and the Truth thereof examined by him; and that if He should be found to have committed no greater Faults against the King, than those which He confessed, then that Letter should be sent to the Commissioners, that They might see Both their Majesties Testimonies in

such Particulars as were known to themselves. And this Letter was very warily drawn, and being approved by his Majesty, was sent accordingly to the Lord Lieutenant. And shortly after a Copy of it signed by the King (who conceived it only to be a Duplicate, lest the other should miscarry) was, contrary to his Majesty's Resolution, and contrary to the Advice of the Chancellor and without his Knowledge, likewise sent to the Commissioners; who had thereupon made such a Decree as is before mentioned, and declared, "that They had made it only " upon that Ground;" which gave his Majesty some Trouble, and obliged him to insert a Clause in the next Bill concerning that Affair.

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

When his Majesty entered upon the Debate of the third Bill, which was transmitted to him for a Supplement and Addition to the other two, He quickly found the Settlement proposed, and which was the End of the three Bills, was now grown more difficult than ever. All the Measures, which had formerly been taken from the great Proportion of Land which would remain to be disposed of, were no more to be

The Difficulties of a Settlement increased.

relied upon, but appeared to have been a wrong Foundation from the Beginning; which was now made more desperate, by the vast Proportions which had been assigned to the *Irish* by the Commissioners Decrees: And somewhat had intervened by some Acts of Bounty from his Majesty, which had not been carefully enough watched and represented to him.

By some im-
provident Acts
of Bounty in
the King.

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

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

This Improvidence owing to the Earl of Orrery.

The King had swerved from that Rule, before it was scarce discerned: And the Error of it may be very justly imputed to the Earl of *Orrery*, and to none but him; who believing that He could never be well enough at Court, except He had Courtiers of all Sorts obliged to him, who would therefore speak well of him in all places and Companies (and those Arts of his put the King to much Trouble and Loss both in *England* and *Ireland*), He commended to many of such Friends (though He had advised the King to the former Resolution) many Suits of that Kind, and sent Certificates to them, oftentimes under his own Hand, of the Value those Suits might be to them if obtained, and of the little Importance the granting of them would be to his Majesty; which, having been showed to the King, disposed him to those Concessions, which otherwise He would not so easily have made. Then He directed them a Way (being then one of the Lords Justices) for the more immediate passing those Grants They could obtain, without meeting those Obstructions which They had been subject to; for when any of those Grants had been brought to the Great-Seal of *England*, the Chancellor always stopped them, and put his Majesty in Mind of his former Resolution: But this new Way (in itself lawful enough) kept him from knowing any of those Transactions, which were made by Letters from the King to the Lords Justices; and thereupon the

This done without the Chancellor's Knowledge.

Grants were prepared there, and passed under the Great - Seal of *Ireland*.

There was then likewise a [new Clause introduced into those Grants, of a very new Nature; for being grounded always upon Letters out of *England*, and passed under the Seal of *Ireland*, the Letters were prepared and formed there, and transmitted hither only for his Majesty's Sign Manual: So that neither the King's learned Council at Law, nor any other his Ministers (the Secretaries only excepted), had any Notice or the Perusal of any of those Grants. The Clause was, "that if any of those Lands so granted by his Majesty should be otherwise decreed, his Majesty's Grantee should be reprimed with other Lands:" So that in many Cases, the greatest Inducement to his Majesty's Bounty being the Incertainty of his own Right, which the Person to whom it was granted was obliged to vindicate at his own Charge, the King was now bound to make it good, if his Grant was not valid. And so that which was but a contingent Bounty, which commonly was the sole Argument for the passing it, was now turned into a real and substantial Benefit, as a Debt; which created another Difficulty in the Settlement: Which was yet the more hard, because there were many Claims of the *Irish* themselves yet unheard, all the false Admeasurements to be examined, and many other Uncertainties to be determined by the Commissioners; which left those who were in quiet Possession, as well as those who were out of it, in the highest Insecurity and Apprehension.

And with an extraordinary Clause inserted in the Grants

This Intricacy and even Despair, which possessed

all Kind of People, of any Settlement, made all of them willing to contribute to any that could be proposed. They found his Majesty very unwilling to consent to the Repeal of the Decrees made by the Commissioners; which must have taken away the Confidence and Assurance of whatsoever was to be done hereafter, by making Men see, that what was settled by one Act of Parliament might immediately be unsettled by another; So that there was no Hope by that Expedient to increase the Number of Acres, which being left might in any Degree comply with the several Pretences. The *Irish* found, that They might only be able to obstruct any Settlement, but should never be able to get such a one as would turn to their own Satisfaction. The Soldiers and *Adventurers* agreed less amongst themselves: And the Clamor was as great against those, who by false Admeasurements had gotten more than They should have, as from those who had received less than was their Due; and They who least feared any new Examination could not yet have any secure Title, before all the rest were settled. In a Word, all Men found that any Settlement would be better than none; and that more Profit would arise from a smaller Proportion of Land quietly possessed and husbanded accordingly, than from a much greater Proportion under a doubtful Title and an Incertainty, which must dishearten any Industry and Improvement.

Upon these Considerations and Motives, They met amongst themselves, and debated together by what Expedient They might draw Light out of this Darkness. There appeared only one Way which

administered any reasonable Hope; which was, by increasing the Stock for Reprifals to fuch a Degree, that all Men's Pretences might in fome Measure be provided for: And there was no other Way to arrive to this, but by every Man's parting with fomewhat which He thought to be his own. And to this They had one Encouragement, that was of the higheft Prevalence with them, which was, that this Way an End would be put to the illimited Jurisdiction of the Commiffioners (which was very terrible to all of them), who from henceforth could have little other Power, than to execute what fhould here be agreed upon.

In Conclusion, They brought a Proposition to the King, raifed and digefted between themfelves, “ that all Perfons, who were to receive any Benefit
 “ by this Act, fhould abate and give a fourth Part
 “ of what They had, towards the Stock for Reprifals; all which the Commiffioners fhould diftribute amongst thofe *Irifh*, who fhould appear moft
 “ fit for his Majesty's Bounty.” And this Agreement was fo unanimous, that though it met with fome obftinate Oppofition after it was brought before the King, yet the Number of the Oppofers was fo fmall in Refpect of the others who agreed to it, that They grew weary and afhamed of farther Contention. And thereupon that *Third Act of Settlement*, as fupplemental to the other two, was confented to by the King; who, to publifh to the World that Nothing ftuck with him which feemed to reflect upon the Commiffioners, refolved to make no Change: And fo though two of them, who had Offices there to difcharge, prevailed with his Majesty that

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

Hereupon the King paffes the Third Act of Settlement.

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

These were all the Transactions which passed with Reference to *Ireland*, whilst the Chancellor remained at that Board: in which He acted no more than any other of the Lords who were present did: Except when any Difficulties occurred in their private Meetings and Debates, They sometimes resorted to him for Advice, which He was ready to give; being always willing to take any Pains, which might make that very difficult Work more easy to be brought to a good End. But as He never thought He deserved any Reward for so doing, so He never expected the Benefit of one Shilling in Money or in Money's Worth, for any Thing He ever did in that Affair; and was so far from entertaining any Overture to that Purpose, that it is notoriously known to many Persons of Honor, who I presume will be ready to testify the same, that when, upon his Majesty's first Return into *England*, some Propositions were made to him of receiving the Grant of some forfeited Lands, and for the buying other Lands thereupon the Desire of the Owners thereof,

and at so low a Price that the very Profit of the Land would in a short Time have paid for the Purchase, and other Overtures of immediate Benefit in Money (which others did and lawfully might accept); He rejected all Propositions of that Kind or relating to it, and declared publicly and privately, “ that He would neither have Lands in *Ireland* nor the least Benefit from thence, till all “ Differences and Pretences in that Kingdom should “ be so fully settled and agreed, that there could be “ no more Appeal to the King, or repairing to the “ King’s Council for Justice; in which, ” He said, “ He should never be thought so competent an Ad- “ viser, if He had any Title of his own in that King- “ dom to bias his Inclinations.” And He was often heard to say, “ that He never took a firmer Reso- “ lution in any Particular in his Life, than to ad- “ here to that Conclusion.” Yet because it was notorious afterwards, that He did receive some Money out of *Ireland*, and had a lawful Title to receive more (with which He was reproached when He could not answer for himself); it may not be amiss in this Place, for his Vindication, to set down particularly how that came to pass, and to mention all the Circumstances which preceded, accompanied or attended, that Affair.

A Vindication
of the Chan-
cellor with
Regard to the
Irish Affairs.

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

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

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

him "that there was now paid in to his Use, the
 " Sum of twelve thousand six hundred and odd
 " Pounds, and that there would be the like Sum
 " again received for him at the End of six Months;"
 and sent him a particular Direction, "to what Person
 " and in what form He was to send his Order for
 " the Payment of the Money." The Chancellor
 still forbore to answer this Letter, till He had received
 an Answer to what He had written to the Lord Lieu-
 tenant, who then informed him at large, what Title
 He had to that Money, and how He came to have
 it: "That shortly after the passing that Act of Par-
 " liament, which had given his Majesty the Disposal
 " of the Money before mentioned, the Earl of Or-
 " rery had come to him, the Lord Lieutenant, and
 " putting him in Mind, how the Chancellor had
 " rejected all Overtures which had been made to
 " him of Benefit out of that Kingdom" (which
 Refusal, and many others that show how unsolicitous
 He had always been in the Ways of getting, is not
 more known to any Man living than to the Lord
 Lieutenant), "wished that He would move the King
 " to confer some Part of that Money upon the
 " Chancellor; which the Lord Lieutenant very wil-
 " lingly did, and his Majesty as cheerfully granted,
 " That a Letter was accordingly prepared, and his
 " Majesty's Royal Signature procured by Mr. Se-
 " cretary *Nicholas*, who was at the same Time com-
 " manded by the King not to let him know of it; to
 " which Purpose there was likewise a Clause in the
 " Letter, whereby it was provided that He should
 " have no Notice of it; which." the Lord Lieutenant
 " said, was by his Majesty's Direction or with his

“ Approbation, because it was said, that if He had
 “ Notice of it, He would be so foolish as to obstruct
 “ it himself. And there was a Clause likewise in the
 “ said Letter, which directed the Payment of the said
 “ Monies to his Heirs, Executors or Assigns, if He
 “ should die before the Receipt thereof.

The Chancellor being so fully advertised of all this by the Lord Lieutenant, and of which till that Time He had not the least Notice or Imagination, He desired Secretary *Nicholas* to give him a Copy of that Letter (which had been since passed as a Grant to him under the Great-Seal of *Ireland*, according to the Form then used); which the Secretary gave him, with a large Account of many gracious Circumstances in the King's granting it, and the Obligation laid upon him of Secrecy, and the great Caution that was used that He might have no Notice of it. After He was informed of all this, He did not think that there was any Thing left for him to do, but to make his humble Acknowledgment to his Majesty for his Royal Bounty, and to take Care for the receiving and transmitting the Money; and doubted not but that He might receive it very honestly. He did therefore wait upon his Majesty with that Duty that became him: And his Majesty was graciously pleased to enlarge his Bounty with those Expressions of Favor, and of the Satisfaction He had vouchsafed to take himself in conferring his Donative, that his Joy was much greater from that Grace, than in the Greatness of the Gift.

At the very same Time, and the very Day that the Chancellor received the Letter from the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of *Portland* came to him and infor-

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

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

“ thousand Pounds of that Money ; and that They
“ had been compelled to make Use of the rest for the
“ Public, which would take Care to repay it to him
“ in a short Time :” And so He found himself engaged in a Purchase which He could not retract, upon Presumption of Money which He could not receive. And He did not only never after receive one Penny of what was due upon the second Payment (which He so little suspected could fail, there being an Act of Parliament for the Security, that He assigned it upon the Marriage of his second Son to him, as the best Part of his Portion) ; but the Remainder of the first Sum, which was so borrowed or taken from him, or any Part of it, was never after paid to him or to his Use: By which, and the Inconveniences and Damages which ensued to him from thence, He might reasonably say that He was a Loser, and involved in a great Debt, by that signal Bounty of his Majesty ; and which was afterwards made Matter of Reproach to him, and as an Argument of his Corruption. But this is a very true Account of that Business and of all the Money that He ever received from *Ireland*, with all the Circumstances thereof ; which, in the Judgment of all impartial Men, cannot reflect to the Prejudice of his Integrity and Honor.

And so We shall no further pursue or again resume any Mention of the Affairs of *Ireland*, though they will afford a large Field of Matter ; but shall return to the Beginning of the Parliament, from whence We departed.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

